WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 883 — C-701 — 5 January 2007

Imperialists Execute Their Former Henchman Saddam Hussein

DECEMBER 31—In the early morning yesterday, the hangman's noose choked the life out of former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, onetime tool of the imperialists, George W. Bush, who has the blood of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis on his hands, declared, "Saddam Hussein was executed after receiving a fair trial—the kind of justice he denied the victims of his brutal regime." The "fair trial" was a show trial orchestrated by the imperialist butchers who have raped Iraq and turned it into living hell. It was presided over by a regime out of whose police and military offices run death squads that slaughter Sunnis, as well as criminal gangs that terrorize the entire population. This execution of the former head of the Iraqi state by Washington's puppet government was nothing more than barbaric "victor's justice."

While Kurdish leaders wanted to put Hussein back in the dock for the mass killing of Kurds, Shi'ite prime minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki rushed the execution so that it would take place on the morning when Sunnis begin celebrating Id al-Adha, a Muslim holiday when executions are prohibited. As a calculated insult to the Sunni population, the Shi'ite judge who presided over the "appeals court" that upheld the death sentence sneered, "The official Id in

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CNN

Baghdad, 1983: Reagan administration emissary Donald Rumsfeld greeted by Saddam Hussein, at the time U.S. imperialism's bloody bastard.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Revulsion over Execution-Horrors

"It seemed like Angel Nieves Diaz would never die," wrote Associated Press reporter Ron Word (CNN.com, 15 December 2006). It took two doses of poisonous chemicals and 34 minutes for the state of Florida to kill Diaz on December 13. This horror was reminiscent of the fate of Stanley Tookie Williams almost exactly a year earlier in the face of an international outcry against his scheduled execution in California. Executioners spent 20 minutes digging into Williams' arms trying to insert needles for the lethal injection. In the face of such blatant torture, even pro-death penalty politicians have a hard time touting lethal injection as a "humane" form of execution. After the killing of Diaz, Florida governor Jeb Bush halted all executions. Judges in California and Maryland have stopped lethal injections in those states as well, while seven other states have instituted partial moratoriums.

Such moves are in marked contrast to the rush to eliminate restrictions on the death penalty that prevailed for most of the past 30 years. In fact, in 2006 the courts handed down 114 death sentences, less than 40 percent of the yearly average throughout the 1990s. The prior speedup on death row was codified in the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed by Democratic president Bill Clinton, which virtually eliminated the right of *habeas corpus* appeals for those sentenced to death in the state courts. Clinton swore his loyalty to the death penalty in 1992 when, as governor of Arkansas, he left his first presidential campaign in order to oversee the execution of Rickey Ray Rector, a brain-damaged black man.

California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation

California "lethal injection table," like one used to execute Stanley Tookie Williams in December 2005.

The fact that state governments are tinkering with the death penalty does not signal a "change of heart" by the U.S. capitalist rulers who wreak death and destruction from Baghdad to New Orleans. Rather, state officials seek to clean up their procedures for legal murder when there has been a sharp drop in public support for capital punishment. While more than 80 percent of those polled in 1994 were for the death penalty, the figure fell to 64 percent a little over a year ago. Much of this change in opinion stems from publicized instances of innocent people sentenced to death as well as the torture of Williams, Diaz and many more. According to the Innocence Project, by this Christmas 188 convicted felons (including many on death row) had been exonerated nationwide through DNA testing.

In 2000, George Ryan, then the Republican governor of Illinois, commuted all state death sentences and declared a moratorium on capital punishment after he was confronted with proof that 13 death row inmates had been wrongly convicted. (Having faced heavy blowback for this decent act, Ryan was sentenced in September to six and a half years in prison on mail fraud, tax fraud and other charges.) While we welcome any spanner thrown into the machinery of legal lynching, such moratoria do not fundamentally undermine the death penalty. Thus, in its recent action, the Maryland court specifically rejected the argument that the death penalty is racist and based its decision solely on a technicality concerning the manner in which the state's death penalty was adopted. In California, the judge ruled that the *particular mixture* of chemicals used was cruel and unusual but noted that the death penalty "can be fixed" by using other chemicals.

Whether it be electric chairs turning victims into human fireballs, gas chamber asphyxiations or the chemical torture that today dominates America's death chambers, executions are cruel and inhuman. The death penalty is a barbaric legacy of medieval torture, and in the U.S. of black chattel slavery. It is a system of

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Protest Congressional Attack on Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on December 8.

The Partisan Defense Committee denounces the U.S. House of Representatives' vote on December 6 which attacked the Parisian suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street in honor of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The resolution, which passed 368 to 31 with support from both Republicans and Democrats, repeats the prosecution's frame-up lies against Mumia. This resolution seeks to pave the way for the legal lynching of an innocent man! The resolution also "commends all police officers in the United States and throughout the world"—and this in the wake of the NYC police killing of Sean Bell in a 50-round fusillade on November 25, and the Atlanta police's gunning down of 88-year-old Kathryn Johnston in her own home.

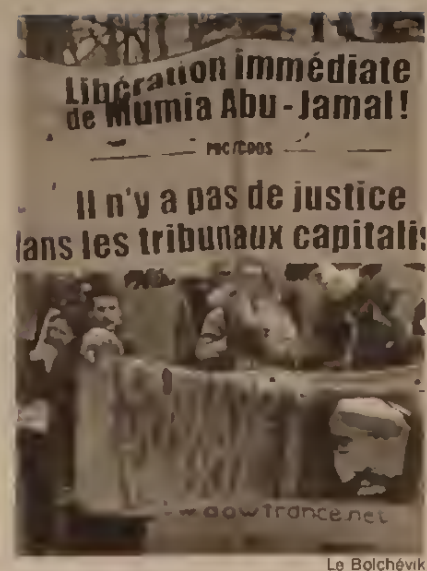
There are mountains of evidence proving Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence and the police/prosecution frame-up: there is no ballistics evidence, so-called eyewitnesses were coerced and Mumia's confession was fabricated. In 2001 Rachel Wolkenstein (co-counsel for Mumia from 1995 to 1999) submitted an affidavit to the U.S. District Court detailing that evidence, including Arnold Beverly's confession that he, not Mumia, killed Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. Yet all the courts to which it has been presented have refused to hear the Beverly evidence. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Mumia could raise only three issues on his appeal: the racially biased jury selection in his 1982 trial, the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," and the grossly biased post-conviction state hearings in the 1990s before Judge Albert Sabo (who a court reporter testified had said at the time of the original trial that he would help "fry the n----r"). These challenges should be heard in court. But the harsh reality is that the Court of Appeals —like every other court in this case—has refused to hear countless other violations of Mumia's rights. Every aspect of Mumia's case shows how much the capitalist rulers want him dead.

The House of Representatives' overwhelming vote further drives home the depth of hatred the entire bourgeois state apparatus has for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous, eloquent and unbroken fighter for black freedom and against racist repression. Mumia was framed up and falsely convicted for the murder of Faulkner because he is a talented journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an outspoken opponent of racism.

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Rachel Wolkenstein was invited to and spoke as part of the delegation at the street-naming in Saint-Denis this past April. That event provoked months of a renewed campaign by police and government officials against Mumia. In a letter to the mayor of Paris dated October 30, Mumia denounced efforts by Philadelphia politicians to retaliate against Saint-Denis, writing that "the merchants of death" have a "campaign to not only kill me, but to wipe my name from the face of the earth. Why else would they care about a small street in St. Denis? Or an award of Citizen of Honor from the City of Light? The Empire thinks it is Master of the World and can tell all what to do".

In response to this vicious campaign, the Comité de Défense Sociale, the PDC's fraternal legal and social defense organization in France, issued a leaflet on November 16 denouncing efforts by Philadelphia politicians to stifle growing support for Mumia: "This attack takes place when the international defense campaign for Mumia is once again gaining steam, a campaign that Philadelphia and its police are seeking to crush in the egg."

More evidence of growing support for Mumia is the statement by the Partisan Defense Committee under the headline, "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man" signed by hundreds of labor activists and prominent individuals, including Nobel Prize winners Nadine Gordimer and Dario Fo, Harvard University's Henry Louis Gates Jr., Cindy Sheehan of Gold Star Families for Peace, author Michael Eric Dyson, the poet Sonia Sanchez, New York City councilman Charles Barron and Illinois Congressman Danny K. Davis. That statement was printed as a full-page ad in New York's *Amsterdam News* (26 October), the *Nation* (20 November), and also in the *Chicago Defender* and the *San Francisco Bay View*.



Le Bolchévik

Paris, December 9: PDC/Comité de Défense Sociale banner at Mumia rally demands, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!"

The House resolution against Mumia comes at a crucial juncture in the legal proceedings. Mumia has submitted the final papers in his appeal of a federal court decision that affirmed his frame-up conviction while overturning the death sentence. After oral argument, the court could decide within months whether to reinstate the death penalty, to condemn him to the living death of life in prison or to grant a new trial. The latest offensive by Congress and the city of Philadelphia against Mumia underlines the need to mobilize now for his freedom.

On December 9 in Philadelphia, the Partisan Defense Committee will join a rally called by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal on the 25th anniversary of Mumia's arrest. The PDC understands that the capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green. Our PDC contingent will march under the slogans: "For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Reforge the Fourth International!

In 1938, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky sent greetings to a public meeting of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party marking the founding of the Fourth International and the tenth anniversary of the birth of the American Left Opposition. As Trotsky stressed, the indispensable instrument in the fight for a socialist future for humanity is the international revolutionary proletarian party, built in the course of sharp political struggle against the misleaders of the working class.

We are not a party like other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves. The old Internationals—the Second, the Third, that of Amsterdam, we will add to them also the London Bureau—are rotten through and through.

The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outlived organizations one stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is the World Party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility....

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. In its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them. New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level. But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, every one of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Founding of the Fourth International," 18 October 1938, printed in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)*

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is 31 December 2006.

No. 883 **5 January 2007**

Free All Oaxaca Protesters Now!

Mexico

We print below a December 23 Partisan Defense Committee protest letter that was sent to Mexico's Secretary of the Interior, Francisco Javier Ramírez Acuña, and the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D.C.

We protest the bloody crackdown against supporters of the Oaxaca teachers and against members of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). According to the National Commission on Human Rights, since June 349 people have been arrested, 370 injured and 20 people killed. Those arrested include Flavio Sosa and three other prominent leaders of the APPO, who were arrested on December 4 in Mexico City after having given a press conference that announced their intention to renew talks with the government. At least five students from the National Autonomous University (UNAM) have also been arrested. Some activists were arrested through house-to-house roundups. Those arrested have reported torture, sexual abuse and mistreatment. Many have been transferred to the distant state of Nayarit to separate them from friends and family. Those arrested face charges that are as absurd as they are serious, including robbery, violent robbery, damages, arson, destruction of property, kidnapping and sedition. We demand that all charges against Sosa and all the prisoners be dropped. Free all the APPO supporters! All military forces out of Oaxaca!

The repression continues: the police continue to arrest APPO members, and hundreds of arrest warrants are still unfilled. This repression on the part of the national and state governments is intended to send a message of terror to anybody who protests. In the last year, the government has used deadly force against striking steel workers in Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, peasants in Atenco, and now protesters in Oaxaca. We stand with the tens of thousands of workers, urban and rural poor, students and others who have demonstrated their solidarity with the Oaxaca teachers and the APPO. We demand that the government release all those arrested.■

Spartacist Archives: "Chilean Popular Front"

Popular Front Paved Way for Pinochet Terror

The December 10 death of Chilean general Augusto Pinochet touched off demonstrations throughout the country, mainly by those celebrating the final demise of this bloody butcher. It was Pinochet, backed by the U.S., who on 11 September 1973 led a military coup that overthrew the Chilean Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) coalition government of the Socialist Party's Salvador Allende. Some 30,000 workers, peasants and leftists were killed in the aftermath of the coup. Untold thousands more were tortured and thrown into concentration camps. Up to 100,000 were forced into exile, where many were hounded and assassinated by Pinochet's DINA secret police and others under the aegis of the CIA's Operation Condor terror campaign. The economic austerity imposed upon Chile's working people under Pinochet was directed by the University of Chicago's Milton Friedman, who died in November.

The Allende regime and the Pinochet coup were defining political events for a generation of leftists around the world. The UP was a classic popular front—a coalition government subordinating the Chilean workers to their deadly class enemies through a bloc of workers parties with a mythical "progressive" section of the bourgeoisie and the "democratic" officer corps. The Allende government appointed Pinochet Army Commander in Chief. The purpose of the UP popular front was to head off the threat of workers revolution and disarm the working class, buying the capitalists time to behead the proletariat. Allende was not simply a martyred victim of the CIA and Chilean generals; he and his reformist supporters, with their promotion of a "peaceful" (i.e., parliamentary) road to socialism, led the Chilean working masses directly into this crushing defeat.

The article reprinted below was originally published in *Spartacist* No. 19 (November-December 1970) shortly after the UP's electoral victory. Uniquely on the international left, we denounced any political support to the Allende coalition as class treason. We warned that unless the proletariat mobilized independently of the bourgeoisie in a fight for socialist revolution, the desperate struggles of the Chilean masses would be drowned in blood. That warning was tragically confirmed by Pinochet's 1973 coup and subsequent reign of terror.

* * *

The electoral victory of Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Front coalition in Chile poses in sharpest form the issue of revolution or counter-revolution. The Chilean crisis is a fully classic expression of reformism's attempt to derail the felt needs of the working people for their own government to rule society in their own interests. The revolutionary duty of Marxists in Chile and internationally should be utterly unambiguous. Above all, the experience of the Russian Revolution and of Trotsky's critiques of the Spanish and French Popular Front governments of 1936 illuminate the objective of revolutionists in such a situation.

Dr Allende's candidacy, which gained a plurality on 4 Sept., was based on a coalition of reformist-labor and liberal-bourgeois parties, including the pro-Moscow Communist Party, Allende's own somewhat more radical Socialist Party, the very right-wing Social Democrats, the rump of the liberal Radical Party, fragments of the Christian Democrats, etc. To gain confirmation by the Congress, Allende agreed to a series of constitutional amendments at the insistence of the dominant Christian Democrats. Most crucial among these were the prohibition of private militias and the stipulation that no police or military officers will be appointed who were not trained in the established academies.

With the maintenance of the foundations of the capitalist order thus assured, Congress elected Allende president on 24 October. He has now announced the division of spoils in his 15-man cabinet: the CP gets economic ministries, Allende's SP the key posts of internal security and foreign affairs, and a bourgeois Radical the ministry of national defense. This is reformism's answer to the Chilean masses' years of struggle and their desperate hopes that Allende's election would open up for them a new way of life, but they will not be held for long inside the Popular Front's bourgeois straight jacket.

It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any "critical support" to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready. The U.S. imperialists have been able to temporize for the moment—and not immediately try to mobilize a counter-revolutionary coup on the usual Latin American model—because they have softened the anticipated nationalization losses through massive profit-taking over several years.

Within reformist workers' parties there is a profound contradiction between their proletarian base and formal ideology and the class-collaborationist aims and personal appetites of their leaderships. This is why Marxists, when they are not themselves embodied in a mass working-class party, give reformist parties such "critical support"—against overt agents of capital—as will tend to regroup the proletarian base around a revolutionary program. But when these parties enter a coalition government with the parties of capitalism, any such "critical support" would be a betrayal because the coalition has suppressed the class contradiction in the bourgeoisie's favor. It is our job then to re-create the basis for struggle *within* such parties by demanding they ***break*** with the coalition. This break must be the elementary precondition for even the most critical support.

Gerretsen/Gamma

Santiago, Chile: Thousands were hunted down and killed in September 1973 military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet.

The Left Views Chile

Chile's most extreme known formation, the Movimiento Izquierdista Revolutionario, comprising Guevarists, semi-Trotskyists, etc., demonstrated conciliationism toward Allende as his campaign wore on and on 4 Sept. issued a call for the workers, students and peasants to support his victory, thus throwing their weight behind the popular illusions.

While the "revolutionary" Chinese Maoists have been very diplomatically noncommittal, for Gus Hall of the U.S. CP, "the elections in Chile are a revolutionary, democratic mandate of the people." He goes on, "Does this experience deny the theses of Debray [i.e. Guevara and Castro] and Mao? Yes it does." (*Daily World*, 17 Oct.) Not to be outdone in enthusiasm, Castro's *Granma* of 13 Sept. headlined Allende's election as "The Victory of People's Unity," thus willy-nilly sharing the same bed with Gus Hall and once again exposing as political charlatans those who preach confidence in the Cuban leadership.

Reuters

WV Photo

Left: Socialist president Salvador Allende (at right) with Pinochet a month before the coup. Right: September 1976 NYC march against Chilean junta.

Tragically, most of those formations claiming the heritage of Trotsky's Fourth International have taken the same road, in disorientation or conciliation to Popular Frontism. At its April 1969 World Congress the United Secretariat majority around Livio Maitan affirmed that the strategy for Latin America was "rural guerrilla warfare" with a peasant base and a petty-bourgeois (student) derived cadre, thus rendering themselves irrelevant in the face of urban-based upheavals in Latin America. How about the United Secretariat minority, grouped around the American Socialist Workers Party? Their spokesman, Joe Hansen, stood on apparent Trotskyist orthodoxy, seemingly rediscovering the need to build revolutionary workers' parties as the key to the Latin American revolution, but this was just a fig leaf to cover the SWP's descent into legalistic reformism. The first response of Hansen's *Intercontinental Press* (14 Sept.) was agnostic, concluding, "Undoubtedly Allende's program is more radical, on paper, than the program of the Popular Front of 1938. But it remains to be seen what his bourgeois allies, present and prospective, will allow him to put into practice."

Behind the SWP's bland know-nothingism was its operational position: critical support: "It would be a crime to whitewash the UP [Unidad Popular] But failing to recognize the positive elements in it, condemning it in toto out of some sectarian dogmatism, would mean suicidal isolation." (*IP*, 5 Oct.) To be sure, the SWP "knows better." But after all the Allende candidacy was enormously popular among the Chilean masses, so these revisionists chose to feed the illusions which block the path to socialist revolution and expose the workers, in this situation of great social polarization, to the danger of victorious reaction and right-wing terror.

Healy's Pabloism

The alleged anti-revisionists of Gerry Healy's "Fourth International" stand only quantitatively to the left of the SWP; they are just more critical within the same framework. Healy's *Workers Press* of 12 Sept. concludes, "There must be a preparation for class action to defend Allende's victory and his election programs to meet this danger." And the U.S. Workers League states: "There is only one road and that is the revolutionary road of the October Revolution.... As a step in this understanding the workers must hold Allende to his promises..." (*Bulletin*, 21 Sept.)—invoking the October Revolution, they demand the masses should compel an essentially bourgeois government to achieve socialism!

Not surprisingly, during the 1917 February Revolution in Russia the vacillating resident Bolsheviks, including Stalin, came up with the very formula the WL has rediscovered: to support the provisional government "insofar as it struggles against reaction or counter-revolution." Lenin telegraphed his protest from abroad: "Our tactic; absolute lack of confidence; no support to the new government; suspect Kerensky especially; arming of the proletariat the sole guarantee;... no rapprochement with other parties." All we could add today is to repeat Trotsky's fundamental conclusion about our epoch that the time has never been more urgent for the building of the international party imbued with Leninist aims and Lenin's determination. ■

Mobilize Labor's Power to Free Mumia Now!

Jennifer Beach

The following speech, edited for publication, was delivered by the Partisan Defense Committee's Erica Williamson at an October 28 Harlem rally called by the PDC and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense under the slogans: "Free Mumia now! Mumia is an innocent man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is in danger—Mobilize now! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

Being that we're here for a rally, I'd like to start off with some chants. Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty! An injury to one is an injury to all—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The PDC and the Labor Black League sponsored this rally to bring together in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal speakers and organizations across the spectrum of political beliefs, raising their own views on this vital case and how to fight to win. And this rally is just one part of that struggle.

We rally today because Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is in grave danger. For 25 years our courageous class brother has been rotting away in the bourgeois jails and on death row—this is criminal. Mumia's fight for freedom has reached a critical juncture. In December of last year, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals put Mumia's case on what they call a "fast track" for decision and is considering three constitutional challenges relating to his frame-up trial and PCRA [Post-Conviction Relief Act] hearing. But the bottom line is: we are down to the wire. This is likely to be Mumia's last round of legal appeals, and a new execution date could be set by the end of this year.

Mumia's case has "frame-up" written all over it. Witnesses were bought and terrorized, Mumia's "confession" was fabricated, and ballistics evidence was invented. The courts have refused to hear the evidence of Mumia's innocence and the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot Police Officer Faulkner, for whose killing Mumia was intentionally framed up and convicted. To say that all of Mumia's court hearings, appearances and trial were a sham would be an understatement—it was nothing but a legal lynching. If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through.

Mumia is on death row for having been a leader of the Black Panther Party, a MOVE supporter, an eloquent and effective critic of racist oppression. When we first took up Mumia's defense, we described the cops' attempt to kill him, and the frame-up conviction, as the long arm of COINTELPRO reaching into the courtroom. Under the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover's Counter-Intelligence Program, or COINTELPRO, 38 Panthers were killed nationwide and hundreds railroaded to jail. I want to underscore the point that Mumia's visible leadership role within the Black Panther Party, his high-profile journalist position and his support for MOVE all took place within the very short period of ten years. Mumia was well known. The same police officers who targeted the Black Panther Party for destruction led the attacks on the MOVE organization. Mumia's involvement in the Black Panther Party was used by the prosecution to try to prove that the killing of Officer Faulkner was premeditated and as a basis for his death penalty sentence.

Nine hundred pages of heavily redacted files that the PDC retrieved from the FBI—and this is not all they had but all they released to us—prove that they had begun watching Mumia on a daily basis from the time he was 15 years old and in high school. From the time he was a teenager he was on the Security Index, which was the secret "terrorist" list of the time. Mumia was also on the ADEX list, which was a list of people who were to be taken into detention and put into concentration camps in the event of a "national emergency."

Mumia was in the gun sights of the FBI and the Philly cops, targeted for his ability to speak and write. Today, according to the government, some 300,000 names are on its "terrorist" list. *Anyone* who is perceived as an opponent of the government can be deemed an "enemy combatant" and simply disappeared, without charges, without trial. The fight to free Mumia comes within the context of increased bipartisan attacks on civil liberties and the frame-up conviction and sentencing of leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart to 28 months and her co-defendants Mohamed Yousry to 20 months and Ahmed Abdel Sattar to an outrageous 24 years. What the U.S. capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social and class struggle in this society.

Racist Rulers Want to Silence Mumia

The execution of death penalty abolitionist and former gang leader Stanley Tookie Williams less than a year ago was a signal that the racist rulers want Mumia dead next. The recent attacks by this administration on *habeas corpus*—which is our right to challenge evidence against us—helps to further nail the coffin in which they want to entomb Mumia. His fate cannot be left up to the same capitalist state that has worked hard for decades to see him dead.

Millions around the world took up Mumia's case in revulsion against the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias, inequality and war. The injustices that animated Mumia and a generation of black radical activists still exist today. Many people identify with Mumia's fight against the "system" and for justice for all humanity. And as a journalist and radio talk show host in Philadelphia, Mumia had a broad and captive audience. And he still speaks out in his essays and radio recordings, "Live from Death Row." In Mumia, the capitalist rulers see a threat and the spectre of black revolution. They want to silence him for good, as a message and signal to us all of what's in store when you stand up against this racist capitalist system.

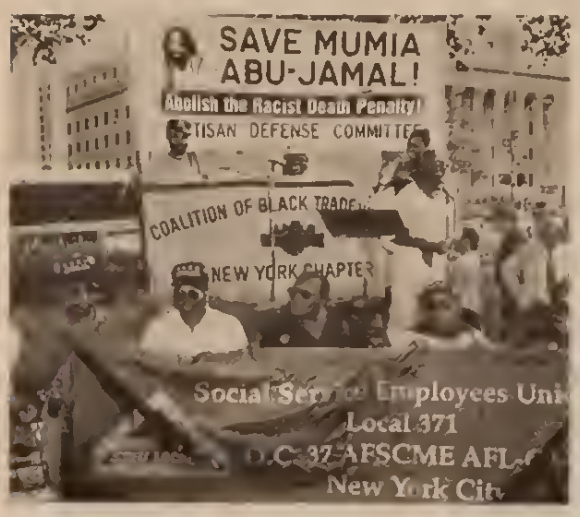
A common question I hear in regard to Mumia's case is: why would the courts exclude the evidence of his innocence, why continue the frame-up? Well, the courts do not sit in judgment and rule in isolation. The courts, like the cops, the D.A.s, military and police, are all a part of the capitalist state, whose role is to keep the working class and the oppressed in their place through its laws and brute force. Their interest lies with the capitalist class and in protecting the wealth of the ruling elite.

There are numerous lessons in how there is no justice in the capitalist courts. Mumia's case is one grotesque example of the injustices that exist every day under the capitalist legal system. Just ask the inhabitants of the ghettos and barrios who are rounded up to fill up America's prison hellholes under the auspices of the "war on drugs," a bogus and racist war akin to the so-called "war on terror." Black people are five times as likely as whites to go to jail. An estimated 12 percent of young black men were incarcerated last year. And this translates into an even more astonishing incarceration rate over the course of a lifetime, with nearly a third of all black men in America imprisoned at some point. And although black people make up 12 percent of the population, they account for 42 percent of current death row inmates.

We do not accord the state the right to determine who shall live and who shall die. The death penalty is the ultimate form of institutionalized state terror and murder, and it has been and will be used to intimidate, and in some cases eliminate, those who challenge racist American capitalism. In the U.S., the death penalty is the legacy of chattel slavery and is Jim Crow lynch law made legal. Mumia's case demonstrates what the death penalty is all about. There is a concerted effort by all wings of the capitalist class—represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties—to see Mumia executed. We must fight to abolish the racist death penalty, not just for Mumia but on principle!

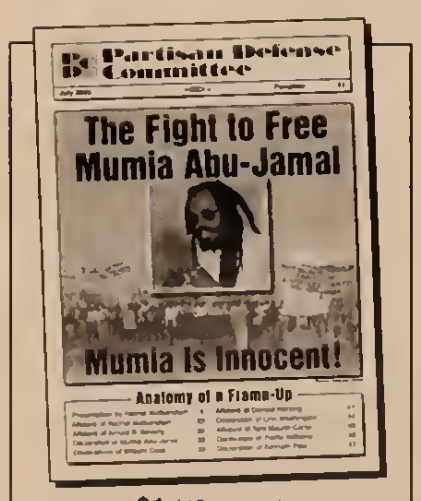
No Illusions in the Capitalist Courts!

While all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions in or reliance on the capitalist courts. Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent! He says so himself in his 2001 affidavit. There is no need for a trial to prove that Mumia is innocent—the facts speak for themselves. The evidence of Mumia's innocence is overwhelming. The PDC has fought to get this evidence out, well before the conclusive piece of evidence that helps tie it all together—the confession of Arnold Beverly—was exposed. Mumia has been in prison or on death row for nearly 25 years. He doesn't need another "day in court." He needs his freedom!



WV Photos

Millions internationally turned out in 1995 protests that helped stay Mumia's execution. Left: August 1995 PDC-initiated united-front protest in New York City. Right: South African workers at June 1995 protest by COSATU union federation hold up flyers demanding "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"



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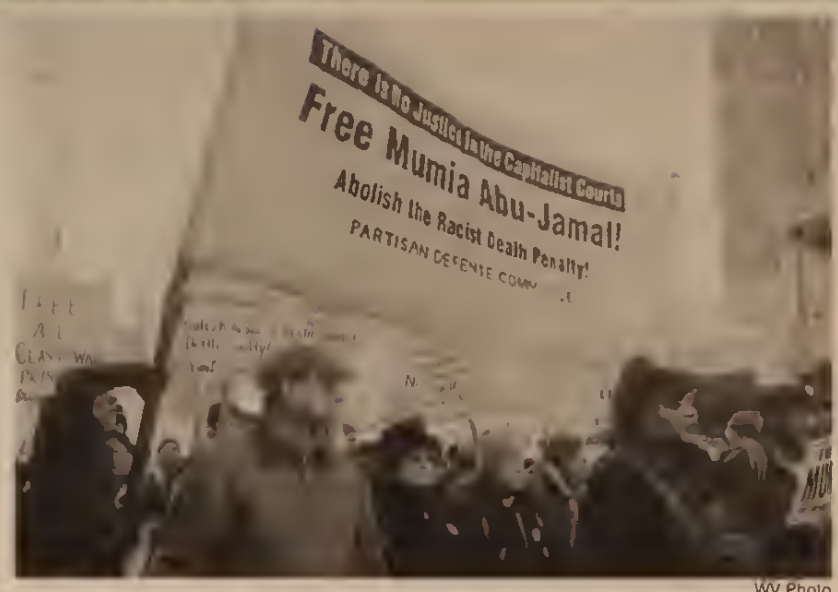
Philly Protest Marks 25th Anniversary of Mumia's Arrest

On December 9, a Partisan Defense Committee contingent joined some 250 defenders of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in a Philadelphia march and rally organized by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The PDC brought from New York City a busload of 45 people, who chanted during the march, "Free Mumia—This is the hour! Unchain labor/black power!" In Paris on the same day, a contingent of 30 organized by the PDC's fraternal defense organization, the Comité de Défense Sociale, and the Ligue Trotskyste de France joined in a similar demonstration of some 150 people. These events marked the 25th anniversary of Mumia's imprisonment. Shot and arrested on 9 December 1981, Mumia—a former Black Panther, a MOVE supporter, an eloquent journalist and outspoken opponent of racist oppression—was framed up, falsely convicted and sent to death row on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner.



WV Photo

December 9: PDC contingent at Philadelphia march.

Among the groups present in Philadelphia were the Workers World Party (WWP), International Socialist Organization (ISO), League for the Revolutionary Party and the People's Organization for Progress. A good portion of the rally was made up of college-age youth looking for a way forward in the fight to free this innocent man. The PDC contingent marched under the slogans: "For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" The PDC leaflet building the contingent emphasized that with Mumia's case reaching a critical juncture in the courts, "Millions in the unions, on the streets and campuses must be mobilized now behind Mumia's light!"

The PDC supports the use of all possible legal channels on Mumia's behalf. Indeed, PDC attorney Rachel Wolkenstein served on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999 and led the investigation that turned up evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot Officer Faulkner. But the PDC has always insisted that reliance on bourgeois politicians and the capitalist "justice" system cannot win Mumia's freedom. As the contingent leaflet stated, "The kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now."

Only three days before the rally, the U.S. House of Representatives passed, with overwhelming bipartisan support, a resolution that attacked the Parisian suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street in honor of Mumia and repeated the prosecution's frame-up lies. A PDC press release (see page 2) denouncing this action stated: "The House of Representatives' overwhelming vote further drives home the depth of hatred the entire bourgeois state apparatus has for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

The unfortunately small turnout on December 9 points to the urgent need to revitalize the movement for Mumia's freedom. We have repeatedly stressed that the millions around the world who rallied to Mumia's cause more than a decade ago were demobilized by such reformist groups as the WWP, ISO, Socialist Action and Revolutionary Communist Party that have preached reliance on the courts and capitalist politicians, codified in their call for a "new trial" for Mumia.

Regrettably, the Philadelphia rally organizers told the PDC that it could only have a speaker on the condition that no criticisms of other groups would be raised. The PDC could not agree to such self-censorship. Indeed, political debate over competing programs and strategies is vital to reversing the demobilization of Mumia's supporters at this crucial juncture. Such debate was the defining feature of the October 28 Harlem rally called by the PDC and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, which was addressed by Rachel Wolkenstein, Pam Africa and other speakers representing a spectrum of political beliefs who presented their own views on which way forward in the fight to free Mumia (see "Debate at Harlem PDC Rally: For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006).

Mumia's latest court battles shouldn't be hailed as a victory. The fight is not over just because the court has agreed to hear some of the issues in his case. The real fight is for a class-struggle defense program based on the power of labor, which can free Mumia and get rid of this whole system of wage slavery. The fact that people are not mobilizing and filling the streets now like they once did for Mumia does not go unnoticed by the courts. Mumia, in an interview with the French Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* earlier this year and prior to the filing of his legal papers, said he has "very little hope in a favorable decision from the Federal Court which has agreed to look at three points of the petition submitted to appeal by my lawyers."

Many so-called socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization have at one point or another taken up Mumia's case. But it is a question on what basis they take it up. It boils down to a difference between reforming the capitalist state and organizing working people independent of it and to fight it. Many of these leftist groups were fighting on the basis of winning the courts over to Mumia's side, and tying the masses to have faith in the courts, instead of fighting on the basis of winning the masses to the fight for the freedom of an innocent man. And now that Mumia stands on his last legal legs in court, with small exceptions you hardly hear a peep from most of these groups about doing anything for Mumia.

We cannot afford to sit on our hands and wait to see what the court does next. And if people are organized in support of Mumia only on the basis of the next court battle or a new trial, that is exactly what they are being organized to do—be complacent—while a decision as to whether or not this innocent man lives or dies could come down any day now.

I first became active around Mumia's case probably when some of you did, back in the summer of 1995, when he was facing an execution warrant and there was heightened activity and publicity on his behalf. During the '95 through '99 period, I was won over to the PDC's and Spartacist League's fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. Amid the swamp of banners and calls for a fair and new trial for Mumia, there was the PDC: No illusions in the capitalist courts! Mumia is innocent! Labor must mobilize to free him now!

It became clear to me that the calls for a new and fair trial reflected neutrality on the question of Mumia's innocence and the possibility of a political frame-up, thereby rejecting an entire history in the U.S. of legal lynchings, redbaiting, union-busting and COINTELPRO. There also existed a contempt for the evidence of his innocence and an outright failure to push it, instead keeping Mumia's case confined to what's being argued in the courts and putting faith in them to be fair, good, just, right—basically anything and everything that they're not. The courts are not fair! Even if he does get a new trial, who's to say Mumia is not going to be framed up and convicted again? Rubin "Hurricane" Carter got a new trial, and he was framed and convicted again.

We don't rely on the courts. As Mumia's legal appeals reach their final stages, the PDC is fighting to revitalize mass protest centered on the labor movement, understanding that the only pressure that will have an impact on the capitalist rulers and their courts is fear of the social consequences of executing this innocent man or entombing him for life. Even when the PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper served on Mumia's legal team, we still fought against illusions or reliance on the capitalist courts. Peddling the lie that Mumia could get a fair trial if only his case gets out of the hands of the state courts and Sabo and into the hands of the federal courts helped to demobilize a movement of millions around the world.

The armed thugs of the capitalist state, and their Fraternal Order of Police [F.O.P.], have never let up in their attacks on Mumia and his supporters, engaging in intimidation tactics nationally against individuals as well as performers who have come out for Mumia. Mumia's family has borne the brunt of state harassment. Jamal Hart, Mumia's older son, was arrested on trumped-up gun possession charges in 1996 and sentenced to 15 years in federal prison with no chance of parole for the "crime" of being a spokesman for his father. You will hear a statement later this evening that Jamal Hart wrote for this rally. Richard Costello, head of the Philly F.O.P., declared that Mumia's supporters should all be put on an electric couch! And in the latest attempt at vile racist slander and provocation, the Philadelphia Police Department awarded its "Valor Award" to nine cops who participated in the assault on the MOVE commune in Powelton Village on 8 August 1978. Nine MOVE members went to prison after being attacked by the cops in 1978, an attack that Mumia vigorously protested and spoke out about. It is no coincidence that with the possibility of parole coming up next year for the MOVE prisoners, the cops were awarded for this racist attack some 28 years after the fact.

The PDC and Class-Struggle Defense

In fact, we first learned about Mumia's case from MOVE member Ramona Africa. Exactly how and why we got involved requires me to talk a bit about the PDC. The Spartacist League initiated the Partisan Defense Committee in 1974. The model was the International Labor Defense, or ILD, under James P. Cannon of the early Communist Party. We are a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization. We also stand on the slogan of the IWW: "An injury to one is an injury to all." We defend cases and causes—regardless of who the organization or individual is—whose successful outcome is in the interests of the whole of the working people. By definition, this means that those we defend do not have to agree with, and often do not agree with, the political views of the Spartacist League.

We defended militant leftists after the 1973 U.S.-backed bloody Pinochet coup against the Allende government in Chile. We defended Mario Muñoz, a Chilean miners leader whose life was at risk in Chile and who was threatened by the junta in Argentina shortly after that. We defended Black Panther Party members who were basically forgotten, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). We initiated anti-Klan and anti-fascist mobilizations and filed lawsuits against being slandered as "violent" and as "terrorists"—against the Moonies, for example, and against the FBI, which tried to put the Spartacist League on its domestic terrorist list, a sort of precursor to the USA Patriot Act. And we did win those lawsuits.

We gave support to the British miners in their 1984-85 strike against the mass closure of coal pits, and we defended the MOVE organization after the firebombing of their commune on May 13, 1985, in which eleven men, women and children were burned to death. This occurred under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in collusion with the Feds and cops, and this massacre was a bloody signature of the Reagan years. Ramona Africa served

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Topham

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution

AP

Top: University students and teachers, joined by workers, march across Danube River, 23 October 1956. Above: Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during Hungarian Revolution.

This past October 23 marked the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The anniversary was celebrated internationally by bourgeois politicians and ideologues, who cynically portrayed the uprising as a precursor to the counterrevolutions that restored capitalist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989-1992. Four months earlier, George W. Bush visited Budapest and laid flowers in honor of "the Hungarian patriots who tore down the statue of Josef Stalin and defied an empire." Commemorations of the uprising were held in Budapest by the government of former-Communist, now-millionaire Ferenc Gyurcsany as well as by anti-government protesters, including a hefty contingent of fascist skinheads.

PART ONE

The depiction of the 1956 events as an anti-Communist, pro-capitalist rebellion, which has been propagated by reactionary forces for the past half-century, is an outright lie. The Hungarian uprising was an attempt by the working class, in a country where capitalism had been overthrown but political power was in the hands of a Stalinist bureaucracy, to throw off bureaucratic rule and open the road to socialism. Workers seized the factories and mines and set up elected workers councils (soviets), embryonic organs of proletarian political power. For weeks the workers fought courageously—by means of strikes, demonstrations and armed struggle—before this political revolution was suppressed.

The cynical misappropriation by capitalist spokesmen of the uprising was skewered in a 1957 document by Shane Mage, a founder of our political tendency:

> "What a cruel, cynical joke of history this seems to be! The Hungarian revolution is hailed lyrically by the rulers of the 'West,' the worst enemies of socialism and of the Russian revolution. The men who surrounded the infant Soviet Republic with a 'cordon sanitaire' of steel and fire, who hailed Hitler and Mussolini as bulwarks against Bolshevism, who stood by with smiling 'neutrality' while Franco murdered freedom in Spain, whose hands are still stained by the crimes of Algeria, Suez, Guatemala—the 'Free' world gleefully hands its poisoned bouquets to the freedom fighters of Hungary."
>
> —"The Meaning of Two Revolutions" (reprinted in the 1959 Young Socialist Forum pamphlet, *The Hungarian Revolution*)

Bourgeois ideologues focus on isolated expressions of anti-Communism, such as some lumpen gangs calling themselves "freedom fighters" or arch-reactionary Cardinal József Mindszenty addressing the insurgents by radio. (Following the suppression of the revolt, Mindszenty spent the next 15 years holed up in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest.) This is a fundamental distortion, one that was also disseminated by Stalinist spokesmen to justify the brutal repression of the workers. As we stated in "Political Revolution in Hungary—Ten Years After" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 8, November-December 1966), the slander that the Hungarian masses embraced fascists and monarchist reactionaries "was demolished not only by the *actions* of the revolutionaries—including the violent suppression of what anti-Semitic and White Guard threats actually existed—but by the workers' militantly communist aspirations and their unambiguous hatred for capitalism."

The Hungarian working class was overwhelmingly committed to socialism and opposed to a return to capitalism. In all of the workers councils and other proletarian bodies that arose in 1956, Communist Party members were elected to positions of leadership. Ferenc Töke, a vice-president of the Central Workers Council of Greater Budapest, later recalled: "No reactionary tendency manifested itself throughout the entire strike. There was never, at any moment, a question of the former owners eventually returning" (Jean-Jacques Marie and Balazs Nagy [eds.], *Pologne-Hongrie 1956* [1966]). The Central Workers Council of Budapest declared in a 27 November 1956 appeal to workers councils throughout the country: "Faithful to this mission, we defend, even at the cost of our lives, our factories and our fatherland against any attempt to restore capitalism."

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution was in fact a powerful confirmation of the Trotskyist understanding of the nature of the deformed and degenerated workers states. In the Soviet Union and East Europe before the restoration of capitalism—as in China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam today—capitalist rule was overthrown as a result of social revolutions but political power was/is monopolized by a conservative, anti-working-class bureaucracy. The Hungarian Revolution decisively demonstrated that the Stalinist regime represents a *caste* parasitically resting upon the collectivized economy, not a new type of social *class*. Unlike the capitalist ruling class, which in the face of revolution inevitably unites around a program of counterrevolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Hungary *shattered*, with large sections going over to the side of the workers.

These events caused a profound crisis in the Communist parties internationally. In Italy, the Communist Party lost some 200,000 of its members. The French Communist Party, already facing discontent over its support to the Socialist-led government as it pursued the Algerian War, saw its share of the electorate plunge. In Britain, the Communist Party lost a third of its membership. More than 200 CP members and ex-members, including a number of talented intellectuals, were won over by the British Trotskyist group led by Gerry Healy. These former CPers included Brian Pearce, Cliff Slaughter, Tom Kemp and Peter Fryer, the correspondent in Hungary for the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* whose first-hand observations of the events were recounted in his 1956 book, *Hungarian Tragedy* (see article, page 9).

With the formation of workers soviets, Hungary entered into a period of incipient ***dual power*** in which local workers councils, defended by the armed masses, confronted what remained of the Stalinist repressive apparatus, which was backed by Soviet troops. Mage noted:

> "The first and decisive thing about the Hungarian revolution is that it was a ***workers*** revolution, and the leading role of the workers was institutionally formulated by the establishment of ***workers councils***. Except for the Russian army, there was in Hungary not the shadow of a social force capable of preventing the assumption of state power by the workers councils. Thus the objective conditions for the formation of a soviet republic, in the event of revolutionary victory of course, were entirely favorable.
>
> "The actual level of consciousness of the Hungarian workers, however, was not at the level indicated by the objective possibilities of the revolution. In this the Hungarian workers were like the Russian

proletariat after the February revolution. The general demand was *not* for all power to the workers councils, but for 'free elections' to a sovereign parliament. "It would, however, be a disastrous mistake to take the level of consciousness corresponding to the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy as the permanent and ultimate political program of the Hungarian proletariat. The Hungarian workers wanted 'free elections,' but they also wanted to preserve their own councils and extend their powers. They wanted to move forward to socialism, not backward to capitalism."

—"The YSL Right Wing and the 'Crisis of World Stalinism'," *The Hungarian Revolution*; excerpted as "'Pure Democracy' or Political Revolution in East Europe" in the Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers* (1981)

Austrian Ministry of Education, Science and Culture — Photoworld

Left: Admiral Horthy, Hungarian dictator before and during World War II. Right: Jews slaughtered by Nazis before German withdrawal from Budapest in 1945.

The Birth of the Hungarian Deformed Workers State

To understand the 1956 Hungarian Revolution requires examining the Russian Revolution of 1917—the only successful revolution as yet carried out by the working class—as well as its later degeneration under the Stalinist bureaucracy. In the October Revolution of 1917, the proletariat, led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, took state power, basing its rule on the soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants deputies. The young workers state nationalized the land and went on to expropriate capitalist property. The Bolsheviks understood their revolution as the first step of the world socialist revolution and founded the Third (Communist) International in 1919.

However, the immaturity and indecisiveness of revolutionary leadership outside Russia led to the failure to realize opportunities for proletarian revolution. For example, a proletarian revolution was defeated in Germany in 1918-19, and short-lived soviet republics were crushed in Bavaria and Hungary in 1919. The decisive defeat was the failure of the German Communist Party to consummate a socialist revolution in 1923. The economically backward Soviet workers state—suffering under the devastation wrought by World War I and compounded by the bloody 1918-20 Civil War against imperialist-backed counterrevolution—was left isolated in the face of imperialist encirclement and a general stabilization of the world capitalist order. Together with the decimation of the most conscious layer of the proletariat during the Civil War, these factors set the stage for a political counterrevolution.

While the social foundations of the workers state—above all, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of a collectivized economy—remained intact, by 1924 political power was transferred from the hands of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard into the hands of a conservative bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin. From that point on, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled all changed. Under the false dogma of "socialism in one country," proclaimed by Stalin in December 1924, the bureaucracy accommodated the imperialist order. Correspondingly, the Comintern became transformed over time into an instrument of the bureaucracy's search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. With the elaboration of the "Popular Front" line at the Comintern's Seventh (and last) Congress in 1935, the Stalinists explicitly and officially embraced the program of class collaboration with the "democratic" imperialist bourgeoisies.

Leading the fight against the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party, Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition upheld the revolutionary-internationalist program of the October Revolution. In 1938, Trotsky and his co-thinkers founded the Fourth International. Central to its program was the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution and the call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and restore working-class political power. Such a *political* revolution would be premised on defense of the socialized property forms. This is in contrast to *social* revolutions or counterrevolutions, which overturn existing property relations and place a different class in power. The Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism is key to understanding the creation and subsequent development of the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe.

In the closing months of World War II, in Hungary as throughout much of East Europe, large sections of society welcomed the Soviet Red Army as liberators from the nightmare of Nazi occupation and supported the ensuing destruction of the old bourgeois order. Class-conscious workers hated the right-wing dictatorship of Admiral Miklós Horthy, who ruled Hungary during the interwar period and much of World War II. Impoverished agrarian laborers settled huge scores with the landlords in this land of feudal-derived estates.

Initially, the remnants of the bourgeoisies of Soviet-occupied East Europe, which had been discredited and shattered by the war, were not expropriated, either politically or economically. In Hungary, elections in 1945 gave a majority, in what was then a largely peasant country, to the bourgeois-clericalist Smallholders Party, which was allowed to form a coalition government with the social democrats and Stalinists. But, as elsewhere in East Europe, it was the Red Army that held the real power. Under the growing pressure of the anti-Soviet Cold War, the Stalinists in 1947-48 proceeded to expropriate the bourgeoisie in Hungary and elsewhere in East Europe, jettisoning their bourgeois coalition partners, nationalizing industry and establishing deformed workers states, that is, societies qualitatively similar to the Soviet Union under the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Boni and Liveright

Workers at Petrograd's Putilov metal works, a bastion of Soviet power during 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Banner at left proclaims: "Long Live the Third International."

Progress Publishers

Soviet Army liberated Hungary from Nazis at cost of 140,000 soldiers.

Prelude to Political Revolution

The 1945-48 period of the so-called "People's Independence Front" government had a significant effect on the attitudes of the Hungarian working masses. Many would later view that period favorably in comparison to the harsh Stalinist police state that came afterward, although virtually no one wanted a return of the capitalists and large landowners. The 1945-48 interregnum also created certain left-right tensions among the Stalinists themselves. An incipient left opposition, impatient with the slow pace of social transformation, crystallized around Minister of the Interior Laszlo Rajk, a hero in the eyes of many for having fought in the Spanish Civil War and for having been a leader of the Communist underground under the Horthy dictatorship. At Moscow's behest, the Hungarian regime adopted a one-sided economic policy concentrated on heavy industry. This served to drive down living standards, further fueling proletarian discontent.

The fact that, with the exception of Tito's Yugoslavia, the East European Stalinist regimes were imposed from without meant that they had shallower roots than in the Soviet Union. This rendered the social order in the East European deformed workers states relatively volatile and unstable.

Facing social discontent, the East European bureaucracies began to split into Moscow loyalists and national-liberal Stalinists more attuned to popular moods. In 1949 Tito's Yugoslavia broke from the Kremlin. With its "workers self-management," Titoism presented itself as a more democratic and authentic form of socialism than Stalin's Russia. Among East European Communist oppositionists there was a tendency to idealize the Yugoslav "road to socialism," on the one hand, and Western bourgeois democracy on the other. Fearing further splits, Stalin went into a murderous frenzy, seeking to eliminate any potential Titos elsewhere. The Polish party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka was imprisoned and placed under house arrest. Rajk in Hungary and Rudolf Slánský in Czechoslovakia were subjected to show trials and then executed.

Following Stalin's death in March 1953, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its counterparts in East Europe embarked on a policy that has been referred to as "de-Stalinization." Moves in the direction of liberalization throughout East Europe had the effect of simultaneously opening up possibilities for mass struggle while reinforcing illusions that, under the pressure of the masses, the Stalinist bureaucracy could carry out self-reform and become an instrument for building socialism.

On 17 June 1953, the first incipient proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states broke out in East Germany. Both the Stalinist regimes and West Germany's capitalist rulers portrayed the uprising as pro-Western. But this was a lie. Workers from the East German Hennigsdorf steel works marched through West Berlin and back to the East demanding a metal workers government. June 17 powerfully demonstrated the potential for the slogan later adopted by the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) for the revolutionary reunification of Germany through political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West. (For more on the 1953 events, see "The East German Workers Uprising of 17 June 1953," *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983.)

The post-1953 crisis of "de-Stalinization" had a particular impact on Hungary. Of all the Stalinist regimes in East Europe, that of Matyas Rakosi was unquestionably the bloodiest: more Communists were killed under Rakosi than under Horthy. Rakosi's widely despised political police, the AVH, a multitude of highly paid thugs, constituted fully 1 percent of the entire population of Budapest.

In 1953, to head off the pressures building up in Hungary, the Soviet leadership forced Rakosi to step down as prime minister. He was replaced by Imre Nagy, who had a reputation as a liberal Communist. Nagy proclaimed a "New

continued on page 8

Hungary 1956...

(continued from page 7)

Course" that included easing the pace of industrialization, lessening pressures on the peasantry and relaxing police terror. However, Rakosi, fearing the vengeance of his political opponents, hung onto power and by 1955 managed to oust Nagy. Thus, between 1953 and 1956 the Hungarian Stalinist regime was torn by a severe polarization between the Rakosi clique and the mass of Communist Party members who supported Nagy. One sign of the ferment in the Communist Party was the emergence of the Petofi Circle, a grouping of dissident intellectuals and others that provided a forum for public debate and became a hub of opposition to the Rakosi hardliners.

In February 1956, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev gave a "secret" speech to the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress in which he acknowledged a number of Stalin's crimes. Four months later, locomotive workers in Poland demonstrating for higher wages and lower prices attacked the city hall, radio station and prison in Poznan. Security forces fired on them, killing over 50 workers. Poland entered into an incipient proletarian political revolution, which was headed off at the last minute by Gomulka's restoration to power. Subsequently, Khrushchev and his Kremlin colleagues did not move against Gomulka, in large part because in factories throughout the country workers councils organized resistance to any attempt to overturn the "Polish October." Gomulka granted sweeping concessions, such as wage increases. But once the crisis was defused, he disbanded the workers councils that had helped bring him to power.

Meanwhile in Hungary, 200,000 people turned out in early October for a ceremony marking the regime's "rehabilitation" of Laszlo Rajk. The mass turnout foreshadowed the revolutionary explosion later that month.

The Hungarian October

The Hungarian Revolution, whose events were broadcast on radio and television internationally, was one of the best-documented revolutions ever. It began on October 23 with a largely student demonstration solidarizing with the victory of Gomulka in Poland and calling for the reinstatement of Nagy as head of the Hungarian government. The Rakosi regime denounced the protest as a counter-revolutionary mobilization, and when the unarmed demonstrators marched to the radio station to protest, the AVH goons fired on them.

Hungary then exploded in a near-universal general strike combined with military resistance to the regime. While the initial agitation was student-based, once the fighting started the core of the insurgency in Budapest and the other main centers was the workers councils and workers militias. Writing about the emergence of the workers soviets, Peter Fryer observed in *Hungarian Tragedy*:

> "In their spontaneous origin, in their composition, in their sense of responsibility, in their efficient organisation of food supplies and of civil order, in the restraint they exercised over the wilder elements among the youth, in the wisdom with which so many of them handled the problem of Soviet troops, and, not least, in their striking resemblance at so many points to the soviets or councils of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies which sprang up in Russia in the 1905 revolution and again in February 1917, these committees, a network of which now extended over the whole of Hungary, were remarkably uniform. They were at once organs of insurrection—the coming together of delegates elected by factories and universities, mines and Army units—and organs of popular self-government, which the armed people trusted. As such they enjoyed tremendous authority, and it is no exaggeration to say that until the Soviet attack of November 4 the real power in the country lay in their hands."

Even a 1957 "Report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary" by the United Nations, whose role is to provide a fig leaf for imperialist depredation, noted that the emergence of workers councils "represented the first practical step to restore order and to reorganize the Hungarian economy on a socialist basis, but without rigid Party control or the apparatus of terror."

The Hungarian army immediately ceased to be an effective force. Some sections went over to the insurgents; many soldiers turned their weapons over to the workers militias. Militarily, the turning point of the revolution was the attempt by the Soviet Army to capture the Kilian barracks, the main stronghold of the Hungarian army within Budapest. The commander of the barracks, Colonel Pal Maleter, a veteran Communist, went over to the revolution and led the forces that repulsed the Soviet attack. Following the subsequent Soviet withdrawal from Budapest, the embryo of an effective revolutionary authority was seen in the newly established National Guard under Maleter's command, although its authority remained largely limited to the capital. In many press interviews, Maleter insisted that he was a good Communist and would remain so. Maleter's comments in one such interview are recounted in *Hungary 1956* (1976) by Bill Lomax:

> "'If we get rid of the Russians don't think we're going back to the old days. And if there's people who do want to go back, we'll see!' To emphasize the last remark, he reached for his revolver holster and repeated, 'We don't mean to go back to capitalism. We want socialism in Hungary'."

Despite attempts to portray the uprising as dominated by anti-Russian nationalism, what stands out is the degree to which the insurgents attempted to fraternize with the Soviet soldiers—and the degree to which they were successful. The workers' and students' Council of Miskolc published leaflets in Russian for the Red Army soldiers declaring: "Our interests are identical. We and you are all fighting together for a better socialist life." On October 28, the Hungarian trade-union newspaper *Népszava* called for the right of asylum for Soviet soldiers who sided with the workers (François Manuel, *La Revolution Hongroise des Conseils Ouvriers* [1976]).

There were innumerable cases in which Soviet soldiers refused to fight or sided with the insurgents. In his autobiographical *In the Name of the Working Class* (1986), Sandor Kopacsi, the Budapest police chief who went over to the insurgents, described a scene that occurred on October 25 when Soviet tanks encountered a crowd of demonstrators:

> "A boy, undoubtedly a student—the scene took place just below us—pushed his way through the crowd to the first tank and passed something through the loophole.
>
> "It wasn't a grenade but a sheet of paper. It was followed by others.
>
> "These sheets, many of which my men would later collect, were tracts in Russian composed by students in the faculty of oriental languages. They reminded the Soviet soldiers of the wishes of the Hungarian nation and of the unfortunate role of policemen in which they had been cast. The tracts started with a citation from Marx: 'A people that oppresses another cannot itself be free.'
>
> "We counted the minutes. Nothing happened.
>
> "Then the top of the turret of the lead tank opened a little, and the commander, with his leather cap and the gold epaulettes, emerged slowly into the view of the apparently unarmed crowd. Then he flung the turret open and perched himself upon the top of his tank....
>
> "The crowd erupted in a frantic ovation. In this jubilant atmosphere, the commander's cap was thrown into the middle of the crowd. In exchange, someone plunked a Hungarian Army kepi on his head. The crowd sang 'Kossuth's Song' and then the Hungarian national anthem. And, at the top of their voices, they cried: 'Long live the Soviet Army!'"

Moments later, Kopacsi received a report from one of his police officers: "The AVO [AVH] is firing from every roof. Now the Soviet tanks are firing on the AVO! They're defending the crowd."

Though the Stalinist apparatus had disintegrated, a short-lived government was cobbled together under Nagy. On October 28, the Nagy government announced an agreement that Soviet troops would immediately leave Budapest. Indeed, one of the reasons that the Kremlin pulled troops out of Budapest was fear of the effect of fraternization with the insurgent Hungarian masses. But the Kremlin quickly reneged on the agreement. And on November 1, Nagy protested to Soviet Ambassador Yuri Andropov (who would become head of the Soviet Union in the early 1980s) against the entry of new Soviet troops into Hungary without his government's assent.

The new troops were not only lied to about what was happening; they were lied to about where they were being sent. A leader of the insurgents in a village in eastern Hungary recalled his encounter with the troops (Melvin J. Lasky, ed., *The Hungarian Revolution* [1957]): "Some of the Russians thought they were in East Germany and that they would soon meet American 'fascists' who had invaded the country. Other troops thought they were in the Suez Canal zone." (The Suez Canal had just been nationalized by Nasser's Egypt, which was then attacked by British, French and Israeli forces.)

At dawn on November 4, Soviet troops attacked Budapest. Despite stiff resistance, the insurrection was soon crushed. Nevertheless, the general strike continued well into December—the longest nationwide general strike in history. In this way, the proletarian centrality of the uprising was even more evident in its aftermath than during the anarchic period of the revolution itself.

The Significance of Hungary 1956

During his brief tenure, Nagy moved steadily to the right. He brought into his government bourgeois politicians from the "People's Independence Front" period. Nagy also declared Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and appealed to the United Nations to defend Hungarian neutrality. The logic of Nagy's policies, had they succeeded in running their course, was to strangle the revolution and enormously strengthen the forces of capitalist counterrevolution. However, Nagy, who spent his greatest efforts trying to get the workers to lay down their arms, utterly lacked control over events. While the revolutionary workers had their fair share of political confusion, their representative organs were in practice counterposed not only to the old hardline Stalinist butchers like Rakosi but to the Nagy regime as well.

In the industrial city of Miskolc, one of the main centers of the revolution, the workers council sent a delegation to Nagy demanding that a new government be

MTI, Hungarian News Agency

25 October 1956: Soviet tank surrounded by insurgents in front of Parliament in Budapest. Moscow withdrew forces after initial attack, in part from fear of fraternization between Soviet troops and Hungarian workers.

Open Society Archives

Moscow News

Left: Hungarian metal workers read of Stalin's death, March 1953. Right: Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's February 1956 "secret" speech at 20th Communist Party Congress acknowledged some of Stalin's crimes.

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Chronicler of Hungarian Revolution

Peter Fryer
1927–2006

Peter Fryer, a British Marxist writer and former revolutionist, died on 31 October 2006. His was a rich, complex life. He was born the son of a Hull master mariner in 1927 and won a scholarship to Hymers College in 1938. In his youth, like many of his generation, Fryer was inspired by the efforts of the Red Army during the Second World War, as the Soviet forces fought against and finally prevailed over the forces of fascist barbarism in Europe. In 1942 he joined the Young Communist League, the youth group of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which, however, also supported Britain and the other "democratic" imperialist powers in the war. As a member of the British CP, Fryer became a journalist for the party's *Daily Worker* in 1947. He was sent to Budapest in 1956 and reported on the Hungarian uprising.

Fryer wrote in *Hungarian Tragedy* (1956):

> "I saw for myself that the uprising was neither organised nor controlled by fascists or reactionaries, though reactionaries were undeniably trying to gain control of it. I saw for myself that the Soviet troops who were thrown into battle against 'counter-revolution' fought in fact not fascists or reactionaries but the common people of Hungary: workers, peasants, students and soldiers."

His truthful accounts of the Hungarian events led to Fryer's expulsion from the CP. His eyewitness reports established him as a communist determined to tell the truth to the international working class. Fryer's dispatches, written initially for the *Daily Worker*, which censored them, contradicted the line of the Stalinist hacks and bourgeois propagandists that the Hungarian workers were engaged in an anti-Communist, pro-capitalist uprising. Fryer's reports caused an uproar in the ranks of the CP, which lost one-third of its 30,000 members. Similar upheavals took place in Communist parties internationally. In Britain, some of the CPers simply retired from politics, while others embraced anti-Sovietism. But Peter Fryer led the way for some 200 former CP militants and intellectuals, as well as a layer of industrial workers led by Brian Behan, to be won to Trotskyism (see article, page 6).

Peter Fryer's 1956 eyewitness account of Hungarian Revolution.

Fryer and other former CP cadres were attracted to the literary Trotskyist orthodoxy of Gerry Healy's group, then known as "The Club," which would become the Socialist Labour League (SLL). The Healy organization's formal Soviet defensism and the fact that its publications relied heavily on Trotsky's writings were the basis of this reputation. In contrast, Tony Cliff's organization (now the British Socialist Workers Party) failed to grow at the time. Cliff's group had been expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for its cowardly capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie and refusal to defend the Soviet Union, North Korea and China during the Korean War. Such craven anti-Sovietism was repellent to CP members radicalized over the Hungarian events.

As a member of Healy's organization, Fryer wrote impressively in defense of Trotskyism, editing the weekly *Newsletter* and contributing to the journal *Labour Review*. His 1957 article "Lenin as Philosopher" is a coherent explanation of dialectical materialism that we continue to use today as an educational tool for our own party and youth comrades. As Fryer wrote, dialectical materialism "is above all else a tool in the hands of the working class for use in refashioning society, and whoever blunts the keen edge of this tool, no matter how slightly, is

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doing a disservice to the working-class movement" (*Labour Review*, September-October 1957).

Criminally, the valuable acquisition of former Stalinist cadres by the Trotskyist movement was squandered by the Healy outfit. The founding cadres of the Spartacist tendency were impressed from a distance by the SLL's nominal orthodoxy, represented by its 1961 document *The World Prospect for Socialism*, and Marxist propaganda, but were unaware of Healy's methods and his adaptation to the Labour Party "lefts" (see "Spartacist and the Healyites," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86). The orthodoxy of the SLL, which later declared itself the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), was increasingly belied by opportunist practice. In the mid 1960s, the Healyites embraced both the Maoist "Cultural Revolution"—an unusually degrading and violent falling-out between sections of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy—and the totally classless concept of an "Arab Revolution."

The Healyites' political banditry would find full flower in, among other things, their conciliation of oil-rich Arab despots, including sordid financial dealings, the hailing in their press of the 1979 execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime, and right-wing Labourite, anti-Soviet provocations against British miners' leader Arthur Scargill on the eve of the miners' heroic 1984-85 strike. All this was overseen by a brutal internal regime. This situation led to the spectacular implosion of the WRP in 1985. We wrote in "Healyism Implodes" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86):

> "Healy is a political bandit, and the organization he built is an outfit of cynical charlatans at the top. If that were all, we would simply be enjoying the excruciating problems of the WRP leaders, who have it coming. But there is a tragic side to all this: the damage that has been done over the years to thousands of sincere young people who joined the WRP because they hated capitalism and wanted to take part in the fight for socialist revolution. The WRP's posture of 'Trotskyism,' utterly fraudulent though it is, is not without meaning for many members. And Healy/Banda's organization has frequently done a competent job in exposing the reformist scum and centrist confusionists who people the British left; hence, the WRP is widely seen as the 'hard Trotskyists,' the alternative to class-collaborationist betrayal. Now the members in the main feel profoundly betrayed, as indeed they have been. We urge them not to turn away in shock and despair from the ideals of socialism, but instead to seek to understand what has happened."

Peter Fryer's departure from the Healy group predated the upheaval in the WRP by over 25 years. Fryer initially walked out amid internal turmoil accompanying Healy's launch of the SLL in February 1959. While not signalling an end to Healy's opportunist adaptation to the Labour "lefts," the SLL's founding was an abrupt departure from the Healy group's years-long "deep entry" work in the Labour Party. Fryer was disgusted by the bullying of members and lack of political debate on this "turn." His "Open Letter to Members of the Socialist Labour League and Other Marxists" (19 September 1959) expressed anger "that a turn of this magnitude should have been carried through without a national conference and without the production and discussion of documents."

Fryer wrote to us in a 17 December 1985 letter, responding to our "Healyism

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formed based on the existing workers councils, not through elections to a new parliament. The Budapest Parliament of Workers Councils adopted as its first programmatic principles that "the factory belongs to the workers" and that "the supreme controlling body of the factory is the Workers' Council" (see Lomax, *Hungary 1956*). While that statement did not express the Marxist program for central economic planning combined with genuine soviet democracy, it was nevertheless incompatible with a capitalist order and bourgeois parliamentarism.

On the available evidence, the Hungarian workers looked toward an idealized version of Titoist Yugoslavia. Tito, however, along with Mao Zedong, supported the crushing of the 1956 Revolution. Tito and Mao were quite aware of the ramifications for their own bureaucratic regimes if the Hungarian workers succeeded in taking and securing political power. Nagy had taken refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest on November 4. But despite an agreement for safe passage out, Nagy was arrested by Soviet forces later that month. He was eventually handed over to the Hungarian Stalinist regime under János Kádár, which executed Nagy as well as Maleter and other leaders of the revolution in 1958.

The repression directed at the workers, however, was relatively mild. The Kádár

John Sadovy

General Pal Maleter, at right, joined insurgent Hungarian workers.

government announced in early November that it "will not tolerate the persecution of workers on any pretext, for having taken part in recent events." But Kádár was not in control of events, and Soviet troops conducted searches for those suspected of having participated in the uprising. For the most part, the Kádár regime attempted to piece off the population by raising consumption levels under a policy that came to be known as "goulash communism."

What was lacking above all in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party rooted in the working class. Such a party would have had the task of winning the workers to a program of transforming the soviets from being organs of insurrection to becoming the sole basis for political power in the workers state. It would have fought to extend the struggle for political revolution to neighboring East European countries and crucially to the Soviet Union, linking these efforts with the fight for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries. This would have required politically combatting the views of Maleter, Kopacsi and others whose outlook at the time remained within the framework of Stalinist nationalism and "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist world order.

Had even a small Trotskyist propaganda group been able to intervene in this situation, it could have rapidly won an initial base among the tens of thousands of workers and radical intellectuals who saw themselves as authentic communists. These lessons have profound significance for the remaining deformed workers states, in particular China, which experienced an incipient political revolution in May-June 1989 and, more recently, a massive growth in defensive struggles by both workers and peasants.

What Leon Trotsky foresaw in outlining the course that a political revolution would take in the Soviet degenerated workers state was amply confirmed by the 1956 events in Hungary:

> "When the proletariat springs into action, the Stalinist apparatus will remain suspended in midair. Should it still attempt to resist, it will then be necessary to apply against it not the measures of civil war but rather the measures of a police character....
>
> "A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution.... The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933)

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Death Penalty...

(continued from page 1)

legal murder that reinforces the brutalization of society in all respects. As Marxists, we stand for the abolition of the death penalty everywhere on principle—for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to determine who lives and who dies.

Racist Legal Lynchings

The death penalty stands at the pinnacle of the capitalist state's arsenal of repression—an apparatus made up of the army, cops, courts and prisons that protects the property, profits and class rule of the capitalist class. In addition to the thousands of poor and working people who have died at the hands of the state, the capitalist rulers have repeatedly staged exemplary executions of their perceived opponents for the sheer purpose of instilling terror—from the Haymarket martyrs in 1887 to Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 and the Rosenbergs in 1953. In the capitalist rulers' sights today is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, who was framed up and convicted of a crime he did not commit and sentenced to die explicitly for his political beliefs. The forces of racist "law and order" represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolution, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The fight to save Mumia and free him from prison hell must be a key focus of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty.

In the U.S., it is overwhelmingly black people, Latinos and the poor that the courts put on death row. In 1987, when black Georgian Warren McCleskey challenged his death sentence by presenting indisputable facts of the racist application of capital punishment, the Supreme Court declared such bias an "inevitable part of our criminal justice system." In rejecting McCleskey's appeal, the Court acknowledged that his premise "throws into serious question the principles that underlie our entire criminal justice system."

Today, black people make up almost 42 percent of the death row population—three times more than their representation in the population. Legal lynchings are supplemented by the rampant killings of ghetto and harrio youth on the street by cops who act as judge, jury and executioner. Last week, seven New Orleans cops were charged with murder or attempted murder for having killed two people and wounding four others attempting to flee the ravages of Hurricane Katrina, while in New York City anger continues to boil over the police killing of Sean Bell in November.

The origins of capital punishment in the U.S. are rooted in the Southern slave system. The numerous "crimes" for which the Slave Codes prescribed torture and death included rebellion and attempted rebellion, hitting a white person in self-defense or any other act deemed "insolent" or a challenge to the slaveholders.

Jeff Paterson

Nearly 1,000 people, including rapper Snoop Dog, rallied outside San Quentin prison in November 2005 to stop execution of Stanley Tookie Williams.

The Civil War smashed the slave system, but, with the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction by the Northern capitalists, a new system of racist exploitation was established through repression of the freedmen's fight for land, education and civil rights. A rigid system of legally enforced segregation called Jim Crow was imposed and maintained by KKK terror and police-state suppression of black people. At the heart of Jim Crow was lynch-law terror. In the 1890s, black people were lynched at a rate of over one every other day. By the 1930s, the state carried out executions at a rate of one every other day. The extralegal terror of the KKK was largely supplanted by the state's legal lynching. Between 1930 and 1967, black people composed more than two-thirds of those executed nationally.

In 1967, the death penalty was put on hold by the capitalist rulers, who faced tumultuous civil rights struggles and burgeoning anti-Vietnam War protests. U.S. imperialism also sought to present a more liberal image for American "democracy" in the world arena, where it competed for influence with the Soviet Union. In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty was "wanton and freakish" and ordered states to rewrite their laws. But by 1976 the protest marches had stopped and busing for school integration was defeated by a combination of racist mobs in the streets and liberals in Congress. A vicious racist backlash against the minimal gains of the civil rights movement was unleashed. The racist "war on crime" that took off in the early 1970s was augmented in the 1980s with the "war on drugs," leading to mass black incarceration. In 1976, the Supreme Court restarted the machinery of legal murder, which has taken more than 1,000 lives since.

As industry was being decimated in the 1970s and 1980s, the prison population grew by a million—one place for every job lost on the assembly line. From 1995 to 2005, more than three million industrial jobs were eliminated. Today, with 2.2 million people in prison or jail, the U.S. has 25 percent of the world's prison population—and 60 percent of it is black or Latino. Some 12 percent of black men aged 25 to 29 years old are behind bars. With no jobs to offer, the racist rulers have increasingly relegated black people to be imprisoned, legally lynched or used as fodder in U.S. imperialism's dirty, predatory wars.

Fight Capitalist Repression!

A recent poll by the Death Penalty Information Center showed that when presented with the choice of life imprisonment without parole, support for capital punishment dropped to 48 percent. This "alternative" has long been sought by many death penalty abolitionists and liberals who preach that the state's repressive apparatus can run more efficiently and with better public relations without executions. We Marxists do not offer advice on how to administer the capitalist state. We are opposed to the bourgeoisie's entire machinery of repression. This includes the vast enhancement of repressive tools adopted under the pretext of the "war on terror."

As Marxists, our attitude toward crime and punishment is that we are against it. Marxists aim to ultimately rid the world of crime and law by eliminating the system of capitalist imperialism through world proletarian revolution. But even before this has been achieved, we have no use for retributive punishment, which is fundamentally a religious conception of social relations. Our attitude toward proponents of "life without parole" was expressed by Karl Marx in *The Holy Family* (1844). Polemicizing against the German "Critical critics," Marx condemned those who quarrel with the world of law "not over '*punishment*' itself, but over the *kinds* and *methods* of punishment." As to retributive physical justice, Marx wrote:

> "This is the Christian means—plucking out the eye if it offends or cutting off the hand if it offends, in a word killing the body if the body gives offense; for the eye the hand the body are really only superfluous sinful appendages of man. Mass-type jurisprudence, too, in agreement here with the Critical, sees in the *taming* and paralysing of human strength the antidote to the objectionable manifestations of that strength."

Following the first U.S. execution since 1967, we wrote in "State Butchers Gilmore" (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977):

> "The reinstitution of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■

Swift...

(continued from page 12)

that includes the UFCW, declared in a 15 December statement: "We are hopeful that the new Congress and President Bush will enact a comprehensive immigration solution."

The "solution" Burger points to is the "compromise" immigration bill, supported by liberal Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy and Republican Senator John McCain, that would further militarize the border, set up new detention centers and mobilize thousands more cops to drive out "illegal" immigrants. It would set up a "guest worker" program—i.e., indentured servitude—for millions of immigrants while outlining a "path to citizenship" for those few who can put up thousands of dollars and prove they have lived in the U.S. for many years. The proposed legislation reflects the interests of employers who rely on low-wage immigrant labor. And in fact, the Swift raid was orchestrated by Chertoff largely to help make the case for just this immigration "reform," which stalled in Congress last summer.

Anti-immigrant attacks pose a threat to the rights of the entire population. The pretext for the Swift raids—supposed "identity theft" by immigrants—feeds into plans to impose "real ID" national identification cards, expand databases on the activities of the population and offer FBI files to local police forces. The Bush administration has allocated hundreds of millions of dollars to build detention centers capable of holding thousands of immigrants and others the state deems "undesirable." Meanwhile, the obscenely rich capitalists continue to slash wages, gut pensions, take away health benefits and impose grueling, unsafe work conditions.

The need to organize immigrant workers requires fighting against the class collaborationism of the labor tops, who support the capitalist profit system and identify with the "national interests" of U.S. imperialism. The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the UFCW, today the largest union of workers in private industry, have recently achieved some modest organizing successes. In November, for example, a month-long strike in Houston by mainly immigrant SEIU janitors won the first union contract for 5,300 workers. But at the same time, only some 21 percent of meatpackers are unionized today compared to 46 percent in 1980. It will take hard class struggle to reverse the decades of attacks on labor.

Organizing the unorganized into the unions with full rights and protections will require an uncompromising fight for the class independence of the proletariat from the state agencies and political representatives of the capitalist exploiters. To defeat the capitalists' divide-and-rule tactics requires a class-struggle leadership of the unions that will fight every manifestation of prejudice and oppression—"an injury to one is an injury to all." Such a leadership would serve the struggle to build a workers party that fights for a workers government ■

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Hussein...

(continued from page 1)

Iraq is Sunday," referring to the day that Shi'ites begin celebrating. The masked executioners further tormented Hussein as he tried to pray by calling out the name "Moktada, Moktada, Moktada," referring to Shi'ite militia leader Moktada al-Sadr. With Iraq spiraling deeper into civil war between Shi'ite and Sunni Arabs, more than 70 people were killed in separate car bombings in predominantly Shi'ite areas in the hours after Hussein's hanging.

With ghoulish glee, CNN and other American television networks have been repeatedly playing video images released by the Iraqi government showing Saddam Hussein being led to the gallows, and today's *New York Times*, the U.S. rulers' "newspaper of record," plastered four separate images of the execution on its front page. The whole obscene march toward Hussein's execution, an all-but-inevitable outcome of his seizure by U.S. forces three years ago, had the markings of a lynch mob. As Marxists, we are opposed on principle to the barbaric death penalty, everywhere.

The three years that have passed since Hussein's arrest have only underlined what we wrote in "Imperialists Gloat over Capture of Former Henchman Saddam Hussein" (*WV* No. 816, 26 December 2003):

> "The architects of imperialist war and mass murder in the White House and Pentagon and 10 Downing Street hail the capture of Saddam Hussein as a great day for 'world peace' and 'justice' while they intensify their brutal war against the Iraqi people. Saddam Hussein was Washington's bloody bastard. He was Washington's close ally and client while he massacred tens of thousands of Kurdish people. He was a mainstay of U.S. imperialist policy in the Near East while he arrested, tortured and executed thousands of Iraqi Communists, workers' leaders, leftists, ethnic minorities and religious opponents, and waged eight years of bloody war with predominantly Shi'ite Iran. But when Hussein slipped his leash and made a grab for Kuwait in 1990, this former ally and flunkey for U.S. imperialism in the Near East became Washington's all-purpose bogeyman.
>
> "Now the main enemy of the world's working people, the U.S. imperialist state—which killed hundreds of thousands of Japanese in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which butchered over three million Koreans, which burned the flesh off Vietnamese villagers with napalm, which wreaked destruction in the former Yugoslavia in the 1999 war in the Balkans—just had its Iraqi stooges set up a tribunal which will likely try Saddam Hussein. This shameless hypocrisy should steel the resolve of all genuine fighters for social justice to sweep away the whole rotting system of imperialist capitalism and its lackeys and to create societies where those who labor rule. When workers tribunals of a victorious socialist revolution in the United States try America's capitalist exploiters for their crimes against the oppressed masses of the world, black America, labor, immigrants and the poor, and when Iraqi Kurds, leftists and workers rip the oil wealth out of the hands of the military occupiers and judge them and their former henchmen, *then* we can start talking about justice." ■

Free Mumia...

(continued from page 5)

every day of a seven-year sentence for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor.

In 1986, the PDC began a program in the tradition of the ILD of providing monthly stipends to class-war prisoners as an act of solidarity. Among the first class-war prisoners we gave stipends to were Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned British miners and MOVE prisoners. In 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee launched a campaign to raise funds for the civilian victims in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, who, after Soviet troops were criminally withdrawn, were left to face the revenge of the CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin*. Each of these campaigns is a separate story, in which the PDC applied our international class-struggle defense policies to the crucial struggles of workers and the oppressed, in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Ramona Africa and other MOVE prisoners asked us to take up Mumia's case. The PDC campaign for Mumia, begun in 1988, was coupled with the fight to abolish the racist death penalty. From the very beginning, the PDC and the Spartacist League have fought to win broader forces to the defense of Mumia and in opposition to the racist death penalty, while educating others on the political and racist basis of the frame-up and stressing the need for a class-struggle defense program to free Mumia. And this means we place no reliance on the state or on bourgeois politicians, whether they are black or white, Democratic, Republican or Green. We know that justice in the capitalist courts means "just us," for just the capitalists.

By 1989 the PDC had embarked on a worldwide campaign of publicity and protest to bring Mumia's case to the attention of larger forces—civil rights organizations, anti-death penalty gatherings, other political organizations and leftist groups. But our key mobilization efforts were directed toward trade-union organizations, and this was based on the understanding that labor is strategic for class-struggle defense. It is the working class that has the social power that can bring production, transportation and communications to a halt. Labor has the real power to change society.

The same capitalist state that is responsible for the savage occupation of Iraq and the human disaster on the Gulf Coast is also attempting to kill Mumia. By taking up such struggles, workers are fighting not just for themselves as workers pitted against individual employers, but on behalf of the entirety of the working class, which has the power and interest to overturn the rule of capital. The fight for Mumia is the fight for black liberation, for the liberation of us all, part of the struggle for socialist revolution. What's necessary is to bring to the working class the consciousness that the way out of this whole system of capitalist injustice is the struggle for socialist revolution. This requires the instrumentality of a Leninist party that fights as a tribune of the people. The fight for Mumia's freedom, if successful, would not just be a true victory for Mumia but would galvanize and inspire the working masses and the oppressed around the globe.

WV Photo

April 1989: Spartacist/PDC contingent at Washington, D.C., abortion rights demonstration.

We have been taking Mumia's case to unions in every city around the world where we have fraternal defense organizations. Hundreds of trade unions and unionists have signed on to our statement demanding that Mumia be freed now, that he is innocent, and that the testimony of Arnold Beverly helps prove this [see "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man," *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006]. However, this is just a step in the right direction.

We are a tiny organization, and Mumia needs the support of the masses. Everyone here must take this case back to their unions, to their campuses, to their community groups. An international mobilization based on the power of labor, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., helped stay the executioner's hand when Mumia was ten days from execution in 1995. Now we need to mobilize again to exert that type of pressure which will impact this appeals court—a mass movement, based on labor and its allies demanding: Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now! Free Mumia now! ■

Peter Fryer...

(continued from page 9)

Implodes" issue of *Spartacist*, that "after two and a half years' close daily work with Healy, I had reached the conclusion that he was a gangster and that I could no longer continue to associate with him." Characteristically modest, Fryer also noted:

> "No doubt it would have been better to stay in and fight. But I had been exhausted by the bitter struggle in the Communist Party—my expulsion and unsuccessful appeal—and the gruelling work of building *The Newsletter* and the SLL. I simply didn't have the stomach, or the energy, or the appetite for a further bitter fight against a further set of cynical and unscrupulous opponents. And, I frankly admit, I was more than a little afraid of Healy whose favourite method with dissenters was, in those days, a knock on the door by him and his thugs at two o'clock in the morning."
>
> —"What Happened to Peter Fryer," *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 38-39, Summer 1986

After the WRP's implosion, Fryer wrote a column for *Workers Press*, the newspaper of Cliff Slaughter's group, which was a WRP offshoot that continued to uphold the anti-Sovietism that marked Healy's latter period. But the Peter Fryer we honor, in contrast, had written powerfully in advocating the Trotskyist position of *unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union*. An article he wrote on the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution declared:

> "The Soviet Union remains a working-class conquest despite the temporary exclusion of the working class from the seats of power. Forty years ago the chain of capitalism was snapped; the distortions and deformations that have attended the building of a socialist economy are unfinished business for the workers to settle; and in settling this overdue account they need neither help nor advice from the imperialists. From the proletariat of the rest of the world, however, they need the utmost fraternal help and understanding. The principle of international working-class solidarity imposes on us in 1957, no less than in 1917, the preeminent duty of defence of the Soviet Union and of its planned economy."
>
> —*The Newsletter*, 7 November 1957

In addition to the literary contributions to Marxism noted above, Fryer leaves a rich legacy of other writings. His best-known book is *Staying Power* (1984), a history of black people in Britain. Other works unmasked bourgeois hypocrisy about sex, such as *Mrs. Grundy, Studies in English Prudery* (1963) and *Private Case—Public Scandal* (1966), an indictment of the British Library for keeping its collection of erotic publications secret. Fryer's 1993 pamphlet *Lucid, Vigorous and Brief: Advice to New Writers* is immensely valuable for aspiring Marxist journalists. Peter Fryer was also an accomplished jazz pianist.

We will miss Peter Fryer and will not forget his powerful words in *Hungarian Tragedy*:

> "We joined the party to help emancipate mankind, not only from exploitation, but from its concomitant as long as class society exists: ignorance. We joined because we wanted to help bring the light of science and humanism into the darkness of men's minds, to end forever the deception of our fellow men by the obscurantist 'golden lies' and ideological illusions with which class society veils its true nature and its crippling and stunting of people. We joined because we wanted to contribute to the enlightenment of our fellow-men, to bring them the richest and most precious of all gifts: the truth. The truth about human society and their place in it and what they themselves can do, together, to leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom." ■

CORRECTION

In "Imperialist Occupation: Hell for Iraq" (*WV* No. 882, 8 December 2006), we described a series of coordinated attacks in Baghdad that claimed the lives of some 215 Shi'ites as carried out "presumably by Sunni militia forces" and also wrote that "the result of the occupation has been an unfolding civil war between Sunni militias and Shi'ite forces, many of them death squads working directly from within the U.S.-backed puppet government." However, it is the Shi'ites who are openly organized into militias such as Moktada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army and the Badr Organization, while there are also both Sunni and Shi'ite death squads, many of the latter operating directly out of the police as well as the Iraqi military.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With Feds' Raids at Swift Meatpacking!

Terry/Rocky Mountain News

December 12: Arrested workers' family members confront Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents after immigration raid at Swift plant in Greeley, Colorado.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

On December 12, federal agents dressed in SWAT uniforms and brandishing military weaponry charged simultaneously into six Swift & Co. meatpacking plants nationwide. Once inside, they separated employees by skin color, targeting immigrants, and dragged off 1,282 workers in chains and handcuffs. When word of the raids spread, family members and friends gathered to protest outside several of the plants, chanting and shouting at the *migra* cops as they herded workers onto buses with blacked-out windows. Many were immediately deported, while hundreds of others remain in remote jails and detention centers.

As part of a series of ongoing anti-immigrant workplace raids, this massive sweep at plants in Iowa, Texas, Colorado, Minnesota, Utah and Nebraska was the largest ever at a single company. The raids, carried out by Homeland Security's Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), were reminiscent of the roundup of thousands of Arab and Muslim immigrants in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. The day after the Swift roundup, Homeland Security chief Michael Chertoff pledged more raids in the future. In fact, there have been a number of well-publicized *la migra* raids since the spring in an attempt to terrorize and intimidate immigrant workers who turned out in mass numbers to protest proposed draconian anti-immigrant legislation. Reporting on recent raids at upstate New York dairies and farms, a *New York Times* (24 December 2006) article was headlined: "Immigrants Go From Farms to Jails, and a Climate of Fear Settles In."

In a December 28 letter to Chertoff protesting the Swift raid, the PDC stated:

> "Your threats to carry out more such raids, part of the government's escalating campaign against immigrants as well as the evisceration of civil liberties in the name of the 'war on terror,' are an open attack on the labor movement and all working people.
>
> "We demand freedom now for all those detained and the dropping of all charges for those arrested. We further demand: Stop the raids! No deportations! All the detained and deported Swift workers must immediately be allowed to return to their jobs, families and communities!"

The United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), which represents workers at five of the six Swift plants, denounced the raids as "an effort designed to terrorize the workforce" and has sought to assist the workers and families whose lives have been devastated. What the UFCW leaders should have done was to ***immediately shut down all union meatpacking plants in the country***. The potential to do that was shown last May Day when workers idled many of the Swift plants by joining the nationwide protests for immigrant rights.

AP

Immigration agents search Swift worker seized in December 12 raid in Greeley.

Instead, the UFCW tops *accept* the government's drive against "illegal" immigrants, complaining only about its methods. While the UFCW bureaucracy filed lawsuits challenging the legality of the Swift roundup, a statement it presented to a December 20 Congressional hearing argued that ICE agents could have carried out the raids the way they did it at a Swift facility in Kentucky the previous month, when they "calmly" whisked away four workers! This is sheer treachery. The unions are supposed to ***defend*** the workers! Labor must use its power to fight deportations and organize immigrant workers, demanding full citizenship rights for *everyone* who makes it into this country.

The UFCW statement also declared the union tops' "support to law enforcement doing its job" and noted the many "law enforcement officers" in the UFCW nationwide. The job of the cops and all "law enforcement officers" is to terrorize immigrants, enforce racist "law and order" in the ghettos and barrios and smash strikes. Cops, prison guards and security guards have no place in the labor movement!

As part of its crackdown on immigrants, Washington has been pushing employers to fire workers whose Social Security numbers do not match government records. The government's "no match" letters to employers are an open invitation to get rid of union activists and other "troublemakers." The uniform manufacturer Cintas, where UNITE HERE has been on an organizing campaign, has fired hundreds of "no match" workers. The bosses at Smithfield meatpacking tried to do the same at a plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, where the UFCW has been waging a bitter organizing campaign for a decade. Over a thousand workers—mainly Latino immigrants but including black and white workers—walked off the job in protest in November. Production was crippled, forcing the company to temporarily rescind the firings (see "Smithfield Walkout Saves Immigrants' Jobs," *WV* No. 881, 24 November 2006). However, the company is still threatening to fire up to 500 workers if they cannot soon clear up their papers.

It will take the fighting unity of Latino, black and white workers against the bosses and their government to defeat the anti-immigrant, anti-union attacks. But this necessity runs straight up against the pro-capitalist program of the labor bureaucracy, which sees allies in the bourgeois politicians, especially the Democrats, the government and the courts. In condemning the raids at Swift, Anna Burger, one of the leaders of the AFL-CIO split-off Change to Win labor federation

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 884 | C-701 | 19 January 2007

U.S. Out of Iraq Now! Hands Off Iran!

Imperialists Escalate Bloody Iraq Occupation

President Bush's January 10 announcement that the U.S. will dispatch over 20,000 more troops to Iraq in a "surge" to subdue Baghdad will mean even more death and destruction in the living hell that U.S.-occupied Iraq has become. Bush's speech also stepped up U.S. threats against Iran. As revolutionary Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. *U.S. hands off the world!*

Dispensing with all pretenses that the Iraqi government is anything but a puppet regime, Bush informed Congressional leaders that he had told Iraqi prime minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki: "This has to work or you're out." The day before Bush's speech, U.S. troops along with Iraqi soldiers swarmed onto Baghdad's Sunni-dominated Haifa Street, slaughtering dozens. Immediately following Bush's speech, U.S. forces seized five Iranian officials in two separate raids in the northern Iraqi city of Irbil, during which an Iranian diplomatic mission was attacked. The raids were so provocative that they even angered local Kurdish officials who are front-line agents of the U.S. occupation.

Bush's desperate "plan" to send more troops into the Iraqi quagmire is being openly opposed by large sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie, including in Bush's Republican Party, who see his policy as damaging to U.S. imperialism's interests. Senate Democrats plan to introduce a non-binding resolution opposing Bush's plan. While a few Democrats threaten to deny funding for additional troops, Ted Kennedy made clear that by the time a request for funds arrives in Congress, "The horse will be out of the barn" and the Democrats will vote yes. Indeed, the first contingent of new troops has already arrived in Iraq.

Last year's Democratic electoral victory represented a mid-term correction by the bourgeoisie. For the ruling class, the fact that more than 150,000 U.S. troops are stuck in a losing situation in Iraq means that the military is greatly overstretched, undermining Washington's ability to array its forces against more strategically important targets, from the mullahs' Iran to the deformed workers states of North Korea and especially China. And Bush's "faith-based" gambles have only sunk the imperialists even deeper in the Iraq morass. The Shi'ite-dominated government in Baghdad isn't too happy with the U.S. troop buildup, which might impede the mass killings and expulsions of Sunnis.

AP

AFP

U.S. occupation troops in Iraq, December 2006. Military buildup announced by Bush includes sending second aircraft carrier battle group to Persian Gulf to join *USS Eisenhower* (above), threatening Iran.

Iraq's Sunni population erupted in anger over last month's "legal" sectarian lynching of Saddam Hussein, a onetime henchman of U.S. imperialism. On January 15, the al-Maliki government hanged two former Hussein aides, including his half brother, who was decapitated during the execution! The bloody U.S. war and occupation have utterly destroyed what was a relatively advanced Near Eastern country and have unleashed communal slaughter on all sides. Thousands of Iraqis are dying each month, and hundreds of thousands have fled their cities and towns, many for neighboring countries.

And now the U.S. imperialists, as well as the Sunni-dominated states of the Near East, seek to curb the Tehran government's growing influence and power in Iraq and the region, in large part a product of the U.S. occupation. Bush has charged Iran and Syria with supporting Iraqi insurgents and threatened to "interrupt the flow of support from Iran and Syria." In an expression of the opposition to Bush inside the bourgeoisie, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor under Jimmy Carter and a key fixture of Cold War II, pointed out in a *Washington Post* (12 January) op-ed piece: "The commitment of 21,500 more troops is a political gimmick of limited tactical significance and of no strategic benefit.... The other alternative [to withdrawal], perhaps already lurking in the back of Bush's mind, is to widen the conflict by taking military action against Syria or Iran."

Provocative war moves against Iran are well under way. Bush has ordered a second aircraft carrier strike force to the Persian Gulf, including cruise-missile-firing ships, to threaten Iran. Patriot missiles have also been sent to the region. And the *London Times* (7 January) reports that Israel has plans to destroy Iran's uranium enrichment facilities using "bunker buster" nuclear weapons.

We say: ***U.S. hands off Iran!*** In the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail and with continuing threats of attack, Iran *needs* nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems as deterrence. In the event of a military attack against Iran by the U.S., or by Israel or other forces operating on behalf of the imperialists, we declare: ***The international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran.*** At the same time, as Marxists we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary mullah regime in Tehran.

Meanwhile, earlier this month, at least one U.S. gunship fired on people in the southern tip of Somalia. The attack targeted

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Break with the Democrats— The Other Party of War and Racism! For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Support the Class-War Prisoners!

The Partisan Defense Committee received the following letters from class-war prisoner Jaan Laaman and Ray Luc Levasseur, who was released from prison in 2004. Laaman and Levasseur were imprisoned in the mid 1980s after they and five others—the Ohio 7—were convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings against such symbols of U.S. imperialism as military and corporate offices. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. These courageous fighters should not have served a day in prison.

The PDC is grateful for these letters, which were sent in support of its December 2006 Holiday Appeal. The annual Holiday Appeal, which raises money for the PDC's Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund, was focused this time on the urgent fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The PDC's program of regular stipends is a concrete expression of solidarity with those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression. To support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee, send contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, NY, NY 10013; call (212) 406-4252.

* * *

Nov. 28, 2006

Let me wish everyone Happy Holidays and warm RED Season's Greetings!

The Partisan Defense Committee needs, wants and deserves your support. 2006 marks the PDC's 21st straight year of concretely supporting some of America's long held political prisoners. I myself have been a PDC class war prisoner receiving a regular bi-monthly stipend of support, year after year for I think, 20 years now. Additionally in moments of specific need (in my case for legal expenses this past year and for educational expenses some years ago), the PDC stepped forward also.

Material support is important in a real day to day, do I have enough stamps or toothpaste, sense. Political support and informing the public about political prisoner events and issues, is also very important. The PDC under its own banner and through the Workers Vanguard, is an important source of support for us. As political prisoners we need and want this support, so your support of the Partisan Defense Committee is an important and meaningful political statement.

To learn more about and interact with political prisoners in the U.S., and to hear our thoughts on ongoing world events, you can check out 4struggle mag, which I edit, at: http://www.4strugglemag.org. Issue 8 is just out.

FREEDOM IS A
CONSTANT STRUGGLE!
RED SEASON'S GREETINGS

Jaan Laaman,
Ohio 7 anti-imperialist
political prisoner

* * *

10 December 2006

My grandmother began working in textile mills when she was 13 years old. My grandfather went into those mills when he was 14 years of age. My parents left school at 16 to work in the mills. My turn came when I was 17. I didn't know about class war back then, I only knew about survival and that my people—the French Canadian workers—were being shortchanged. We had no political nor economic power and we paid for it by operating the machines that enriched others.

Two years ago I was released after 20 years in prison. For 20 years the government kept me in their worst cages for political offenses—actions taken against imperialism's obscene manifestations of violence and exploitation.

While in prison it was always a challenge to marshal support among the left, the Partisan Defense Committee stepped up when others faltered. The PDC, for many long years, provided needed funds to me and my family, for which I will always be grateful.

I encourage you to donate what you can, large or small, to enable the PDC to continue its solidarity work. Any donation translates to direct support for our political prisoners.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal & all political prisoners.

Ray Luc Levasseur

TROTSKY

LENIN

Honor Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg!

In the tradition of the early Communist International, this month we commemorate the "Three L's": Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, who died in January 1924, and German revolutionary Marxists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were assassinated in January 1919 by the reactionary Freikorps as part of the Social Democratic government's suppression of the Spartakist uprising. The following passage is from Luxemburg's The Crisis in the German Social Democracy, *which was written in April 1915 under the pseudonym Junius while she was imprisoned for her revolutionary opposition to interimperialist World War I. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were at that time leaders of the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy, whose chauvinist leaders supported German imperialism in the war. The two went on to found the Spartakusbund and, in late 1918, the German Communist Party.*

Socialism is the first popular movement in the world that has set itself a goal and has established in the social life of man a conscious thought, a definite plan, the free will of mankind. For this reason Friedrich Engels calls the final victory of the socialist proletariat a stride by humankind from the animal kingdom into the kingdom of liberty. This step, too, is bound by unalterable historical laws to the thousands of rungs of the ladder of the past with its tortuous sluggish growth. But it will never be accomplished, if the burning spark of the conscious will of the masses does not spring from the material conditions that have been built up by past development. Socialism will not fall as manna from heaven. It can only be won by a long chain of powerful struggles, in which the proletariat, under the leadership of the social democracy, will learn to take hold of the rudder of society to become instead of the powerless victim of history, its conscious guide.

Friedrich Engels once said: "Capitalist society faces a dilemma, either an advance to socialism or a reversion to barbarism." What does a "reversion to barbarism" mean at the present stage of European civilization? We have read and repeated these words thoughtlessly without a conception of their terrible import. At this moment one glance about us will show us what a reversion to barbarism in capitalist society means. *This world war* means a reversion to barbarism. The triumph of imperialism leads to the destruction of culture, sporadically during a modern war, and forever, if the period of world wars that has just begun is allowed to take its damnable course to the last ultimate consequence. Thus we stand today, as Friedrich Engels prophesied more than a generation ago, before the awful proposition: either the triumph of imperialism and the destruction of all culture, and, as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration, a vast cemetery; or, the victory of socialism, that is, the conscious struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism, against its methods, against war. This is the dilemma of world history, its inevitable choice, whose scales are trembling in the balance awaiting the decision of the proletariat. Upon it depends the future of culture and humanity. In this war imperialism has been victorious. Its brutal sword of murder has dashed the scales, with overbearing brutality, down into the abyss of shame and misery. If the proletariat learns *from* this war and in this war to exert itself, to cast off its serfdom to the ruling classes, to become the lord of its own destiny, the shame and misery will not have been in vain.

—Rosa Luxemburg, *The Junius Pamphlet: The Crisis in the German Social Democracy* (1916), reprinted in *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* (Pathfinder Press, 1970)

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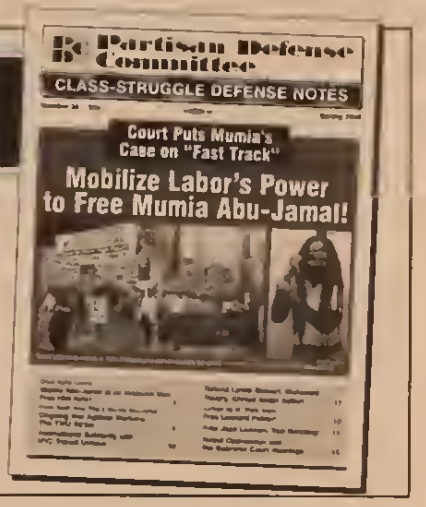

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

The Other Army

While media pundits and politicians bum rush the mike about President George W. Bush's plans to "surge" U.S. troop forces in Iraq, little is being said about another army there.

By this I refer not to the British, who, as the junior partners in this nefarious occupation, have contributed a significant number of troops to this operation, nor to the other so-called 'coalition of the willing', most of whom have only sent token numbers.

I mean the private armies, known best by the term "contractors"—men (mostly) who work for private corporations, who are often heavily armed, and who number some 100,000.

They often wear camouflage fatigues—and many are paid six-figure salaries!

Remember the notorious scandal of Abu Ghraib prison? While the fate of 7 low-level soldiers (and one female general) is generally well-known, there is rarely discussion (and rare still, legal action) on the actions of contractors. Such people played a key role in Abu Ghraib—and play vital roles everyday in Iraq, separate and apart from the U.S. military, or any governmental structure.

In Abu Ghraib, around the exact time of the events that are now infamous and historic, *all* of the interpreters at the prison worked for one U.S. company—Titan Corp.

At the same time (as of Jan. '04), over 1/2 of all interrogators and analysts worked for a Virginia-based company—CACI International.

As novelist-essayist Joan Didion noted in a recent edition of *The New York Review of Books*:

> "There are now, split among more than 150 private firms, thousands of such contracts outstanding. Halliburton alone had by July 2004 contracts worth $11,431,000,000.
>
> "Private firms in Iraq have done more than build bases and bridges and prisons. They have done more than handle meals and laundry and transportation. They train Iraqi forces. They manage security. Contract interrogators from two firms, CACI International (according to its web site 'a world leader in providing timely solutions to the intelligence community') and Titan ('a leading provider of comprehensive information and communications products, solutions, and services for National Security'), were accused of abuses at Abu Ghraib, where almost half of all interrogators and analysts were CACI employees. They operate free of oversight. They distance the process of interrogation from the citizens in whose name, or in whose 'defense,' or to ensure whose 'security,' the interrogation is being conducted. They offer 'timely solutions.'"
>
> [Fr. Didion, Joan, "Cheney: The Fatal Touch," *The New York Review of Books*, October 5, 2006, p. 56.]

More than any other war in U.S. history, big companies are making big bucks by privatization of almost everything. Indeed, in a very real sense, it can be said that even torture was privatized—as shown by the allegation that Abu Hamid, a Titan employee, hired to do interpreting at Abu Ghraib, reportedly raped a 15-year old boy there.

Titan held contracts worth an estimated $657 million. CACI had contracts in the tens of millions, at least.

Speaking of Halliburton (where Vice President Dick Cheney was CEO), it proceeded to run up so many bills that it overcharged the U.S. government by more than $1 billion! *One Billion!*

Halliburton, by the way, provided U.S. service members with contaminated drinking water—and charged Army folks $99 to wash their laundry—and didn't get it clean!

No matter what Bush ultimately decides, a private army continues to roam Iraq, answerable only to their bosses. Armed to the teeth, they are a private army for business.

Who says war is bad for business?

7 January 2007

©2007 Mumia Abu-Jamal

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Habeas Corpus Appeal Filed
Free Jamal Hart!

On December 20, Jamal Hart filed a *habeas corpus* petition in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania that could set the stage for his release from prison. Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges, framed up for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have him thrown into prison under federal laws.

In a January 15 letter to the Partisan Defense Committee, Hart, who was recently transferred to the federal penitentiary at Schuylkill, Pennsylvania, explained, "The state of Pennsylvania labeled me as an armed career criminal due to 3 felony charges I was convicted of. However, after thorough research by prison officials here at FCI Schuylkill, it has been revealed that an assault conviction I was accused of in 1995 DOES NOT EXIST and should not have counted in the first place. Due to this blatant miscarriage of justice, I should have been sentenced to the original sentence range of 6 years 5 months to 8 years instead of the dreadful 15 years to life."

From the outset, the PDC has condemned the prosecution of Jamal Hart as a racist political frame-up. Hart should never have spent one day in jail. He has already been locked up for eight years. If Hart's *habeas corpus* petition is granted, it would mean a reduction of his sentence, and he would finally be released for time served.

Monique Code

Jamal Hart (right) with his son, Jamal Hart Jr.

Hart has requested that letters be sent to the court demanding that his petition be granted and that he be released. Write to: Judge Edwin M. Kosik, U.S. District Court, 235 N. Washington Ave., P.O. Box 1148, Scranton, PA 18501. *Free Jamal Hart now!*■

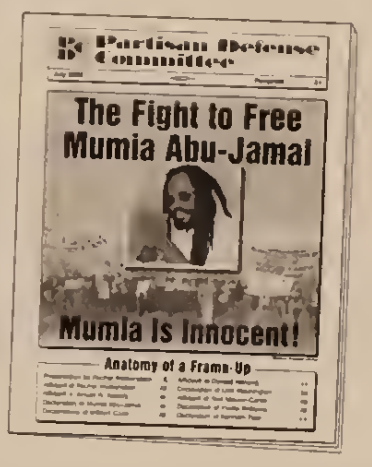
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee

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NEW YORK CITY

For more information, (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Young Spartacus

Defend the Victims of State Repression in Mexico!

We print below a translation of a December 21 leaflet issued by the Juventud Espartaquista, youth group of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League, protesting the arrests and torture of members of the teachers union and their sympathizers in Oaxaca. Last May the teachers in Oaxaca, one of the poorest states in Mexico, struck for decent wages. Up to 80,000 teachers participated in combative demonstrations demanding greater resources for public education and raising slogans against the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) government. Their struggle rallied the support of workers and poor people in Oaxaca and throughout Mexico. Teachers and their supporters occupied the center of the city of Oaxaca and successfully beat back several police attacks. Subsequently, the federal and local police unleashed brutal repression, rounding up protesters and dismantling the barricades (see "Protest Bloody Crackdown in Mexico!" *WV* No. 882, 8 December 2006).

As of January 12, some of those detained in Nayarit, Tlacolula and Miahautlán prisons have been released on bail, but the charges against them have not been dropped. Dozens of people, including Flavio Sosa and other prominent leaders of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO), remain imprisoned. Reports of torture and sexual abuse of prisoners continue to be publicized, including of the rape of 15 men held in Nayarit prison.

* * *

After more than five months of militant struggle, an indication of how much the Oaxacan masses are fed up with the misery and racist oppression in which they live, Oaxaca has been turned into the scene of a merciless witchhunt against leftist activists and the general population. Following the brutal state repression on November 25 against a peaceful march of the APPO and its sympathizers—which demanded the ouster of the bloody governor Ulises Ruiz Ortiz, freedom for political prisoners, and the withdrawal of the PFP [Federal Preventive Police]—the PFP and state police circle the streets like vultures and illegally search houses for APPO members and sympathizers. Some 60 people have been "disappeared" at this time. Approximately 300 people have been detained who have suffered, to a lesser or greater degree in different cases, beatings, torture, threats of being "disappeared," sexual abuse, etc. In addition, arrest warrants have been issued for around 300 other people, many of them teachers belonging to Section 22 of the SNTE [National Educational Workers Union]. Dozens have been released but still face trial.

AFP

Octavio Vélez

Above: Federal police attack demonstrators in Oaxaca City, 25 November 2006. Below: Families of those arrested protest outside Tlacolula prison, demanding release of teachers and APPO supporters.

Free All Oaxaca Prisoners Now!
Drop the Charges!

On Monday, December 4, four leading members of the APPO—among them the brothers Flavio and Horacio Sosa Villavicencio—were arrested by the PFP in Mexico City after traveling there to demonstrate their desire to continue negotiations with Gobernación [the Ministry of the Interior]. Their arrest was a gross and calculated ambush. Flavio and Horacio are in the maximum security prison of Altiplano—formerly La Palma—accused of a ridiculous list of crimes such as sedition, kidnapping, battery and robbery, among others. Three more leaders of the APPO were arrested as they left an SNTE meeting in Oaxaca on December 18.

The Juventud Espartaquista solidarizes with the struggle of the Oaxacan masses against state repression and emphatically protests the abuse suffered by the detained. In defending the activists in the Oaxaca struggle, we are also defending the right of the left and workers movement as a whole to exist and struggle. We of the Juventud Espartaquista say: ***Drop all the charges! Immediate and unconditional freedom for all the arrested! PFP and army out of Oaxaca! There is no justice in the bourgeois courts!***

Among those arrested in Oaxaca are at least five students from the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico, centered in Mexico City]: Carmen Fernández Xicoténcatl and Julieta Cruz Cruz, both sociology students in the School of Political and Social Sciences; Sacramento Delfino Cano Hernández, student at the School of Philosophy and Literature; Christian Marcel Cebolledo Gutiérrez, student at the Economics School; and Edith Coca Soriano, student at the School of Advanced Studies—Iztacala. These students did nothing more than solidarize with the teachers in Oaxaca—and their allies in the APPO—who, in one of the poorest states and while receiving miserably low salaries, struggle under horrendous conditions to provide education to children who often do not even have enough to eat.

Carmen, Julieta and Sacramento were violently detained on November 30 during an illegal search of a private home in the city of Oaxaca. After having been "disappeared" for two days, they are currently imprisoned in Miahuatlán on spurious charges of carrying illegal arms, robbing a truck, criminal association, impersonating a public official, attempted bribery, and assault with a sharp instrument against the police who detained them. For his part, Christian was kidnapped and tortured for several days after his capture on November 25 by the PFP in Oaxaca. He was threatened with being raped, burnt and flung from a helicopter. He is now imprisoned in a maximum security prison in the state of Nayarit, facing ridiculous charges like obstructing arrest, sedition, arson and criminal association.

Women have suffered particularly brutal treatment, illustrating the fundamentally anti-woman nature of the capitalist state, in which women must accept a condition of submission and imprisonment in the home. One woman teacher at [Metropolitan Autonomous University] UAM-Xochimilco had two fingers cut off in a beating carried out by the PFP. Another woman activist was beaten unconscious. The 34 women arrested on November 25 had their heads shaved. When they were imprisoned in Tlacolula, Oaxaca, they were subjected to abusive interrogations. Their tormentors put clubs between their legs and threatened to rape them.

The PAN [ruling National Action Party] beast is very dangerous. After his dubious electoral victory and militarized swearing-in, Felipe Calderón has combined the arrests of the main leaders of the APPO with a state of siege in Oaxaca, with the goal of obliterating the Oaxacan social movement. The sedition charge against Flavio Sosa and others is an attempt to outlaw social protest. With this Calderón intends to send a sinister message, both to the leftist activists and to his bourgeois opponents in the PRD

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Spartacus Youth Club Events

CHICAGO

Forums: Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

January 30: **No to UN/Imperialist Intervention in Sudan!**

U. of Chicago, Harper Memorial Library
1116 E. 59th St., Room 125

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagosyc@sbcglobal.net

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 7, 6 p.m.

Women's Oppression and the Family: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 212

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, February 1, 6 p.m.

Video Showing: ***From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal***

University of California, Los Angeles
Haines Hall, A78

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, January 24, 6:30 p.m.

Defend the Palestinians Against Zionist Terror!

University of Toronto
OISE, 252 Bloor Street West

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Toronto SYC Exposes Apologists for Imperialism

The following article is reprinted from the Young Spartacus pages of Spartacist Canada *No. 151 (Winter 2006/2007). Sonali Kolhatkar and James Ingalls, authors of* Bleeding Afghanistan *and apologists for U.S. imperialism, recently completed a tour publicizing their book in the U.S. and Canada.*

SPARTACIST CANADA

The "Grass-Roots Anti-Imperialist Network" (GRAIN) sometimes postures as an alternative to the mainstream, Canadian-nationalist antiwar coalition in Toronto. But anyone who bought GRAIN's anti-imperialist rhetoric was in for a shock at their September 21 University of Toronto debut feting Sonali Kolhatkar and James Ingalls, authors of a new book, *Bleeding Afghanistan*. In the meeting Kolhatkar argued that the U.S. should stay in Afghanistan to ensure stability before they "just cut and run" (shades of George Bush!). In their book Kolhatkar and Ingalls declare: "The occupation of all foreign troops should end, ***but only after disarmament is complete and Afghans feel safe in their own country*** [emphasis in original]." And they openly call for "an international military occupation of Afghanistan" consisting of NATO and the UN. One has to ask: what kind of leftists would promote such unabashed pro-imperialist lackeys?

GRAIN's banner at the meeting read "Canada Out of Kandahar." But in promoting this duo, GRAIN failed in the most basic duty of anyone claiming to be anti-imperialist. In contrast, we revolutionaries of the Spartacus Youth Clubs say: U.S./Canada out of Afghanistan now! No UN intervention! We welcome military blows suffered by the occupation forces while giving no political support to the reactionary Islamic "resistance" forces. Above all, we fight to mobilize the workers of this country in class struggle against their capitalist exploiters at home.

AP

U.S. paratroopers near Gardez, Afghanistan.

Kolhatkar and Ingalls are supporters of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) and codirectors of the Afghan Women's Mission (AWM), an American political front and financial conduit for RAWA. This pedigree is utterly consistent with their non-opposition to the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan. AWM's website reads like an ad for a bourgeois charity. Donations, it explains, are not tax-deductible in Canada; no, AWM doesn't accept American Express; and here's how to sponsor an Afghan orphan. They actually write that "The US could have bombed fewer villages [!] and killed fewer civilians [!!]."

As for the RAWA feminists, they are neither revolutionary, leftist nor even genuine champions of women's rights. In 2001, as the U.S. was raining bombs on Afghanistan, RAWA openly lobbied for UN imperialist "peacekeeping" forces to intervene and they supported the reinstatement of the former king, Zahir Shah, who was ousted in 1973. Backing imperialism and its agents has defined RAWA since its formation in 1977. In December 1979, the Soviet Union sent troops to Afghanistan at the request of the secular and modernizing government of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which came to power in 1978. The PDPA was besieged by a bloody, imperialist-backed Islamic insurgency, the *mujahedin*. RAWA stood not with the Soviet intervention, which brought the only hope of emancipation to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan, but with the CIA-bankrolled "Afghan resistance." To this day, virulent anti-Communism is their calling card, opening doors in the corridors of bourgeois power and the wallets of Western feminists and liberals.

Trotskyists Hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan

The PDPA's reforms—land distribution, freeing women from the *burqa* (the head-to-toe "veil"), reducing the bride price and providing education for women and girls—sparked a ferocious rebellion by landlords, tribal chiefs and mullahs. Indeed, the rights of women were central to this war, making it unique in modern history. When the Soviet army rolled in, we declared: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Sending troops into Afghanistan was an unambiguously progressive act, cutting against the grain of the Soviet Stalinists' search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. It underlined our Trotskyist understanding that

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"For Socialist Revolution in the U.S. and Internationally!"

SYC Speaker at Chicago Holiday Appeal

We print below the speech, edited for publication, given by Richard Elle of the Spartacus Youth Club at the Partisan Defense Committee's 21st annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners in Chicago on 10 December 2006.

The Chicago SYC is actively fighting to make Mumia's case known throughout the city. We're making presentations about Mumia's case to campus youth groups and university classes. We speak about how Mumia's case is important and stress that it is vital that other groups and individuals fight for his freedom. To throw the net out wider, we're doing radio interviews—like at Chicago State University, where we presented Mumia's case and asked those who were listening to get involved, to come to the Mumia rally we held in October, and to today's event. We understand that the fight for Mumia is critical because black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. Black people will not be free until capitalism has been overthrown through a victorious workers revolution. Mumia Abu-Jamal, decorated journalist, black radical and eloquent speaker for the oppressed, is precisely who the rulers of this country fear the most. To them, he represents the spectre of black revolution, and that is why for him they reserve their ultimate punishment, the death penalty.

Because we fight for socialist revolution, the SYC fights against U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. was bombing Iraq, we took a side by calling for the defense of Iraq. We understand that war is not the policy or preference of one or another capitalist politician. War is an essential part of capitalism as it sets out to conquer new markets and entrenches its political interests abroad. The Workers World Party (WWP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) built demonstrations using pacifist demands like "No blood for oil!" or "Money for schools, not for war!" These demands do not make clear that war is a *systematic* necessity of capitalism, but instead turn the crimes of blood-soaked U.S. imperialism into a "bad decision" at the hands of a few individuals.

It should be remembered that the Iraq war began with bipartisan support. Both the Democrats and Republicans agreed that the slaughter of Iraqis was necessary—any differences between them amounted to simple tactical differences. We intervened to make crystal clear that the fight against war is a fight for socialist revolution. While the WWP, ISO and RCP aimed to build the "broadest possible unity" by blurring the issue of *class*, we fought to win more revolutionary-minded elements to our understanding of the centrality of working-class struggle against U.S. imperialism, as part of leading the way to a socialist future.

Last February at the University of Chicago, four activists were arrested for protesting military recruiters. Two of them were SYC supporters. We say, "Not one person, not one penny, for U.S. imperialism!" The SYC calls for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the U.S. from Iraq and Afghanistan. To bring the struggle against the imperialist military to the universities, actions like the February protest are important, necessary and exemplary.

We sprang into action to defend the arrested and beat back the university administration's attack against our right to free speech. We organized a united-front protest. The central demands of our demonstration were: "Drop all charges against the anti-military recruitment protesters now! Administration hands off! No disciplinary actions!" We issued statements and wrote letters to the administration and the campus press. Over 40 individuals and organizations endorsed our demonstration, and 70 people came in our defense because they too understood that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

When students moved to express their opposition to the U.S. war machine, the administration tried to send the message that if we stepped out of line, we would be crushed. But in the end, our united front succeeded, and we won—all of the charges were dropped.

But how are Iraq and Mumia related? As Leninists, we believe that the state is an instrument of political rule of one dominant class over another. The *capitalist* state takes actions in the interest of the *capitalist* class. In the same way that the many peoples of the neocolonial world will forever be under the brutal thumb of U.S. imperialism so long as there is international capital, the lives of Mumia and other brave fighters for the oppressed will forever be in danger so long as racist U.S. capitalism rules over us all. That is why the SYC fights for socialist revolution in the U.S. and internationally. So, if you want to fight to get rid of capitalism and open the road to human freedom, check out the SYC.■

BBC Hulton

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution

Hungarian insurgents arrest member of hated secret police during 1956 Revolution.

This part concludes the article. Part One of which appeared in WV *No. 883 (5 January).*

As we noted last issue, the 1956 Hungarian Revolution had an enormous impact on the left internationally. It touched off a deep crisis in many Stalinist parties and had a major impact on Trotskyist organizations.

PART TWO

In the U.S., the Hungarian events led to the consolidation of a left opposition in Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League (ISL) and its youth group, the Young Socialist League (YSL). The Shachtman tendency had broken from Trotskyism in 1940, refusing to defend the Soviet Union in World War II and developing the position that Stalin's Russia was a new exploitative form of class society, "bureaucratic collectivism." Following their break with Trotskyism, the Shachtmanites pursued an uneven 18-year-long course to full-blown social democracy, culminating in their liquidation into Norman Thomas' Socialist Party in 1958.

In response to the prevailing pressures of the anti-Soviet Cold War, Shachtman's group, which became the ISL in 1949, moved to the right throughout the 1950s. Though still claiming to be orthodox Leninists, the Shachtmanites' program in 1956 for Hungary—for a sovereign parliament based on free elections—amounted to a call for capitalist counterrevolution in the guise of "democracy." Had this program been carried out in largely peasant Hungary, it might well have given an electoral majority to the bourgeois clericalist Smallholders Party. This openly counterrevolutionary line was an important step in the Shachtmanites' liquidation into official American social democracy. A few years later, Shachtman himself supported President John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

A left opposition led by Tim Wohlforth, Shane Mage and James Robertson resisted the ISL/YSL's capitulation to social democracy. In the course of this effort, these left Shachtmanites recognized that the events of the Hungarian Revolution affirmed Trotsky's position that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a parasitic caste as against Shachtman's "new class" theory (see "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories—Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999).

Having transcended left Shachtmanism, these youth fused with the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1958. An important section of the founding cadres of the SWP youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), they found themselves again in a rapidly rightward-moving party. Robertson and Mage (the latter of whom subsequently abandoned Marxism) were among those comrades who emerged as the SWP's left opposition, forming the Revolutionary Tendency (RT). Beginning in December 1963, Robertson, Mage and other RTers were bureaucratically expelled from the SWP. This grouping was the embryo of what became the Spartacist League, which was founded in 1966. (Wohlforth—acting as a tool for Gerry Healy, head of the Socialist Labour League in Britain—provoked an unprincipled split in the RT in 1962 and went on to serve as Healy's toady as head of the Workers League. Wohlforth more recently emerged as an abject apologist for U.S. imperialism, calling in 1993 for American intervention in Bosnia under the headline "Give War a Chance" [*In These Times*, 26 July 1993].)

Another consequence of the impact of the Hungarian Revolution on the left in the U.S. was the formation of a pro-Stalinist faction, led by Sam Marcy, in the SWP. The Marcy group, forerunners of the Workers World Party (WWP), provided a sophisticated apology for the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution. Unlike Stalinist hacks such as the Communist Party's Herbert Aptheker, whose book *The Truth About Hungary* portrayed the beginning of the revolution as the work of counterrevolutionaries organized by Washington, the Marcyites did not attempt to prove that the revolt was some deep-laid imperialist plot. The main Marcyite document, V. Grey's "The Class Character of the Hungarian Uprising" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 1, January 1957), begins: "On October 23 the students and workers of Budapest demonstrated for a liberalization of the totalitarian Stalinist regime. Contrary to their own desires, the demonstration was swiftly converted into a full-scale, nation-wide ***counterrevolution*** throughout Hungary" (emphasis in original).

If the workers and intellectuals in the decisive battleground of the uprising were against a counterrevolution, then how did such a "conversion" come about? Grey argued that the workers, lacking a revolutionary party, had no understanding of the need to defend the gains of the deformed workers state: "The only consciousness was for 'freedom'. But freedom from what?—Freedom to do what?... Their first duty was to keep the proletarian dictatorship. Apparently nobody understood this." The Marcyites' position boils down to the idea that, in the absence of a pre-existing Trotskyist leadership, the workers would inevitably accept the restoration of capitalism. In 1989, the WWP applied the same stance toward the Tiananmen events in China, denouncing this incipient proletarian political revolution as counterrevolutionary and acting as abject apologists for the Stalinist misrulers.

UPI

WV Photo

September 1981: Solidarność leaders (left) kneel to Pope during first congress in Gdansk, Poland; Spartacist League protest against opening of New York office of Solidarność, company union for CIA, Vatican and Wall Street (above).

Polish Solidarność and the Lessons of Hungary

The central documents by Shane Mage in the factional struggle against the right-

wing ISL/YSL majority were reprinted in the 1959 pamphlet *The Hungarian Revolution*, published by a forerunner of the YSA. Mage insisted that whether the collapse of Stalinist rule led to a workers government or to capitalist restoration would be determined by the political consciousness and leadership of the working class, specifically the ability of the workers movement to overcome and combat parliamentarist illusions and nationalist prejudices. This would be true even where there existed proletarian organs of dual power, as was the case in Hungary in 1956.

The heart of Mage's argument was that "pure democracy" in East Europe—such as a sovereign parliament based on free elections—would likely lead to the victory of pro-Western, petty-bourgeois forces (such as the Hungarian Smallholders), who would in short order restore capitalist rule. Mage further pointed out that such counterrevolutionary parties need not call for nor effect the immediate denationalization of statified industry. Rather they would subordinate the nationalized economy to the interests of the domestic petty bourgeoisie and international capital.

In this, Mage was following Trotsky, who wrote in his November 1937 "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (*Writings 1937-38*):

> "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a ***revolution*** or a ***counterrevolution*** The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."

Mage insisted that such a counterrevolution was ***not*** what had occurred in Hungary in October-November 1956. The effective organs of power were the workers councils, which expressed an, albeit confused, ***socialist*** consciousness.

The material in Mage's pamphlet was a central element in our tendency's understanding of the struggle for proletarian political revolution and our fight against the forces of "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution in the East European deformed workers states and the former Soviet Union. In Poland in 1980, striking workers lined up behind an opposition dominated by reactionary ultranationalists, Catholic clerics and pro-capitalist social democrats. In 1981, we published a pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*, with excerpts from Mage's documents under the title "'Pure Democracy' or Political Revolution in East Europe."

Wielding the upper hand in the Solidarność "union" was a constellation of counterrevolutionary forces, the likes of which had been a distinctly subordinate element in Hungary in 1956. At its first national congress in September 1981, Solidarność consolidated on a program of capitalist restoration. Behind its call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) stood the program of capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government.

Nickelsberg/Time

Jurgens Ost

Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1988-89 (above) abandoned Afghan peoples to *mujahedin* cutthroats, put fate of East European and Soviet workers states in the balance. Right: Soviet leader Gorbachev clinks glasses with West German chancellor Kohl in 1989, before fall of Berlin Wall.

In contrast to Hungary 1956, Solidarność was able to mobilize significant sections of the working class against the bureaucracy under the banner of right-wing reaction, symbolized by the Polish eagle and the Catholic cross. This was a direct consequence of the political bankruptcy of Stalinism. In Poland in 1956, 1970 and again in 1976, proletarian upheavals were headed off as the bureaucracy each time put forward a new leader who promised a new and better deal. At the same time, the Polish Stalinists strengthened the Catholic church in various ways, including by perpetuating a landowning peasantry. Having been disillusioned three times with "national-liberal" Stalinism, by the late 1970s the Polish working class was susceptible to being organized by clerical-nationalists who answered to the imperialists and the Vatican.

Solidarność's counterrevolutionary bid for power was checked in December 1981 by General Jaruzelski's coup, which was strongly backed by Moscow. Virtually the entire non-Stalinist left backed Solidarność, from the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and other components of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat to the U.S. International Socialist Organization, then affiliated with the British Socialist Workers Party of the late Tony Cliff.

How such "leftists" distort reality in the service of their counterrevolutionary line on Poland can be seen in an article on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in *Socialism Today* (November 2006), which is published by the Socialist Party (England and Wales), section of the Committee for a Workers' International. The article compares the Hungarian workers, who were committed to the defense of socialism as they saw it, to Solidarność, writing of the latter that "some of its leaders retained a strong allegiance to the ideas of socialism." Solidarność's "allegiances"—including those of social democrats like Jacek Kuron who formed part of its leadership—can be gleaned from the fact that this was the only "union" beloved by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher!

In sharp contrast to the Stalinophobic fake left, we fulfilled our class duty to unconditionally defend the Polish deformed workers state against capitalist restoration, emphasizing in *Workers Vanguard* No. 289 (25 September 1981):

> "Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! ***If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.*** And we take responsibility in advance for this, whatever the atrocities and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution."

In 1989, the Polish Stalinists abdicated governmental power in favor of Solidarność, which had won a landslide electoral victory that June. Thus Solidarność formed the first of the capitalist-restorationist regimes in East Europe.

The Dead End of Stalinism

In Hungary, following the suppression of the 1956 Revolution, the Kremlin installed in power the liberal Stalinist János Kádár, who had been imprisoned and tortured under Rakosi. After an initial period of repression, Kádár set out to gain popular acceptance, or at least tolerance, for his regime by redirecting investment so as to rapidly raise consumption levels—a policy dubbed "goulash communism." Kádár's New Economic Mechanism anticipated the "market socialism" that would later characterize Deng Xiaoping's China and Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia. The Hungarian, Yugoslav, Polish and Czech governments borrowed heavily from Western banks, essentially mortgaging these countries to the imperialists. This set the stage for IMF-dictated austerity programs that took a knife to the living standards of the working people.

In the 1980s, petty-bourgeois "democrats" and nationalists became politically ascendant throughout most of East Europe, with the signal exception of East Germany. For its part, in 1989-90 the Moscow bureaucracy under Mikhail Gorbachev let it be known that it would abandon the East European Stalinist regimes to their fate. This followed Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which abandoned the Afghan peoples to the mercies of CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats right on the border of the Soviet Union. Thus the fate of the East European and Soviet workers states was put in the balance: either proletarian political revolutions to defend and extend the gains embodied in the collectivized economies or capitalist counter-revolution, with its promise of all-sided social devastation.

The first sign of political revolution in this period occurred not in East Europe but in China, where events resembled the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in key ways. In May-June 1989, protest initiated by students in Beijing's Tiananmen Square gained widespread support among the workers, who were angered by the sharply rising economic inequalities, rampant corruption and inflation encouraged by Deng's "socialist market economy." Under Deng over the previous decade, agriculture had been decollectivized and centralized economic planning had been weakened. The "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits for workers was becoming rusted out.

Groups of young workers, some of them carrying posters with Mao Zedong's picture, joined the huge demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, which spread throughout the country. As we wrote at the time, "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" ("Defend Chinese Workers!" *WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). Initially, both rank-and-file soldiers and some senior military commanders refused to carry out orders to suppress the protests. Deng was finally able to find military units willing to carry out a massacre, which was directed primarily at working-class neighborhoods in Beijing rather than at the student protesters. As in Hungary in 1956, the key factor in China in 1989 was the absence of a revolutionary leadership such as that provided by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which led the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The ICL and the Fight Against Capitalist Counterrevolution

The events in China reverberated throughout East Europe, particularly in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) of East Germany. In autumn 1989, the DDR's Stalinist regime collapsed, most graphically expressed by the opening of the Berlin Wall on November 9. East Germany at that time was engulfed in a developing political revolution. The impulses of the workers were directed not toward capitalist reunification with imperialist West Germany but toward building what they considered a decent socialist society on the foundations of the DDR's nationalized economy. Meanwhile, as part of his conciliation of imperialism, Gorbachev pledged not to use the tens of thousands of Soviet troops stationed in East Germany to intervene militarily. All these factors created an exceptional opportunity to consummate a proletarian political revolution.

The International Communist League undertook the biggest sustained mobilization in our tendency's history, drawing upon the personnel and other resources of all sections to intervene in Germany. We

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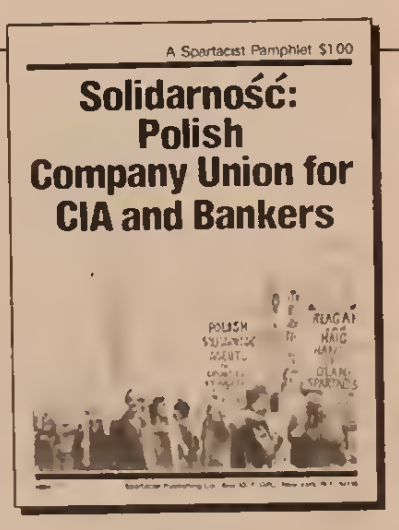

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Trotskyist Speech at 1990 Treptow Protest

"Workers and Soldiers Soviets to Power!"

Spartakist

TLD speaker Renate Dahlhaus

The following is a translation of a speech by Renate Dahlhaus, spokesman of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, to the mass anti-fascist rally in East Berlin's Treptow Park on 3 January 1990. Initiated by the TLD and the Spartakist Groups, the united-front rally protesting the desecration of a Soviet war memorial was taken up by the ruling Stalinist party, the SED, and drew 250,000 people. The speech was printed in the next day's issue of Arprekorr *(Workers Press Correspondence), a near-daily newspaper launched by the TLD the previous month. This translation first appeared in a supplement printed in* WV *No. 493 (12 January 1990). In late January 1990, the TLD fused with the Spartakist Groups to form the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands.*

Comrades, Anti-fascists:

We will never forget that 20 million Soviet citizens gave their lives to smash Hitler's fascism. They must not have died in vain.

When the fascists committed their outrage here, the Trotskyist League and Spartakist Gruppen immediately took the initiative for today's demonstration. The fascists are raising their heads here in the DDR, in Erfurt, Dresden, Görlitz, Halle. What is urgently needed is the militant mobilization of the working people, including immigrant workers, comrades from Vietnam, Poland and Mozambique, to stop and to crush the fascist beast while it is still small.

The Leninist united front, the workers united front that Trotsky fought for in the early '30s, was needed then and is needed today to stop the Nazis.

If the fascists are smashed they cannot make a bid for power. But that means that the working class must be organized and strong and a contender for power. The highest form of the united front in a revolutionary situation like we are going through today is the workers and soldiers soviet.

As long as capitalism exists there is a cycle of struggles which keep recurring. There is less of a material basis for fascists in the DDR because the natural base of fascism, capitalism, does not exist here today. A political revolution has broken out and is growing in our midst, and we must defend it.

Economic absorption and political incorporation by stages—which West German imperialism, aided by the SPD, seeks—can turn this political revolution into a social counterrevolution. This must not happen! It is necessary to fight against it!

That's right, stop the Nazis through a workers united front! We have to think further. Our economy is suffering from waste and obsolescence. The SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this. East Germany urgently needs selective.... [Interjections] Comrades, learn to listen, learn what a united front means.

What is urgently needed is a selective modernization of existing industry. With us in the DDR things are very different than in those countries, the other "socialist" countries which adhere to Stalin's concept of building "socialism in one country," and demonstrate that it is a transparent stupidity. We have hard choices—we must understand the danger of being at the mercy of the world market.

Comrades, fighting against the sellout of the DDR means getting clear in our minds that we are not going to wind up at the mercy of the world market controlled by the imperialists and the Deutsche Bank. The means for selling out the DDR is the Social Democracy—that had better be known to us all.

Do not be deceived: the military threat of imperialism, which continues to be organized above all by the American ruling class, still persists. Yesterday, today and tomorrow they use direct and indirect military violence to achieve their aim.

This is directed centrally against the Soviet Union and everywhere that the capitalists have been eliminated as a class, or where imperialism hopes that it has an opportunity. The Soviet Union practices its own economic autarky which is not particularly beneficial to us and has led the Soviet Union into grave economic difficulties.

Lenin said, "Politics is concentrated economics." The fight for the power to make these decisions and to run this country must lie in the hands of workers councils so that rational decisions satisfactory to the majority can be arrived at. This can only be done through open and sometimes painful debates before the whole people. Perhaps our example will encourage the Soviet Union to take the same road. [Interjections]

Comrades, listen and learn that only through painful and open debates can the road to socialism be opened.

The Soviet Union will certainly take the same road, and that would also assist us in jointly solving economic and political problems and in the defense of our states, our workers states, which are presently transitional, broken from capitalism but certainly not yet socialist.

Comrades, as everybody knows, the power.... [Interjections] Comrades, as you know, the SED's monopoly of power has been broken. The masses are free to speak their minds. Learn to listen to them. It is only through the benevolent pressure of the Soviet Army that this has been made possible. What is lacking here is real organized conflicting political parties in struggle, a precondition for real workers democracy.

These are some of the concerns and some of the aims we seek to address as we fight to forge a new workers party—of equal rights, equal duties—in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Stop the Nazis through united-front action! Workers and soldiers soviets to power! Workers of the world unite! ■

Hungary 1956...

(continued from page 7)

unconditionally opposed the capitalist reunification of Germany. We fought for political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West—for a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. To emphasize the need for internationalism, as opposed to narrow DDR nationalism, we published greetings in Russian to Soviet soldiers, linking the fight in the DDR to the struggle to defend the homeland of the October Revolution against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We also issued internationalist greetings in their languages to Cuban, Mozambican, Vietnamese and Polish workers in East Germany.

The impact of our program was seen in January 1990, when 250,000 turned out in a demonstration initiated by our German comrades and joined by the DDR's ruling party, the SED (Socialist Unity Party), to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park. At Treptow, for the first time since Trotsky and his followers were expelled from the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, Trotskyists were able to address masses of workers under Stalinist rule (see article above).

The spectre of organized proletarian resistance to capitalist reunification alarmed West Germany's imperialist rulers, led by the Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl, and their front men of the Social Democratic Party, and they accelerated the drive for capitalist counterrevolution. The Stalinists in the Kremlin and in the DDR gave the green light for reunification.

Uniquely, our comrades of the newly founded Spartakist Workers Party ran unambiguously against capitalist restoration in the March 1990 East German elections. However, under the impact of the bourgeois offensive, the vanguard layers of the working class increasingly despaired, particularly as the disintegrating Stalinists of the SED, which renamed itself the Party for Democratic Socialism, blatantly supported capitalist *anschluss* (annexation). The March elections were an overwhelming vote for capitalist reunification, with the vast majority voting for either Christian Democratic- or Social Democratic-based coalitions. This marked the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany.

Spartakist

East Berlin, 4 November 1989: Demonstrators demand, "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges" in early days of developing political revolution. Spartakist Workers Party campaign poster for March 1990 elections declared, "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"

It was the ICL alone which fought to the last against the drive for capitalist reunification led by the imperialists and their Trojan horse in the German Social Democratic Party. From the beginning, we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist regime and its program of capitulation and counterrevolution. While we were calling for a government of workers and soldiers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection. That included demobilizing army units that had formed soldiers councils, in part as a result of our propaganda.

The ICL also fought to the end in defense of the Soviet workers state. When Boris Yeltsin made his power grab in Moscow in August 1991, we put out a call titled "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" This was the first statement widely distributed throughout the Soviet Union opposing Yeltsin's bid for power. It advanced a program for political revolution against capitalist restoration—for genuine workers soviets as organs of a new proletarian political power. But the Soviet working class—atomized and bereft of any anti-capitalist leadership, lacking any coherent and consistent socialist class consciousness, skeptical about the possibility of class struggle in the capitalist countries—did not rally in resistance against the encroaching capitalist counterrevolution, which succeeded in destroying the Soviet workers state in 1991-92.

The victory of capitalist counterrevolution was a profound, historic defeat for the world's working class and oppressed masses. Widespread poverty, disease and malnutrition quickly became rampant in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. With the USSR no longer providing a countervailing force, the U.S. imperialists have felt that they have a free hand to ride roughshod over whomever they please. The restoration of capitalist rule, particularly in the former Soviet Union, has also resulted in a massive, although uneven, retrogression in proletarian class consciousness internationally. The working class has been pounded by the bourgeois rulers' "death of communism" ideological campaign and its attendant historical lies. In Hungary, the first order of business of the capitalist-restorationist parties that dominated the parliament elected in 1990 was to declare October 23, the anniversary of the 1956 Revolution, a national holiday celebrating "multi-party democracy" and "the independence of the motherland."

The International Communist League is dedicated to the fight for new October Revolutions—crucially including in the U.S. and other imperialist centers—to sweep away the rotten capitalist-imperialist system and usher in an egalitarian socialist world order. Key to this perspective today is the unconditional military defense of China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states, as well as of Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. The urgent need is to win militants to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism—the light to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. It is thus that we honor the Hungarian workers political revolution of 1956. ■

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 5)

the USSR was a workers state, despite Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration.

Outside GRAIN's meeting, our comrades distributed a 2002 polemic written as RAWA was being fawned over by the left and U.S. congressional committees. As we wrote:

> "Socialist-minded youth in the West might try to imagine that they are at the University of Kabul in 1979 as the Soviet Army rolls in to beat back the CIA's Islamic rebels. Look across the border to Soviet Central Asia: there are schools, factories and hospitals. Women, regarded as human beings instead of property, are not bought and sold in marriage. They are doctors, engineers and political leaders. No matter what indices you check—life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy—the differences between the two societies are measured in centuries, not decades. Do you don a *burqa* and follow [RAWA leader] Meena Keshwar Kamal into Pakistan to join the Islamic insurgents based there, or do you join a militia to drive out and destroy the *mujahedin* enslavers of women? Do you defend the Soviet Union, or support imperialist counterrevolution? Are you for or against the liberation of women from feudal barbarism?"
>
> —"RAWA Afghan Feminists Back Imperialist Reaction," *Workers Vanguard* No. 776, 8 March 2002

We sought to pose these issues during the discussion period at GRAIN's meeting. But the oh-so "inclusive" GRAIN organizers, who listened politely to their pro-imperialist guests, disrupted and tried to cut off our speaker. Ingalls did respond, however, declaring that no one he ever met in Afghanistan supported the Russian intervention. Given the bloodbath that ensued when the PDPA government fell in 1992 following the Soviet withdrawal three years earlier, this is hardly surprising. As our comrade called out, "Yeah, they've all been murdered!" Ingalls to the contrary, for liberated women, modernizing intellectuals and leftists the Soviet intervention opened up vistas of liberation.

In 1989, the treacherous Soviet bureaucracy of Mikhail Gorbachev pulled out the Red Army in a futile attempt to appease U.S. imperialism. Facing a continued insurgency, more than 15,000 women joined PDPA militias, taking up arms to defend not only the rights they had won but their very lives. We offered to organize an international brigade to fight alongside them. The PDPA asked us instead to raise funds for the civilian victims of the siege of Jalalabad. Our international campaign raised over $44,000 (U.S.). Events have bitterly verified our warning that the Soviet pullout would mean a bloodbath for Afghan women and leftists, and the Stalinist bureaucracy's betrayal in Afghanistan was the direct precursor to capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself in 1991-92.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth League at 1980 anti-draft demonstration in Washington, D.C. Trotskyists hailed Red Army intervention against U.S.-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan.

Liberal Eclecticism vs. Revolutionary Marxism

GRAIN's meeting plunged into controversy almost from the start. The first speaker on the panel was a self-described representative of a Maoist party in Afghanistan who went after RAWA's support to Western imperialism—only to solidarize with their anti-Communist denunciation of the Soviet intervention as "imperialist." Such is the political bankruptcy of Maoism. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Chinese Stalinists, beginning under Mao, openly allied with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. In Afghanistan, this obscene policy saw Maoists enthusiastically backing the *mujahedin* cutthroats.

As the meeting unravelled, speakers including GRAIN members pointed to Ingalls and Kolhatkar's failure to call for imperialist troops out of Afghanistan.

Friends of Afghanistan Society

Afghan women mobilize to fight against CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats.

GRAIN leaders Lisa Schofield and Dan Freeman-Maloy squirmed in politically impotent silence. GRAIN members may be discomfited by the RAWA debacle, but this is no aberration for this group. Last winter these activists helped coordinate a tour for Patrick Elie, former Secretary of State for National Defence of Haiti. Elie supported the new Haitian government's call to keep UN imperialist forces in Haiti. In March 2005 at protests against the occupation of Iraq, these activists (at the time the June 30 Organizing Committee) distributed a leaflet which advised: "learn whether your mutual funds invest in [Canadian-based arms manufacturer] SNC Lavalin, and urge divestment." Their call, "No to profiteering, war and occupation!" boiled down to the most abject liberalism.

How is it that a group claiming to be *anti*-imperialist ends up giving a left cover to openly *pro*-imperialist forces? This is a class-divided society in which a tiny minority of exploiters, the capitalist class, lives off of the toil of the working class. Yet the working class, concentrated in production, has the power to overthrow the capitalist system; this requires the leadership of a revolutionary workers party. Rejecting these central Marxist premises, GRAIN ends up tailing forces that are alien to the interests of working people and the oppressed. Amorphous and politically eclectic, they make noises against the effects of the present system, but who could believe them capable of fundamentally challenging it?

To GRAIN, "imperialism" is a buzzword that can mean almost anything. This is contrary to the Marxist understanding that imperialism is a *system*—the highest stage of capitalism—in which monopolies and finance capital dominate every aspect of economic life and the most powerful capitalist states vie to control and re-divide the world. For those looking for a way to struggle effectively against imperialism, there can be no better starting point than studying the history and lessons of the 1917 October Revolution. One-sixth of the globe was ripped from the hands of the imperialist exploiters, the capitalist class was expropriated and the foundations laid for a rational planned economy that was not based on private property or profit. For eight decades the Soviet Union stood as a massive obstacle to the imperialists.

Even after Stalin's nationalist, conservative bureaucracy usurped political power from the Soviet working class, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie remained an accomplished fact. We Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, and we fought for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—the same program we uphold today in regard to the remaining states where the class rule of the bourgeoisie has been smashed: China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The Spartacus Youth Club intervenes in the social struggles of today with a perspective for the future. We seek to build an organization capable of bringing revolutionary consciousness to the working class, and of leading it to seize power from the most powerful, violent and well-organized ruling class in history: the imperialist bourgeoisie. For revolutionaries in Canada, this means in the first instance fighting to mobilize workers in struggle against the rulers on Parliament Hill and Bay Street. ***Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!***■

Oaxaca...

(continued from page 4)

[left-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution], that he means to intensify armed repression against all those who oppose his designs. On Wednesday, December 6, the PGR [attorney general's office] leaked information that 79 previous investigations against AMLO [former PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador] are still active (*La Jornada*, 9 December 2006). (For more information about our position on the *desafuero* [removal of immunity] of AMLO, see the GEM leaflet of 7 April 2005, "Down with the *desafuero* of López Obrador! Break with the PRD and the other bosses parties! For the political independence of the working class!" [reprinted as "Mexico: Down With Fox's Attack on Mayor López Obrador!" in *WV* No. 846, 15 April 2005].) According to the Ministry of the Interior, its priority is for the country to "have a lesser volume or number of movements that disturb social peace" (*La Jornada*, 8 December 2006). This is why the budget for the armed forces has been increased by 2 billion pesos—reducing the resources for public education by 4.5 billion pesos—and why 10,000 troops have been transferred from the army to the PFP. Calderón's cabinet is notorious for being infested with all sorts of genocidal repressors and religious obscurantists (such as the ex-governor of the state of Jalisco, Francisco Ramírez Acuña, known, among other things, for his brutal repression in May 2004 against anti-globalization protesters in Guadalajara, or Eduardo Medina Mora, who as SSP [Secretary of Public Security] was one of the main architects of the murderous repression in Atenco, Lázaro Cárdenas and Oaxaca).

In the face of this, a large part of the working class and oppressed see the PRD, with AMLO at its head, as representing their interests. But this bourgeois party is only different from the PAN and the PRI to the degree that it seeks to base itself on the support of the working class and oppressed in order to more efficiently subjugate them and carry out a program against the interests of the proletariat. The PRD seeks to co-opt the struggle in Oaxaca and the struggle to free the Oaxaca prisoners, but won't hesitate one minute to use the forces of repression against those who today support it. This is what it did during the UNAM strike in 1999, against the workers of Sicartsa [in April the PRD-led government in Michoacán sent state police against striking steel workers], or the peasants of Atenco this year, among many other examples. The bourgeois state—whose core is the police, the army, the courts and the prisons—cannot serve the interests of the exploited and oppressed, no matter which party or person is ruling. It is necessary to smash the bourgeois state through socialist revolution.

The APPO, the Oaxacan teachers and all those who struggle against the depredations of capitalism—such as our five imprisoned university brothers and sisters—must not face this state onslaught by themselves. It is in the interests of the entire workers movement to fight for the immediate freedom of all the activists imprisoned in the struggle in Oaxaca. It is necessary to mobilize the immense power of the industrial working class, which is derived from its relationship to the means of production, through strike actions to defeat the current government attack. Students must join with the working class' immense power to struggle. We call on workers, youth, student collectives and the oppressed in general to mobilize in defense of the APPO and its sympathizers. ***An injury to one is an injury to all!***

We must combat all illusions in the bourgeoisie and its parties—PRI, PAN and PRD—as well as the nationalist ideology that they promote. The dividing line that matters for the workers and oppressed is the class line, not the border between countries. It is necessary for the exploited and oppressed in Mexico to ally with the powerful multiracial U.S. proletariat, whose important Latino immigrant component forms a human bridge between the oppressed on both sides of the Río Bravo. We struggle to forge revolutionary-internationalist workers parties capable of leading the struggle for world socialist revolution—the only way to stop the brutal repression and oppression against workers and the oppressed on a global level once and for all.■

Rail Workers...

(continued from page 12)

fired rail workers was led by Democrat Jesse Jackson Sr., who has publicized these cases. Jackson's complaint is that the company is "misusing the law." He is demanding Congressional hearings to determine when workers are enough of a "security risk" to lose their jobs. In fact, the Democrats are trying to outdo the Republicans in implementing draconian "anti-terror" laws. One of the first acts of the newly elected Democratic House was to pass a "domestic security" bill that, among other things, would pour more police and other security forces into the ports and airports while tightening cargo inspections.

The threat to labor posed by beefing up "port security" can be seen with the final rules for the Transportion Worker Identification Credential (TWIC) program announced by DHS two weeks ago. Under TWIC, which is to take effect first in the maritime industry, millions of transportation workers would have to acquire a biometric ID card—at a high price—to keep their jobs. As the *New York Times* (14 May 2006) noted, the TWIC card would be "an identity card equivalent of a maximum security prison. Not only would it be tamperproof, it would eventually allow transportation workers to be positively identified by a fingerprint in less than half a second." Earlier government papers describe the program as a prototype for a mandatory identification and personal tracking system covering the entire traveling public.

It will take up to 20 months, beginning in March, for the TWIC system to be fully operational nationally. Some 750,000 longshoremen, truckers and other port workers will have to submit to an immigration status review and extensive criminal background checks. Any felony conviction in the last seven years for a range of offenses, from fraud to unlawful gun possession and drug possession with intent to distribute, could mean the end of a worker's livelihood.

A particular target of the "security" crackdown is the large number of non-union port truckers and, on the Gulf Coast, day laborers on the docks who are immigrants. In a nationally televised spectacle reminiscent of the highway chase of O. J. Simpson in 1994, on January 7 federal, state and local police agencies converged on the Port of Miami, where an Iraqi-born port trucker who was just trying to do his job was harassed at a terminal gate. His vehicle was then pursued before he was arrested with two others of Near Eastern descent.

Unionizing the port truckers is crucial to the defense of immigrant workers and to the very survival of the (West Coast) International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and all port unions. But this requires fighting against the chauvinist policies of the labor tops. For example, the ILWU leadership has encouraged the government to screen truckers more vigorously at terminal gates—an invitation for greater repression against all waterfront workers.

WV Photo

Oakland: February 2002 labor-centered protest initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League against "war on terror" repression and anti-immigrant crackdown.

For labor to prevail against the anti-union onslaught, it must mobilize its power in defense of all workers—union and non-union, black and white, "legal" and undocumented immigrants. At a speech in Chicago in October, DHS Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) chief Julie Myers openly threatened unions with a heavily immigrant membership. According to the *Nation* Web site (3 January), Myers blurted out that the government needed to examine unions that crossed the line between "charitable assistance and the unlawful employment of aliens." By pushing through TWIC in maritime, the government is trying to set up a waterfront version of the massive anti-immigrant dragnet directed against airport workers—"Operation Tarmac"—that resulted in the firing of many hundreds of workers and the arrest of 1,058 on immigration-related charges between 2002 and 2004.

As part of an escalation of government attacks following the mass protests for immigrant rights last spring, the DHS has cranked up pressure on employers to fire workers whose Social Security numbers do not match government records. In a December 12 raid at six Swift & Co. meatpacking plants, armed ICE agents stormed the plants and hauled off 1,282 workers in groups shackled together. In Greeley, Colorado, the agents faced a furious protest by arrested Swift workers' families. Most of the workers are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. The display of force by the state was meant to intimidate immigrants and trade unionists who would fight for their rights.

Immigrant workers, including the undocumented, are an integral and increasingly important component of the U.S. working class as well as a living link to workers in their countries of origin. When 90 percent of Los Angeles-area port truckers stayed away from the job last May Day as part of nationwide protests and work actions, the ports there were severely congested for a week. Anyone who has made it into the U.S. should have the same rights as those born here. The labor movement must fight against deportations and demand: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Black, Immigrant Rights!

Far from mobilizing labor's power against the anti-union security crackdown, the pro-capitalist union tops have themselves signed on to the "war on terror." Some, like the Teamsters leadership, scold the government for not implementing TWIC fast enough. The ILWU bureaucracy has opposed background checks of its members but at the same time appeals for fair play from the bosses and their government, asking that they only act on "legitimate anti-terrorist concerns" (ILWU *Dispatcher*, May 2006). Last February, the ILWU, ILA and Teamsters bureaucracies joined with Democratic Party politicians in a frenzy over the proposed takeover of some terminal operations at six U.S. ports by Arab-owned Dubai Ports World. Such "America first" chauvinism is part and parcel of the union tops' activity as the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class.

The fight for the rights of workers, immigrants and black people will either go forward together—independent from and opposed to the capitalist class and its government—or fall back separately. This understanding was key to a 9 February 2002 united-front rally in Oakland, initiated by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee, in opposition to the USA Patriot Act, Maritime Security Act and anti-immigrant witchhunt. The protest included a core of black ILWU members for whom this action was a conscious break with the widespread sentiment whipped up by the bosses and racist demagogues that immigrant workers and black workers are competitors. The point must be to unite the entire working class in struggle against the capitalist enemy. The Oakland rally was a small but real step in breaking through the lie that workers and their exploiters have a common "national interest."

The current "security" crackdown underlines the need for a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in the U.S., to break from the Democrats and build a class-struggle leadership, one that champions the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. The working class needs its own party to fight for a workers government. Those who labor must rule! ■

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

Islamic forces fleeing Ethiopian troops who had acted as American proxies—and in the service of Ethiopian interests—in unseating the Islamic Courts regime in Mogadishu. According to the British Oxfam group, some 70 nomadic herdsmen were killed in air strikes by both Ethiopia and the U.S. A small contingent of American troops was also sent into Somalia, supposedly to check on who was killed in the air strikes. This was the first known time that U.S. troops have entered the country since Somali militiamen shot down two Black Hawk helicopters and killed 18 soldiers, prompting the U.S. withdrawal in 1994. *U.S. stay out of Somalia!*

Reform or Revolution

Opponents of imperialist depredations must understand that there can be no real struggle against imperialist war without a struggle against the capitalist system that foments such wars. Mass slaughter is the concentrated expression and ultimate logic of capitalism, a system that daily condemns countless numbers around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial murder. In the U.S., the attacks on working peoples' living conditions, the swelling black and Latino prison population, the rotting social infrastructure—all these are expressions of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system. The rulers' horrendous murder-by-abandonment of black people and the poor in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina signified that in the interests of the masses of this society, the capitalist profit system must go.

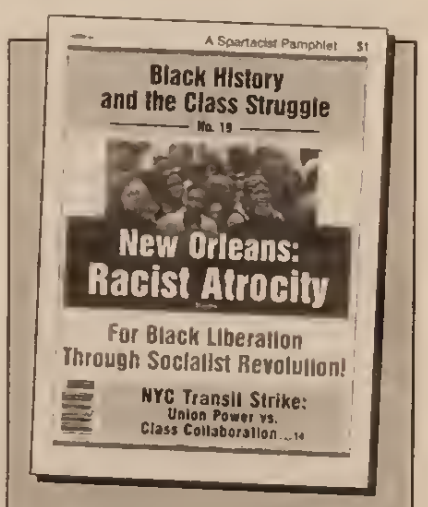
What is necessary is the forging of a revolutionary workers party that fights to overthrow the capitalist system through socialist revolution. Such a party can be built only through politically combatting those who retard the political consciousness of the working masses by preaching that this system can be reformed to serve their interests. Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930) described "the boundary that separates Marxism from opportunism, the revolutionary from the pacifist position": "*The struggle against war is decided not by pressure upon the government but only by the revolutionary struggle for power.*"

In the lead-up to and during the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, we raised the calls: "Defend Iraq against U.S./British Imperialist Attack!" and "For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers!" We took a side militarily with semicolonial Iraq against the imperialist invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime. We stated that the foremost means to defend Iraq was not on the military plane, given the colossal American military advantage, but through class struggle, particularly in the U.S. As we predicted, the initial war led to easy victory, while the subsequent occupation has become an intractable mess for U.S. imperialism. Our revolutionary perspective requires fighting against the policies of the pro-capitalist labor misleaders who chain the proletariat to its capitalist class enemy, not least through their support to U.S. "national interests."

Today we continue to defend the peoples of Iraq against any U.S.-led attack and repression. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupiers is a blow against the enemy of workers and the oppressed. At the same time, we are vehement political opponents of the Islamic fundamentalists, remnants of the Ba'ath regime and other forces carrying out sectarian carnage.

The day after Bush's "surge" announcement, the liberal-reformist left responded with protests around the country aimed at egging on the Democrats to resist the escalation. A chant raised at a rally in New York City's Times Square said it all: "Stop the killing! Stop the war! What the hell is Congress for?" National antiwar demonstrations are planned for January 27 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco. Whether organized by United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), ANSWER, World Can't Wait (WCW) or the Troops Out Now Coalition (TONC), the program of these mobilizations offers nothing but the lie that capitalist imperialism can be made to be peaceful and to serve the needs of the masses.

These coalitions and the reformist left groups that have built them—the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Workers World Party (WWP), the Party for Socialism and Liberation, the Revolu-



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NYC...

(continued from page 12)

an instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class, the capitalists, over the working class. It is the cops' job to enforce the conditions that make life in this society a nightmare for the black masses: huge rates of unemployment, decrepit public housing and schools, hospital closings, mass incarceration of youth. As a New York Spartacist League leaflet distributed on December 16 and at other protests stated: "The hard truth is that the only way to eliminate police brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the 'gang in blue uniforms' is the front line of defense" (see "50 Rounds: NYPD Killers," *WV* No. 882, 8 December 2006).

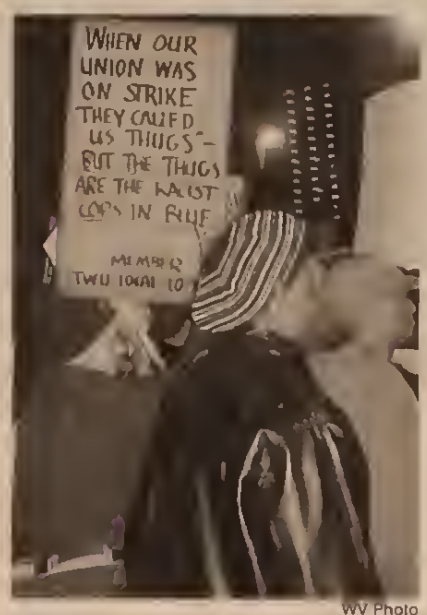
The stated intent of the Fifth Avenue march was to call to "shop for justice"—a meaningless consumer boycott of ritzy stores. The real purpose of the march organizers was to dissipate anger by pushing "reform" schemes intended to clean up the cops' bloody image and thereby preserve the authority of capitalist "law and order."

The march leaders raised a laundry list of proposals, the likes of which have been repeatedly raised in the past, including after Amadou Diallo was killed by the NYPD in a hail of 41 bullets in 1999: more "cultural sensitivity" training, strengthening the Civilian Complaint Review Board, more women and minority cops. The city has had some form of civilian complaint process since 1953, proof enough that civilian review boards serve only to whitewash the cops while providing the illusion of accountability. As for more minority police, the vice squad that gunned down Sean Bell was already a "rainbow coalition" of black, white and Latino cops. March organizers also called for the U.S. Justice Department, which oversees the entire racist "justice" system, to issue annual reports on police misconduct and demanded better salaries and benefits for the cops!

Anger over cop terror does need an organized expression—one that can weld the anger of the inner city with the social power of the multiracial working class. New York City got a taste of that power in December 2005, when subway and bus workers in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 struck for three days in defiance of the state Taylor Law, which bans public workers strikes, and crippled the finance capital of the U.S. A labor-centered protest against police terror would give the cops pause. More importantly, it would serve to imbue the working class with the understanding that its interests are inseparably linked to the fight for black freedom, which requires the overthrow of the capitalist system through proletarian revolution.

At a Partisan Defense Committee fundraiser for class-war prisoners held the day after the Fifth Avenue protest, Tom Cowperthwaite, a spokesman for the Labor Black League for Social Defense and a member of TWU Local 100, pointed out: "A lot of New Yorkers know that what happened to Sean Bell and Timur Person could happen to any one of them. They've been to plenty of marches like the one yesterday. Many realize that ***union protest*** and ***strike action*** by unions like TWU Local 100, the Teamsters, ATU [transit workers], DC 37 [city workers], 32-BJ [building service workers] and 1199SEIU [health care workers] would pack more punch than any such pro-Democratic Party rallies." Sean Bell's mother is herself an SEIU member and his father is a retired Local 100 member.

Cowperthwaite held up a sign he carried that was warmly received by marchers: "When Our Union Was on Strike They Called Us 'Thugs'—But the Thugs Are the Racist Cops in Blue." He said, "It's going to take political struggle within the unions to forge a class-struggle leadership that will break with the Democrats and all capitalist parties, that will defy strikebreaking laws like the Taylor Law, that will link the power of labor to the just rage and aspirations of the ghettos and barrios."



WV Photo

December 6 NYC protest against Sean Bell killing.

Opposing a class-struggle perspective, the reformist left has offered its own schemes to clean up the cops while prostrating itself before Democratic Party pols. Along with the black nationalist December 12th Movement, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) calls for firing Police Commissioner Ray Kelly. Perhaps the ISO would prefer Harold Hurtt, Houston's black police chief, who has singled out destitute Katrina evacuees as responsible for a rise in crime in his city. With sheer cynicism, the ISO admits that swapping chiefs will do nothing but says you have to call for this anyway as a "first punch," just as "firing Rumsfeld didn't end the occupation of Iraq, but it was an important victory for the antiwar movement" (*Socialist Worker* online, 5 January). No doubt the ISO and other reformists, whose "antiwar movement" was based on appealing to Bush's Democratic Party opponents, took heart in Rumsfeld's departure. But they should try selling this line to the peoples of Iraq, who now face an escalation of the murderous U.S. occupation under his successor.

At the Fifth Avenue march, the Workers World Party (WWP) carried signs calling to "Disarm the Police." The WWP pushes the ludicrous notion that under sufficient popular pressure, the capitalists can be induced to disarm the guardians of their system of exploitation and oppression. In the protests over Sean Bell's killing, the WWP has promoted Brooklyn city councilman Charles Barron, whose occasional radical rhetoric and past membership in the Black Panther Party gives him more "street cred" than currently possessed by Al Sharpton, a former WWP favorite who wore a wire for the Feds in the 1980s.

The WWP calls Barron a "Black revolutionary and anti-imperialist fighter" (*Workers World* online, 14 August 2006). In fact, he is a capitalist Democratic Party politician, one of several who flanked billionaire Republican mayor Bloomberg when he appealed for "dialogue" after Bell's killing. Barron says, "If we don't get an indictment, there is going to be an explosion!" (WNYC News, 22 December 2006). His role is to get ahead of any such explosion in order to ***contain*** it. In the latest effort in that regard, Barron and the December 12th Movement are organizing a protest march to the United Nations, portraying that den of imperialist thieves and their victims as a vehicle for justice.

Providing a veneer of Marxist orthodoxy, the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), a WWP split product, notes the historical role of the police as protectors of private property in class society in a *Socialism & Liberation* (January 2007) article titled "Police Brutality, Cops and Capitalism." The PSL writes, "As long as this society is built on racism and exploitation, cops will do their job of repressing and terrorizing us, especially in the most oppressed communities. No reform is going to change that basic mission." But this statement of fact is just window-dressing for the PSL's utterly reformist program, which centers on the fatuous demand for "community control" of the police.

Under the rubric of the "self-organization of the oppressed communities against police occupation," the PSL calls for committees to "monitor every police action" whose "recommendations should be enforced." Socialist Alternative (SAlt), which is affiliated to the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), similarly calls for "independent, elected labor-community bodies to investigate charges of police abuse and review police activities with powers to meaningfully punish misconduct."

These reformists promote the dangerous illusion that the capitalist rulers can be compelled to cede control of the police to the exploited and oppressed masses—the very people the cops are paid to repress. Their "community control" rhetoric obscures the ***class divide*** in this society and serves to reinforce the ties of the oppressed masses to Sharpton, Barron & Co., who act as overseers in the ghettos for the racist capitalist rulers. Trampling on the class line, SAlt/CWI even embrace the cops as "workers in uniform." The racist, strikebreaking cops are the guard dogs of the class enemy. We say: cops, prison, security guards, out of the labor movement!

Serving to divert the outrage of black youth over cop terror, the separatist New Black Panther Party (NBPP) calls for boycotting "nonblack businesses." It also demands that liquor stores and strip clubs be shut down—a call to "clean up" the ghetto for the capitalists and their racist cops. The NBPP's reactionary garbage, which pits black people against Arabs, Asians, Jews and others, is poison to the cause of multiracial class struggle. The organization's very name is a fraud. The original Black Panther Party, a nationalist group that emerged in the 1960s by organizing black self-defense against police terror, at least saw itself as fighting for social revolution, although it rejected mobilizing the integrated working class to sweep away the capitalist system. Thirty-eight Panthers were killed by the police and FBI in the government's drive to destroy the organization (see "Class Struggle and the Fight for Black Liberation," *WV* No. 870, 12 May 2006).

The fight for justice for the countless victims of cop terror demands the independent mobilization of the working class and the oppressed against the Democratic and Republican parties of capital. Integral to that task is combatting the illusions in American democracy—the political shell for the dictatorship of the U.S. capitalist class over the working class and the poor—that are reinforced by reformist "leftists." As Marxists, we fight to forge the revolutionary workers party that is essential to leading the multiracial proletariat in the overturn of the murderous capitalist system. Nothing short of a socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist state machinery and replaces it with a workers state—where those who labor rule—can disarm the killer cops and open the road to black liberation. ■

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tionary Communist Party (RCP)—have all along sought to build an "antiwar movement" premised on pleading with the imperialist rulers to stop acting like imperialists. Countering such liberal-pacifist nonsense, a resolution adopted during World War I, an interimperialist war, by a conference of exiled Russian revolutionary Marxists in Switzerland that included Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained:

> "Pacifism, the preaching of peace in the abstract, is one of the means of duping the working class. Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable....
>
> "The propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralise the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane."
>
> —"The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P Groups Abroad," February 1915

None of the reformist left groups that presented themselves as the best builders of the antiwar movement came out for the military defense of Iraq during the 2003 war; their aim was not to mobilize the working class on the side of the Iraqi people and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Now the reformists seek to revive the "antiwar movement" that went splat when its purpose was better served by working for a Democratic Party victory in the midterm elections. Debra Sweet, national director of the RCP's World Can't Wait, explicitly laid out the politics of the "antiwar movement." Speaking of the new Democratic majority in Congress, she said: "We'll give them a couple of months or a few weeks to see what they come up with, but if they don't do something very decisive around the war and these other issues, I think there will be trouble" (*Washington Post*, 3 January).

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

The reformist left's entire opposition activity consists of working within the framework of the capitalist order, which leads them to grotesquely embellish the fraud of bourgeois democracy. Workers World's TONC is calling for a protest in D.C. on March 17 where at the end of the day, "instead of getting back on our buses and heading home we must be prepared to stay in Washington to make sure that Congress votes no." Along the same lines, the ISO opines in *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2006): "The long dormant antiwar movement must take to the streets to remind this country's ruling elite that they ultimately must answer to the people they govern." The reality obscured by these reformists is that the "ruling elite" —i.e., the capitalists—have armed forces, cops, courts and prisons to defend their profits and rule, over which they throw a "democratic" veil in order to hide their class dictatorship.

As the other party of war and racism, the Democrats aim to redirect U.S. imperialism's energies to better serve the rulers' interests. Their "first 100 hours" in Congress were carefully calibrated to institute a more effective "war on terror." As the *Washington Post* (3 January) put it: "Nowhere in the Democrats' consensus-driven agenda is legislation revisiting last year's establishment of military tribunals and suspending legal rights for suspected terrorists. Nor is there a revision of the civil liberties provisions of the USA Patriot Act, a measure curbing warrantless wiretapping by the National Security Agency or an aggressive confrontation of the president on his Iraq war policies." New House legislation, based on recommendations of the bipartisan 9/11 Commission, ramps up "security" measures on the home front. Meanwhile, the Democrats trumpet their pitiful increase in the minimum wage that keeps impoverished workers impoverished. The Democrats' agenda: Money for war and "homeland security" repression, and peanuts for the poor.

As revolutionary Marxists, we see the problems encountered by U.S. imperialism as an opportunity to promote struggle by the multiracial American proletariat against the capitalist rulers at home. It is the road of class struggle that points the way toward smashing imperialism from within, through socialist revolution. If there is to be a future for coming generations of working-class and minority youth other than one of grinding exploitation, joblessness, mass imprisonment or use as cannon fodder, if the impoverished masses of the world are to have a future other than starvation and slaughter, this whole system must be torn up by its roots and replaced by a rational, planned economy under workers rule internationally. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black, Immigrant Rights Go Hand in Hand

Protest "War on Terror" Firing of Rail Workers!

JANUARY 15—Some 70 mostly black employees of H&M International Transportation at Union Pacific and CSX rail yards in Chicago were fired in late 2006 after the company invoked supposed Department of Homeland Security (DHS) guidelines barring ex-felons from holding such jobs. In recent background checks, the workers, many of whom are members of Teamsters locals 705 or 710, had disclosed nonviolent felony convictions on their records, just as they had done when they were first hired. A lawyer for some of the fired workers said at a protest today that she has received calls from bus and airport workers across the country who have been fired for similar reasons.

Chicago

The Partisan Defense Committee has protested the firings to the rail companies and wrote today in a letter to the Teamsters: "The government has made it clear that the firing of these 70 railroad workers under the pretext of Homeland Security is just the beginning. All labor must mobilize to defend the Chicago Teamster railroad workers, and protest this attack that threatens us all." The Spartacist League warned immediately following the September 11 terrorist attacks that the repression directed first against mainly Muslim immigrants would be wielded against black people, the labor movement and the population as a whole. Now, in the name of the "war on terror," the government is particularly targeting black workers.

WV Photo

Twelve of the fired H&M International Transportation rail workers at Chicago PUSH headquarters, December 23.

Notably, the felonies cited were largely for possession of drugs or unlicensed guns. We have always opposed the racist "war on drugs," which has criminalized generations of minorities. We defend the right to bear arms. We also call for the decriminalization of drugs as part of our opposition to all so-called "crimes without victims." Gun control and laws against drug possession bolster the repressive powers of the capitalist state, particularly against minorities and working people. The capitalists' repressive apparatus has been massively enhanced through the "war on terror." Thus, while transportation bosses have for years used drug testing to weed out union militants and intimidate the workforce, now they are also using the "anti-terror" witchhunt to that end.

The "war on terror," supported by both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, has served as a pretext for imperialist rampages in Afghanistan and Iraq and for a wide-ranging assault on democratic rights at home. Under the same rubric, capitalist governments the world over have carried out their own assaults on working people and immigrants. In the British government's crackdown on "terror suspects" following the criminal 2005 bombings of the London subway and bus systems, Jean Charles de Menezes, an electrician from Brazil who had nothing to do with the attacks, was executed by police on the subway with seven shots to the head.

In racist America, background checks threaten further devastation for unionized black workers, who were hit especially hard by the deindustrialization of the Northeast and Midwest beginning in the 1970s. The loss of jobs in steel, auto and other industries was accompanied by the skyrocketing incarceration of young black (and Latino) men, mainly as a result of the "war on drugs." At current rates, as many as one in three black men in the U.S. will be imprisoned at least once. Background checks give the same government that is responsible for this onslaught on the black masses the final say on who works and who doesn't. This is a real, present danger to the black transit and longshore workers who make up a significant percentage of those unions' membership.

Democrats Push "Security" Crackdown

A January 2 protest of some 150 people that demanded the rehiring of the

continued on page 10

NYC: Outrage Over Racist Cop Shootings

Stanley Rogouski

December 16: Tens of thousands thronged Manhattan streets in outrage over NYPD killing of Sean Bell.

New York City continues to seethe over the NYPD killing of Sean Bell, a young black man from Queens who was gunned down outside his bachelor's party on November 25. Tens of thousands of protesters, overwhelmingly black working people and youth, filled 20 blocks of Manhattan's Fifth Avenue on December 16 in a march organized by Al Sharpton and other Democratic Party politicians as well as labor officials. It was billed as a silent protest. But the crowd repeatedly burst into chants counting off: "One, two, three..." up to 50—the number of rounds that an undercover squad fired at Bell and his companions, Trent Benefield and Joseph Guzman.

Protesters were furious that police marauded through Queens following Bell's killing and smashed into homes under the guise of looking for a mythical "fourth man" with a gun—an attempt to cover the cops' bloody tracks by making criminals out of their victims. In the three weeks after Sean Bell's death, the NYPD shot five more men, killing two: black teenager Timur Person and Anatoly Dmitriev, a 62-year-old Russian immigrant shot down only hours after the Fifth Avenue march ended. On January 7, 38-year-old black Brooklyn resident Blondel Lassegue died after police shocked him with a high-voltage Taser gun.

Anger over police violence has been spreading throughout the U.S. This was seen in Houston after police in November pulled over a car driven by a black professional football player, Texans' lineman Fred Weary, and knocked him to the ground with a Taser jolt...for changing lanes without signaling! In New Orleans, seven cops face murder or attempted murder charges for killing two people and wounding four others attempting to flee the ravages of Hurricane Katrina.

The daily humiliations and raw racist terror meted out by the police is integral to the systematic oppression of black people that is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. The cops, courts, prisons and armed forces make up the core of the capitalist state,

continued on page 11

Beware Police "Reform" Schemes—For Labor Protest Against Cop Terror!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 885 | C-701 | 2 February 2007

For Unconditional Military Defense of China!

Imperialists Stung by Chinese Weapons Test

On January 11, a Chinese missile smashed to bits an aging Chinese weather satellite more than 500 miles above the country's Xichang space facility. The exercise marked a significant advance in the ability of the Chinese deformed workers state to defend itself against a nuclear first strike by U.S. imperialism. The threat of such an attack has grown with Washington's plans to deploy a "missile defense system" in the Asian Pacific, which would rely on satellite technology.

The U.S., British and Japanese governments raised a hue and cry over the successful test. With consummate chutzpah, a spokesman for Bush's National Security Council intoned: "China's development and testing of such weapons is inconsistent with the spirit of cooperation that both countries aspire to in the civil space area." The U.S. rulers' overwhelming military might, far exceeding that of their imperialist rivals, not to mention China, includes extensive militarization of space. In October, the administration released a new "National Space Policy" (signed by Bush two months earlier) declaring Washington's unilateral right to "deny, if necessary, adversaries the use of space capabilities hostile to U.S. national interests." In fact, this policy is principally aimed at preventing China from developing anti-satellite weapons.

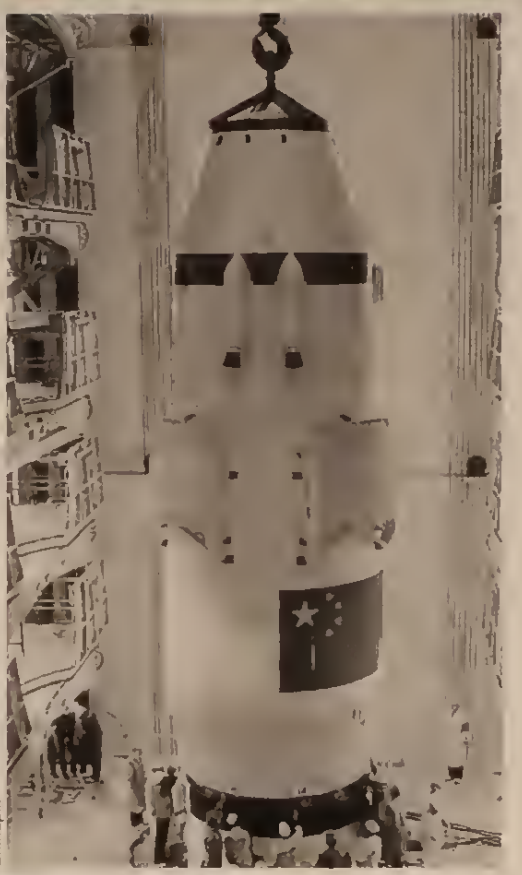
Behind the imperialist hype about mythical Chinese "aggression" lies a genuine military problem. The U.S. war machine has become heavily reliant on a vast network of satellites for intelligence, communications, navigation and weapons targeting. The U.S. owns or operates more than half of the 845 currently active commercial and military satellites in orbit. Dozens operate in low orbits similar to that of the destroyed Chinese Fengyun 1C satellite. According to *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (21 January), which broke the story of the anti-satellite test, the Chinese military can now "credibly threaten imaging reconnaissance and other satellites operated by the U.S., Japan, Russia, Israel and Europe." Moreover, according to a U.S. official, China recently "painted" U.S. satellites with a ground-based laser, a potentially disabling capability. At considerably higher orbits are the Pentagon's vital network of Global Positioning System satellites and other spacecraft.

The International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League/U.S. is a section, stands for the unconditional military defense of China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We support China and North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them as essential to the defense of those workers states. The Chinese nuclear force, on the order of 200 warheads with an estimated 20 deployed ICBMs capable of reaching the U.S., acts as a deterrent against the U.S. mass murderers who reduced Nagasaki and Hiroshima to irradiated rubble in 1945.

China has been a target of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, currently consisting of some 10,000 warheads, since the Korean War. For decades, the Soviet Union's nuclear force forestalled the imperialists from unleashing their deadly nukes. Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, Washington has shifted much of its strategic forces to target China, the most powerful of the remaining countries in which capitalism has been overthrown. The Pentagon's space forces are designed to ensure its first-strike capability by suppressing any counterstrike.

It is notable that the recent Chinese and North Korean weapons tests were carried out with the U.S. bogged down in its murderous occupation of Iraq. Indeed, the Democratic Party's principal objection to Bush's Iraq policy is that it diverts resources away from more strategically important targets like China.

At the same time, the U.S. has pursued the encirclement of China under cover of fighting "terrorism." Treacherously, Beijing has embraced the imperialists' "war on terror" in the interest of its economic relationship with the U.S. The U.S. now has military installations in Central Asia on China's western flank and has enhanced its military presence in the Philippines. The Bush administration last year sealed a nuclear pact with India and in 2005 resumed open military relations with Indonesia. In Australia, long instrumental as a junior imperialist partner to the Pentagon's global operations, huge U.S. bases are under construction at Bradshaw and Yampi Sound.



Chinapix

DPA

China's technological development is crucial for its military defense. Right: Shenzhou spaceship, part of manned space program. Below: Army parade in Tiananmen Square.

China in Imperialists' Cross Hairs

The 1949 Chinese Revolution overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and ripped

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WV Map

U.S. amphibious assault ship, part of American-led naval exercise near Hawaii, July 2006. U.S. military expansion in Pacific region threatens China.

U.S. Navy

On Military vs. Political Support

25 Novemher 2006

We read a lot in the pages of WV about supporting groups "militarily hut not politically." If military action is just the continuation of politics, as Mao used to say, how can such a separation be made, except in one's own mind? I do not feel comfortable supporting the Shia'te militias even if their actions help defeat the US imperialists. I am not interested in restoring the veil!

This separation into "military" and "political" is what we call, in general semantics, "elementalism" and the practical consequence of it is to distort reality.viz. into a false picture. The jihadists are not going to thank us for our support—they are going to kill us, if they can, and Kim Jung Il will throw us into prison. Pretty selfless of us, don't you think, to support all these people who want to do us harm? Jesus would be proud!

Comradely,
C.O.

WV replies:

C.O.'s letter, at bottom, embraces "democratic" imperialism as superior to those states where capitalism has been overthrown, in this case the deformed workers state of North Korea under Kim Jong Il. Our unconditional military defense of the North Korean workers state is nothing other, nothing less than the duty of Trotskyists to defend the conquests of the proletariat internationally against imperialism, as is our call for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist hureaucratic castes sitting atop such states which undermine their defense.

Pointing to the hureaucratic Stalinist regimes and the proletariat's lack of *political* power in these states, which nonetheless rest on proletarian property forms, as a pretext to renege on *military* defense of these states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution is nothing new in the history of the workers movement. Nor is that fact that those who adopt such a position inevitably find themselves, as C.O. does, taking a "third camp" position that objectively puts them in a bloc with their "own" hourgeoisie.

Thus, C.O. expresses "discomfort" over our forthright and elementary military defense of those forces fighting the U.S. occupiers in Iraq, a neocolonial capitalist country. While giving no political support to such forces and making clear our vehement opposition to the communalist, sectarian slaughter taking place on all sides, we also tell the truth: this slaughter was in fact ***unleashed and exacerbated by the U.S. invasion and occapation***. Our staunch opposition to U.S. imperialism's bloody occupation of Iraq requires military defense of those who land blows against the occupiers.

The distinction between political and military support is not, in fact, a difficult concept to grasp if one begins by drawing the *class line*. Take the example of a strike led hy a pro-capitalist, bureaucratic union leadership. Obviously, revolutionaries (not to mention class-conscious workers) support the strike despite political opposition to the union leadership. This becomes *very* concrete on the picket line.

C.O.'s semantic gymnastics cannot obscure the simple fact that C.O. is huying into the retrograde consciousness that we confront today in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. A tip off: C.O. omits the fact that it was the imperialists who supported and indeed fueled the growth of Islamic fundamentalism—veil, bride price and all—as an anti-Communist hulwark during Cold War II This was particularly acute in Afghanistan in the 1980s, where the CIA-backed *mujahedin* were armed to the teeth against the intervention by the Soviet armed forces. Such an omission, along with C.O.'s writing off of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states, makes clear that C.O. is imhibing of and emhellishing the "democratic" credentials of imperialism. Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman would be proud! ■

Letters Policy

Workers Vanguard welcomes letters from our readers. Opinions expressed in letters do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the *WV* Editorial Board. We reserve the right to respond to letters either at the time of publication or at a later point. In order to facilitate the printing of letters, which we do not edit, please keep them to 500 words or less. Letters can be sent to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 or e-mailed to vanguard@tiac.net.

CORRECTION

In "Free Jamal Hart!" (*WV* No. 884, 19 January), we wrote that Hart had "already been locked up for eight years," framed up in retaliation for his prominent activism to free his father, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. While Hart was sentenced in 1998, he was in fact initially arrested by Philadelphia police in October 1996 and then released without hail. When he appeared for his trial on 30 January 1997, he was dragged off to jail by federal marshals and has been imprisoned ever since. He is now beginning his eleventh year of incarceration.

TROTSKY

Germany: "Democratic" Imperialism and the Lie of Collective Guilt

In the wake of World War II, the Fourth International denounced the lie propounded by the capitalist "democracies," as well as by the Social Democrats and Stalinists, that the German proletariat and the German people as a whole were guilty of the monstrous crimes of Hitlerite fascism. Expressing their solidarity with the working people of ravaged Germany, the Trotskyists reasserted the necessity to sweep away the barbaric capitalist world order through proletarian revolution.

LENIN

Truth demands that we tell the world proletariat Hitler-fascism was not a pure "German" phenomenon, but the most violent dictatorship of German monopoly capitalism against the German working people.... The guilt of international capitalism in supporting Hitler-fascism is only underlined in retrospect when it plasters the label of "guilty" on the German people in order to squeeze billions in reparations out of them.

Truth further demands that we note the Second World War broke out when Hitler attempted in the interests of German monopoly capitalism to secure a world redivision of markets and spheres of influence. If Hitler, representing belated German imperialism on the world market, appears as the aggressor, the other imperialists cannot thereby be labelled peace-loving democrats, since they simply defended imperialist robberies made at an earlier stage....

We International Communists therefore denounce as the main culprit above all the capitalist system which creates war and fascism. We say to the German proletariat and all other workers that the fall of Hitler-fascism has not assured world peace. Peace can be secured only through the struggle for socialism and the Socialist United States of the World....

In the final analysis the victorious imperialists, as well as the defeated Hitler-fascists and the now hypocritically democratic German bourgeoisie all find their main enemy to he the proletarian revolution. The treatment of the German people on the principle of collective-guilt provides the fascists precisely with new possibilities to fish in the murky waters of nationalism. The danger is all the greater since if the German people are collectively guilty,then the Nazis who are the real guilty ones can logically hope to escape punishment.

We warn the German proletariat not to trust this bourgeoisie which now declares itself to be democratic. These new "anti-fascists" in reality are the same capitalist cliques who are already utilizing their connections with the international trusts to reorganize their class front against the German proletariat, and who want to make a pact with the foreign imperialists to load German reparations on the hacks of the German people.

—"International Solidarity With the German Proletariat,"
Fourth International (January 1946)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist Black History Month Forums

We Will Not Forget Sean Bell!
For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

The Fight for Black Freedom Through Socialist Revolution

With an Update on the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, February 17, 4:30 p.m.
322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor
(between 8th and 9th Ave., take A, C or E to 42nd St.)
NEW YORK CITY
For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

Against Capitalists' Divide-and-Rule!

The Fight for Immigrant Rights and Black Liberation

Saturday, February 24, 5 p.m.
University of Chicago, Reynolds Club
5706 South University Ave.
CHICAGO
For more information: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Down With the Racist Purge of the Universities!

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, February 24, 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church*
3300 Wilshire Boulevard
(2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

BAY AREA
Sunday, February 25, 2 p.m.
UC Berkeley
213 Wheeler
(near downtown Berkeley BART station)
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church

"Anti-Terror" Show Trial

Defend Muhammad Salah, Abdelhaleem Ashqar!

CHICAGO, January 27—A jury is meeting to decide the verdict in the case of two men tried on trumped-up "racketeering" conspiracy charges of providing support to the Palestinian Islamic fundamentalist outfit Hamas. Muhammad Hamid Khalil Salah, a 53-year-old Palestinian-born U.S. citizen and a businessman in the Chicago suburb of Bridgeview, and Abdelhaleem Hasan Abdelraziq Ashqar, a 48-year-old Virginia resident and former Howard University professor, face up to 30 years in prison. A third man in the alleged conspiracy, Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, is currently in Syria. This latest "anti-terror" show trial, which began in mid October, rested on "confessions" Salah signed nearly 14 years ago in an Israeli interrogation center after weeks of torture. We say: ***Drop the charges!***

The prosecution's key witnesses were two of Salah's "interrogators" from Israel's Shin Bet secret police, who testified in disguise and under aliases, and Judith Miller, the former *New York Times* reporter who played a central role in retailing the Bush administration's lies about Iraq possessing "weapons of mass destruction" that served as a pretext for U.S. imperialism's murderous war and occupation. In 1993, Salah supposedly confessed to secretly acting as a major fundraiser for Hamas' military operations while working at a used car dealership and doing Muslim charity work in the Chicago area.

Salah was imprisoned for nearly five years in Israel. When he came home to the U.S. in 1997, the Clinton administration froze his assets on the grounds that he was an admitted terrorist. In 2000, he and others accused of being supporters of Hamas were sued by the family of an American student who was shot and killed in the West Bank in 1996, an act for which Hamas took responsibility. In 2004, after the Bush administration launched a slew of legal attacks on Muslim charities, the Feds threw the outrageous racketeering charges against Salah and Ashqar, the latter accused of opening bank accounts for Hamas and linking phone calls between Hamas members.

AP

July 2005: *NY Times* reporter Judith Miller, mouthpiece for Bush war lies, at D.C. courthouse before being sent to jail on contempt charge.

The trial reveals how the Feds use "racketeering" conspiracy laws to prosecute anyone on whom they cannot otherwise pin criminal activity. The charges include that Salah "obstructed justice" when, during the 2000 lawsuit, he denied

AP

Muhammad Salah greets family after release from jail in September 2004.

under oath ever being a Hamas supporter, contradicting the statements extracted by Shin Bet. Ashqar's "conspiratorial" activities consist of his refusing to testify in grand jury investigations of Hamas supporters in 1998 and 2003. Shortly before the current trial began, the government dropped its charge that Salah had provided "material support to a terrorist organization" by attempting to recruit people for Hamas who would scout terrorist targets in Israel. But the jury did get to hear of another recruiting effort: a 1996 letter from the CIA to Ashqar seeking his services as an overseas "operations officer"!

In an unsuccessful effort to bar the U.S. government from using the "confessions" as evidence, Salah filed an affidavit that described in chilling detail the "on-going nightmare of unmitigated and unbearable terror, threats, physical and psychological abuse" he faced in the Zionist dungeons. Salah recounted that he had gone to the Occupied Territories in January 1993 to distribute money raised for families of deported Palestinian activists. He was arrested at an Israeli checkpoint. Soldiers threw him in the back of a jeep and drove him around for hours, stomping and kicking him and hitting him in the groin with a rifle butt. After being deposited at the Ramallah interrogation center, Salah was stripped, threatened and forced to stay awake for 48 hours. When he asked for a lawyer, his interrogators laughed and told him he was in a military occupation zone "where no law applies—the only law is what we say."

Salah was chained for hours to a forward-slanted, child-sized chair, causing unbearable back pain. He was then forced into a "dark, freezing, closet-sized cell in which I could not stand upright, sit or lie down.... Most of the time, my head was covered with a filthy, foul-smelling hood reeking of urine, vomit, and other unpleasant substances." This barbaric abuse continued for 53 days. Ultimately Salah signed several statements, including two in Hebrew, a language he does not speak. Salah was then placed among a group of Palestinian prison informants who physically abused him for days, after which he signed yet another "confession" that he was a Hamas operative.

In an attempt to refute Salah's accounts of torture, the prosecution called Judith Miller as its star witness. This is the same Miller who, beginning shortly after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, churned out garbage about nuclear and chemical weapons sites in Iraq; about aluminum tubes intended for production of atomic bombs that were in fact simply rocket components; about Iraq planning to use nerve gas against U.S. troops. Reprising 1950s Cold War-type hysteria, a Miller "exclusive" in the *New York Times* (3 December 2002) was headlined: "C.I.A. Hunts Iraq Tie to Soviet Smallpox." This purveyor of U.S. war lies about Iraq had years earlier been invited by Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, her longtime friend, and Shin Bet to witness Salah's interrogation. The purpose: to plant a story in the *Times* about Hamas and their supposed fundraising cells in the U.S.

Miller included an entire chapter about this incident in her 1996 anti-Islamic screed, *God Has Ninety-Nine Names*. In this book and in her testimony, Miller recounted watching Salah's interrogation via a television monitor, his statements translated by an Israeli-supplied interpreter. She even provided questions for the interrogation. Miller portrayed the whole thing as a friendly chat, with Salah bantering with his jailers about how much sweetener is in his coffee and calmly describing his role in Hamas' international monetary and political structure. Six days later, Miller dutifully printed a story in the *Times*, deviously failing to mention her presence at the interrogation and instead attributing the account to notes provided by the Israelis.

In contrast to the tales of Iraq's WMDs, Israeli torture of Palestinians is well documented, acknowledged by sources as diverse as Amnesty International, rabid Zionist "civil libertarian" Alan Dershowitz, the Israeli Supreme Court and the thousands of prisoners who survived. In 1989 during the first Palestinian *Intifada*, Rabin, then defense minister, ordered the Zionist army to "break the bones" of the Palestinians, including women and children. Miller herself wrote that she initially suspected Salah had been tortured. As Salah's lawyers demonstrated at a hearing last spring, the specific torture techniques he describes have been shown to be standard Shin Bet methods in the 1990s.

Miller made headlines in 2005 when she was jailed for 85 days for refusing to testify and reveal her government sources before a grand jury looking into the outing of CIA agent Valerie Plame, whose husband, Joseph Wilson, had exposed the administration's lie that Saddam Hussein's Iraq tried to import uranium from Niger. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, former assistant to Dick Cheney, currently faces trial on charges of obstructing justice for lying to a grand jury investigating who revealed Plame's identity.

Many liberals and some leftist groups defended Miller on the grounds that her jailing was an attack on the democratic rights of the press. But as we stated in "Judith Miller and Bush Disinformation: Big Lies and Imperialist War" (*WV* No. 856, 14 October 2005), "This is not a case of the press being harassed for exposing government lies—it is, in fact, the polar opposite. The 'confidential source' protected by Miller was not some whistle-blower who needs protection from vindictive government higher-ups, but those selfsame higher-ups, the Bush administration."

Among those who took up Miller's cause was the centrist Internationalist Group (IG). While noting Miller's role as "a conduit for official disinformation," the IG falsely portrayed her jailing as "an ominous attempt to throttle the press" and proclaimed that "class-conscious workers and all defenders of democratic rights should demand that Judith Miller be freed in order to defend their right to know the secrets of the government that oppresses them and the rest of the world" ("Free Judith Miller!" *Internationalist*, Summer 2005). In its solidarity with this shill for the government, the IG turned the question of free speech and the public's right to be informed totally on its head. Miller played the victim *precisely to cover up, not reveal*, government secrets and lies.

Marxists are intransigent defenders of democratic rights. For example, we have publicized the case of anarchist journalist Josh Wolf, who has been imprisoned in San Francisco since September for refusing to turn over unedited protest film footage to the state, which wants to use it to prosecute protesters (see "Free Journalist Josh Wolf!" *WV* No. 882, 8 December 2006). But we view all issues, including questions of democratic rights, from a proletarian class standpoint—the standpoint of the interests of the working class in advancing the fight for socialist revolution. Thus we wrote that Judith Miller's "right to not divulge her sources is decidedly secondary to the need for the fullest possible exposure of the Bush administration's lies, which she duly retailed, that served as the pretext for the colonial war of occupation of Iraq. Such exposure aids in further tearing through the 'national unity' hysteria whipped up after the September 11 terrorist attacks."

Today, Judith Miller spreads her disinformation from the witness stand of a federal courtroom to assist a frame-up that threatens to send Salah and Ashqar to prison for decades. It is in the direct interest of the working people, black people and defenders of democratic rights to defend Salah, Ashqar, Jose Padilla and all victims of "anti-terror" repression. The "war on terror," endorsed by both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, is a formula for imperialist rampages in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere and for a massive growth in the government's repressive powers at home. In the fight against government repression, we look to mobilizing the working class—the only class with both the power and objective interest to sweep away the capitalists' entire murderous state machinery through socialist revolution.■

Anti-China Protectionism: Poison for Workers

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 151 (Winter 2006/2007), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTACIST CANADA

The Canadian capitalists have been looting the working class of this country with a vengeance. Since the early 1990s, the wealth amassed by Canadian banks and corporations has soared, while workers, immigrants, women and the poor have suffered drastic cutbacks in real wages and social services, and homelessness has skyrocketed in all the major cities. Despite occasional upsurges of labour struggle, the trade-union misleaders have capitulated time after time to the bosses' attacks and giveback demands. In Ontario in particular, they have responded to the massive job losses in industry not by using the weapons of class struggle, like strikes, but with Canadian-nationalist protectionism that targets workers abroad—in Japan, Korea and now increasingly in China.

The labour tops' campaign is interlaced with anti-Communist "human rights" rhetoric demanding that the Canadian capitalist rulers take action against China. Their parliamentary allies, the NDP [social-democratic New Democratic Party], took the occasion of Chinese premier Hu Jintao's visit to Canada in September 2005 to demand that then prime minister Paul Martin, whose Liberal minority government the New Democrats were propping up, "drive home Canada's serious concerns with China's record of human rights abuses."

Meanwhile the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) has joined with such openly pro-imperialist organizations as the Falun Dafa religious sect, Canada Tibet Committee and Rights & Democracy, a "non-partisan" outfit set up by the Mulroney Tory government in 1988, to form the Canadian Coalition on Human Rights in China. On Octoher 6, this Coalition issued an open letter to Tory prime minister Stephen Harper criticizing the previous Liberal regime's policy of "quiet diplomacy" with China and urging the Tories to implement a "strengthened approach to the promotion of human rights in China."

Such open anti-China alliances with the racist Canadian state—brutal oppressor of the Native peoples, the Québécois and millions of immigrants, not least from Asia—show the pro-capitalist character of the labour bureaucracy: a thin, privileged layer at the head of the unions whose worldview corresponds to that of the capitalist class, which it seeks to advise on how hest to "conduct business." Today both the NDP and the CLC-backed Coalition are getting what they wanted, as the right-wing Harper government lectures the Chinese regime on "human rights" at every opportunity.

Nationalist protectionism has long been the calling card of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) president Buzz Hargrove, who stridently demands government action against Asian imports. For their part, the leaders of the UNITE HERE garment workers union have joined with the textile bosses in an ongoing campaign to pressure the government to slash imports from China.

We communists are without exception opposed to protectionism in the imperialist countries like the U.S. and Canada. But nor are we partisans of "free trade": we are fully aware that companies which today demand free access to foreign markets do so with the sole purpose of increasing profits. Their mechanism for this is the superexploitation of cheap, largely unorganized labour abroad and often, concomitantly, access to an increased pool of buyers for goods. This "offloading" is not simply corporate policy hut is intrinsic to capitalism.

The unions are the necessary first line of defense against the capitalists' attacks, but promoting national protectionism undermines labour's struggle by poisoning class consciousness and solidarity. Protectionism scapegoats foreign workers for the loss of johs in North America, while building illusions in the benevolence of our "own" national capitalists. What is necessary is internationalist solidarity with workers abroad and a fight to replace the current Canadian-nationalist labour misleaders with a class-struggle leadership.

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

The union tops' calls for protectionist measures are doubly pernicious when directed against China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The fact that capitalist rule was overthrown in China by the 1949 Revolution, leading to the building of a collectivized economy, represents a historic gain for the working class internationally. Despite profound bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese Revolution was of world-historic significance, overthrowing the rule of the imperialist-backed Chinese bourgeoisie and laying the basis for an enormous leap in social progress. A nation that had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. In a country defined by abject peasant backwardness, the revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous status.

Particularly since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S., Canadian and other imperialist powers have had as a central goal the destruction of the Chinese workers state, aiming to restore capitalist rule in order to turn the Chinese mainland into a gigantic sweatshop. They have a two-pronged approach. On the one hand, they aim to undermine the workers state by strengthening internal counterrevolutionary forces, including through capitalist investment. On the other, they are exerting unremitting military pressure against China. The incursions into Afghanistan and elsewhere in Central Asia by the U.S and its allies—including Canada—have significantly tightened the military vise around China. The U.S. has also strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim, placing antiballistic missile systems in the region and signing a joint declaration with Japan in defense of capitalist Taiwan.

Just as workers in Canada and the U.S. must defend their unions against the bosses despite the sellout labour leadership, it is the duty of the international working class to *defend China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.*

The gains of the Chinese Revolution have, however, heen undermined throughout by Stalinist misrule. The bureaucracy that rules in China is not a class but a privileged caste that sits atop the workers state. Following the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and its corollary, "peaceful coexistence," the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime, from Mao Zedong up through today, has conciliated imperialism, not least through selling out revolutions in other countries. Since Mao's death, his successors have embarked on a program of "market reforms" whose impact has been deeply contradictory. While penetration by offshore Chinese and imperialist capital has strengthened internal counterrevolutionary forces, increased trade and investment have also led to a marked increase in development, including through the importation of industrial machinery. (See "China's 'Market Reforms'—A Trotskyist Analysis," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 874 and 875, 4 August [2006] and 1 September [2006], for an extensive treatment of this question.)

Insofar as it offers up low-wage Chinese workers to large imperialist corporations, the Beijing bureaucracy acts as a labour contractor for the international bourgeoisie. The same Stalinist regime conciliates imperialism at the international level hy such acts as voting in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the North Korean deformed workers state's nuclear testing. This is but one example of how CCP rule undermines the system of nationalized property and the defense of the deformed workers state itself. In recent years, Chinese workers and peasants have waged constant battles against the effects of the bureaucracy's "market reforms." A Leninist-Trotskyist party, committed to defending and extending the gains of the 1949 Revolution, must be forged to lead China's powerful working class, at the head of the peasants and urban poor, to sweep away the Stalinist hureaucracy through *proletarinn political revalution*.

The CAW, David Miller and Bombardier

But who are the social-democratic misleaders of the CLC, CAW et al. to howl about the lack of workers' rights in China? For years these lahour fakers have let the bosses get away with sweeping attacks on workers' johs, union rights and benefits. CAW president Hargrove has long raved against Japanese and Korean cars, and now the CAW tops are warning of the "threat" of cheap imports from China. Yet in Ontario alone, tens of thousands of auto workers are employed in non-union plants, including Japanese-owned Honda and Toyota and Canadian-owned parts plants, notahly the union-busting Magna. Hargrove & Co. wage no serious fight to organize these plants. Instead they criminally pit workers in the Japanese-owned factories against the CAW by denouncing the products they make, because they are "foreign"! *Organize the unorganized! The entire auto industry must be unionized!*

The union tops' anti-China protectionism was in full flower this fall over the awarding of a $700 million subway train manufacturing contract for the Toronto Transit Commission. After Montreal-based Bombardier was given thc contract for production at its Thunder Bay, Ontario plant, a furor erupted when Siemens of Germany claimed it could do the work more cheaply, in part by assembling trains in China. While right-wing councillors tried to make political hay against NDP mayor David Miller for awarding the contract to Bombardier as a sole-source supplier, the CAW, which organizes the Thunder Bay plant, went into overdrive to back their friend Miller, thereby pitting Canadian workers against their brothers and sisters in China.

Cynically manipulating workers' fears of losing their jobs, on September 25 the Toronto Labour Council organized a chauvinist "Made in Canada Matters" rally at City Hall before the vote that approved the Bombardier contract. While Miller intoned, "Public money used to buy subway cars made in Canada helps keep jobs and technology in our country," senior CAW official Bob Chernecki called on workers to "oppose politicians who want to ship jobs overseas" (*CONTACT* Newsletter, 29 September [2006]). A few months earlier, TTC chairman and NDP councillor Howard Moscoe railed: "I don't want to build my cars in a communist regime.... I want to make my cars where it benefits Canadian workers" (*Northern Ontario Business*, 5 June [2006]).

The claim that Canadian workers have a common interest with Canadian bosses is a pernicious lie: here, as everywhere, the interests of labour and capital are irreconcilable. What is needed is an internationalist light against the capitalist exploiters, who are manifestly incapahle of providing decent conditions for workers anywhere. Joh losses can be fought by militant class-struggle actions such as plant occupations. Last May, Toronto ATU transit workers gave a taste of lahour's potential power when they struck against management harassment, safety violations and arhitrary shift changes, shutting down North America's third-largest transit system in an "illegal" walkout. NDPers Miller and Moscoe were in the forefront of denouncing this strike and are seeking massive fines against the union.

The unions should fight for demands

Reuters

China Labour Bulletin

Workers at BMW plant in China (left). Women workers at Tianwang Textile Factory struck for nearly seven weeks in 2004 after privatization of their plant.

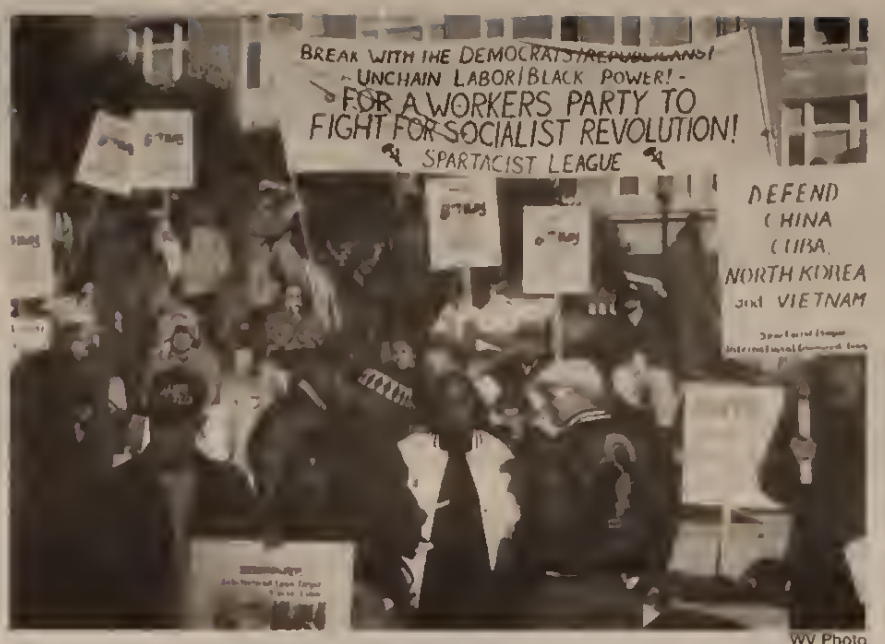
Chinese Test...

(continued from page 1)

the world's most populous country out of the clutches of the imperialist powers that had long held China in their grip. Although deformed from its inception by the rule of a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, the Chinese Revolution laid the basis for collectivizing the economy, resulting in enormous social progress for workers, women and peasants. Smashing the Chinese workers state is a strategic goal for the capitalist powers, who seek to turn China into a vast field for untrammeled exploitation and super-profits. In pursuit of counterrevolution, the imperialists are both increasing their military pressure against China and furthering their economic penetration of the mainland by taking advantage of Beijing's "market reforms."

Defense of the workers states against imperialism is undermined by the rule of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies, whose policies are encapsulated in the dogma of "building socialism in one country." The Stalinists oppose the fight for international proletarian revolution and instead pursue the futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. A glaring case in point is Beijing's treacherous partnership with the U.S., Japan and others in the attempt to disarm North Korea. Following North Korea's successful nuclear test in October, China criminally voted for sanctions against Pyongyang in the UN Security Council.

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy played no small part in the destruction of the Soviet Union, which had been the industrial/military powerhouse of the noncapitalist world. In the wake of a falling-out between Moscow and Beijing that began in the late 1950s, Mao Zedong pursued an alliance with American imperialism against the Soviet Union. This was sealed when Mao met with U.S. Republican president Nixon in 1972 as American bombs rained down on Vietnam and Cambodia. In 1979, only four years after the victory of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, China under Deng Xiaoping invaded Vietnam, acting as U.S. imperialism's cat's paw. The alliance allowed the U.S. under Reagan to add to its anti-Soviet arsenal the bulk of the nuclear weapons it had aimed at China, at the same time tying down significant Soviet forces in the Far East.



WV Photo

Spartacists raise fight to defend China and other deformed workers states at Oakland labor/black mobilization in defense of immigrant rights and against "war on terror" repression, February 2002.

Following the demise of the USSR, China was placed once again in Washington's cross hairs. A directive signed by Democratic president Clinton in 1997 broadened the Pentagon's list of nuclear targets in China. Since issuing a Nuclear Posture Review in 2001 that included China among seven countries targeted for possible nuclear attack, the Pentagon has moved into the Pacific five nuclear submarines carrying an estimated 720 warheads, including some with advanced Trident II missiles, according to the Federation of American Scientists.

In pursuit of their own ambitions, the Japanese imperialists, who brutally colonized Korea in 1910 and occupied much of China before World War II, have embarked on a program of military expansion whose principal targets are North Korea and China. On January 9, the government of Shinzo Abe re-established a fully fledged "defense" ministry for the first time since World War II, with authority to deploy the military overseas. This is a significant step toward junking Article Nine of the U.S.-imposed postwar constitution—long flouted in practice—banning Japan from maintaining military forces. According to the *Japan Times* (22 December 2006), Japan and the U.S. signed an agreement in December "to exchange detailed global topographic data—a move apparently aimed at sharing information specifically on North Korea and China." Japan is also planning to launch a fourth spy satellite this month that will complete its system of global coverage.

The point at which imperialist military pressure bears down most directly on Beijing is capitalist Taiwan, where the defeated bourgeoisie under the command of the butcher Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek fled the 1949 Revolution. In February 2005, the U.S. and Japan issued a joint policy statement declaring Taiwan a "mutual security concern" and moved to reposition their military forces, including the regional deployment of antiballistic missile systems. In response to these dangerous provocations, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan declared in a joint statement:

> "Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan."
>
> —*WV* No. 844, 18 March 2005

Now it is reported that in February the U.S. and Japan will discuss a "joint operation plan for their troops" for defense of Taiwan (Japantoday.com, 4 January).

Beijing extends a hand to the bourgeoisie in Taiwan by pushing for its reunification with China under the formula, "one country, two systems." The nationalist Stalinist regime thus pledges to maintain capitalism on the island, as it has done in Hong Kong following the reversion of the former British colony to Chinese control in 1997. In opposition to the Stalinists and to the reactionary forces calling for Taiwanese independence, the ICL calls for the revolutionary reunification of China: for *socialist revolution* to expropriate the Taiwanese capitalists and a *workers political revolution* to oust the Beijing bureaucracy, establishing a regime of workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

Washington's current space policy opposes treaties proposed by China and Russia banning the "weaponization of space." Clearly the administration's intent is to put a lot more weapons there. The Democrats, the other party of U.S. imperialism, and such bourgeois mouthpieces as the *New York Times* advocate a space weapons treaty as a better means of limiting China's capabilities and protecting the American advantage. Edward Markey, Democratic co-chair of the House Nonproliferation task force, declared on January 20: "American satellites are the soft underbelly of our national security, and it is urgent that President Bush move to guarantee their protection by initiating an international agreement to ban the development, testing, and deployment of space weapons and anti-satellite systems."

To defend and extend the gains of social revolution in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba requires fighting for proletarian revolution in the imperialist centers. Defense of the remaining workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution is critical to mobilizing the proletariat in the U.S. and Japan against their own exploiters. Every advance in the workers states' military capabilities buys more time for the international proletariat. Only when workers revolutions put the advanced technology and industrial capacity of the developed countries to use in an international planned economy will the basis be laid for a socialist society of material abundance. To this end, the ICL fights to build revolutionary Trotskyist parties as part of a reforged Fourth International.■

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like a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, enabling the available work to be shared among all workers. If the capitalists are unwilling to run certain plants or sectors of industry—out of pure greed, or because plants may be obsolete or resources depleted—then workers must put up a hard fight for long-term wage protection and retraining at company expense. Such demands go against the grain of the irrational capitalist economic system of production for profit. Only socialist revolution and the establishment of an international planned economy—where production is based on human needs as determined through workers democracy, not the profits of a tiny exploiting class—can put an end to joblessness and misery everywhere.

For Internationalist Proletarian Leadership!

The anti-Communist union bureaucrats in Canada, as in the U.S., have a long record of dirty work on behalf of their "own" imperialist rulers. This was driven home at this year's Toronto Labour Day parade. "Made in Canada Matters" was a central theme of the march, and among the contingents was one from the reactionary Chinese Falun Dafa religious sect. Back in the 1980s, the labour misleaders were avid champions of Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement masquerading as a trade union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. The American AFL-CIO union tops channelled millions of dollars of CIA money to this counterrevolutionary "union." In Canada, the B.C. [British Columbia] Federation of Labour and NDP organized an anti-Communist picket against a Polish ship, while the CLC put on its payroll one Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, a rabidly reactionary supporter of Solidarność, who openly made common cause with the U.S. rulers on every issue from CIA-backed counterinsurgency in Central America to the West European "peace" movement.

As they did in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the U.S. and Canadian labour tops are abetting the imperialist drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China. Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist misrule, plunged the working people into mass unemployment, falling life expectancy and all-around social degradation. Capitalist restoration in China, a much poorer and less developed country, would bring even deeper misery and devastation, and would further embolden the capitalists worldwide in their attacks on workers and oppressed minorities.

Genuine solidarity with the embattled Chinese worker and peasant masses must be based on opposition to the rapacious imperialist rulers and defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution. The smashing of capitalist class rule was the crucial precondition for China to commence the economic and social modernization necessary to bring millions of toilers out of poverty and degradation. Substantial trade with and investment from more industrially advanced imperialist countries has brought crucially necessary modern technology, permitting further economic progress. But the CCP bureaucracy's dismantling of the state monopoly of foreign trade; its promotion of policies that have produced substantial new domestic capitalist forces while sharply increasing inequality; and above all its anti-revolutionary appeasement of imperialism on the global scale—all this points to the need to replace Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the revolutionary-internationalist rule of soviet democracy. The all-round liberation of the Chinese masses ultimately rests on winning support, including crucial economic aid, from successful socialist revolutions in the imperialist centers of Japan, North America and West Europe.

Working-class struggle must be consciously waged as an *international* fight. In Canada that means fighting to break workers from the flag-waving chauvinism and China-bashing pushed by the labour tops and NDP. As part of our struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party, we warn against the deadly dangerous trap of calls to "defend Canadian jobs" against foreign competition. We live by the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner more than 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite."■

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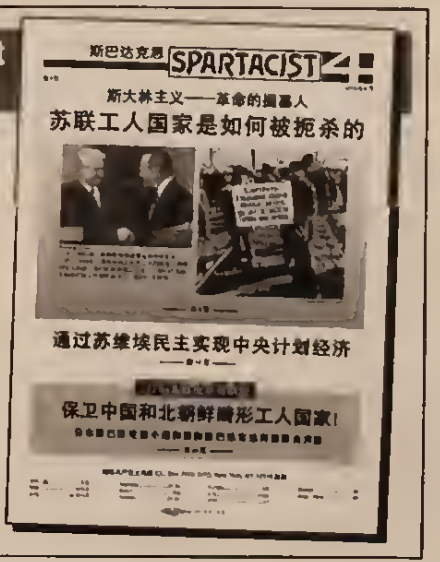


"Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

Hypocritical Outcry Against Günter Grass

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 164 (Autumn 2006), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTAKIST

Hoenig/DPA

Nobel Prize winner Günter Grass. English title of recently published autobiography is *Peeling the Onion*.

The belated admission by writer Günter Grass in the 12 August 2006 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*FAZ*) that he had been a member of the Waffen SS 62 years ago, and not "a Wehrmacht [army] flak unit auxiliary" as stated previously in his biographies, provoked a storm of indignation. The "most profound moral depravity" was imputed to the 79-year-old Grass. Above all, his "political-moral authority" supposedly took a major hit due to "his having recalled this so belatedly."

More than virtually any other writer, Günter Grass politically polarized the country with the positions he took opposing church and state in postwar Germany over the suppression of the Nazi past. He repeatedly pointed to the seamless integration of top Nazis into [Konrad] Adenauer's West German government of the 1950s. In the outcry over his confession, what is mentioned above all is Grass' protest in May 1985, when he criticized Chancellor [Helmut] Kohl for his visit to Bitburg cemetery [with its graves of Nazi SS members]. A similar outcry of indignation was set off in 1990 over his criticism of the capitalist reunification of Germany as "*Anschluss*" [annexation], analogous to [that of Austria in] the Nazi period, and his call for "equalization of burdens" for the DDR [German Democratic Republic (East Germany)]. In a 1997 speech honoring the famous writer Yasar Kemal from Turkey, who was being awarded the German book trade's peace prize, he attacked Germany's CDU [Christian Democratic Union] government for its brutal deportation practices: "Isn't Germany's latent hatred of foreigners expressed through the bureaucratic jargon of the current Interior Minister's deportation practices, whose severity is echoed by gangs of right-radical thugs?" Now he is the target of grandiose accusations of being "two-faced" and "hypocritical." There has even been talk of stripping him of the Nobel Prize for Literature awarded him in 1999 and of his honorary citizenship in [the Polish city] Gdansk.

The Lessons of World War II

For us Marxists World War II was, as far as the warring capitalist countries were concerned, an imperialist war on all sides. For the workers of all countries, there was only one warring country to defend—the Soviet Union. Thus, Trotskyists fought on the side of the Soviet Union and called for its unconditional defense. In the war between Nazi Germany and the "democratic" allies Britain and the U.S., we called for the defeat of all the imperialist powers.

Nazism, which arose from a mass movement of the unleashed petty bourgeoisie, was propelled to power by strong capitalist interests. The capitalists summoned the fascists to help fend off the "threat" of proletarian revolution by Europe's most powerful working class. The German working class was powerful enough, and in its majority had the will, to prevent Hitler from seizing power. What made the triumph of Nazism possible was the criminal capitulation of the workers' leadership, both the Stalinists [German Communist Party (KPD)] and the Social Democrats [SPD]. And only after destroying the German workers movement was Hitler able to proceed to the terrible "final solution." The Nazi Holocaust is a unique crime in which the annihilation of whole peoples, Jews, Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], was organized on an industrial basis. Ultimately, it was the Red Army and Soviet partisans who, despite Stalin, smashed the Nazi regime and liberated Europe from fascism.

The social-democratic and Stalinist popular-frontist fairy tale of an "anti-fascist war of the democracies" served only to chain the American and West European working class to their own bourgeoisies. In the case of Germany, the betrayal of the KPD and SPD leaders, who had capitulated to fascism without a fight, was concealed behind the thesis of "collective guilt of the entire German people." Also, the spectre of workers revolution haunted the "democratic" imperialists and was behind their policy of mass bombings at the end of World War II, aimed at demoralizing the German populace. During the war the Trotskyists were the only ones to raise international condemnation of these indiscriminate terror attacks, understanding that the "war for democracy" was a lie.

AP

May 1985: West German chancellor Kohl (left) and President Reagan pay tribute to Nazi SS war dead in Bitburg, Germany.

Collective Guilt à la Grass

The division of Germany along a class line was a result of the Second World War. In the East, the German bourgeoisie was expropriated and in 1949 the DDR, a deformed workers state, was created. In the West, the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz was "rehabilitated" and retained its power. The imperialists helped reinstate former Nazis in key political and economic positions. Only a strong German capitalism could be of use to them against the Soviet Union. While they were carrying out their Cold War against the Soviet Union, the American victors, together with their German allies, had every reason to bury the crimes of the Third Reich. That is why the imperialist lie of collective guilt was as practical as it was simple: the entirety of the populace was supposedly responsible for the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. The heart of the collective guilt argument is the counterposition of the despotic, anti-Semitic Germany of the Second World War to the democratic, socially minded German Federal Republic [BRD] of today. And this promotes the efforts of German imperialism to transform Germany into a "normal" country, with troops deployed from the Balkans to Afghanistan and now, for the first time, to the Near East.

Günter Grass is, in his own words, driven by the "horrific experience of Auschwitz." But unlike the best elements of his generation, who drew from the horrors of the Third Reich and the defeat of Nazi Germany in the war the conclusion that they should settle the score with the bourgeoisie which brought Hitler to power and fight for a socialist Germany, Grass places responsibility for Auschwitz and all the other atrocities of the Nazi regime on the entire German people. In an interview with Fritz Pleitgen, Grass unashamedly asserted that his generation had "no glimmering of anti-fascism" and shifted what he sees as his personal failure and that of his whole generation onto the youth of today: "They are absolutely not responsible for it, without guilt, and nevertheless it is their responsibility that such a thing, even the first germs of it, not be repeated in Germany" (*Spiegel* online, 10 October 2002).

Grass, whose works powerfully reflect an image of the claustrophobic Nazi stench in postwar West Germany, where you could still sense the predatory bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, nevertheless holds the position "that the constitution of the Federal Republic is the best we've ever had in Germany." This makes him an apologist for a "better" *capitalist* Germany. We Spartakists also turn to the young generation, not with Grass' loyalty to the constitution but with the understanding that fascism and imperialist war are endemic to the capitalist system. That is why only a workers revolution can avenge the victims of the Holocaust.

Günter Grass and the Waffen SS

In his autobiography, *Beim Häuten der Zwiebel* [Peeling the Onion], Grass explains that he had tried in vain to join the U-boat arm of the military in 1943 as a 15-year-old volunteer, and in 1944 at the age of 17 he was drafted from labor service into the "Jörg von Frundsberg" division of the Waffen SS.

> "The question is: Did the double S, which you couldn't overlook in the recruitment office, shock me then, as it does now, after over 60 years, while I'm writing this down?
>
> "There is nothing etched in the onion skin which could be read as a sign of shock or even horror. I would more likely have seen the Waffen SS as an elite unit, which was deployed when it was necessary to seal a breach in the front line, to break out of an encirclement, as in Demyansk, or to recapture Kharkov. The double rune on the uniform collar wasn't offensive to me."

The whole world identifies SS runes with the "final solution" and the murder of Jews. The SS is rightly regarded with deep abhorrence. At the start of World War II, the Waffen SS was founded as the military elite troops of the "Reichsführer" Heinrich Himmler, made up of heterogeneous elements such as the SS roving squads, the concentration camp guards and the SS Death's Head Division. Its most infamous member was Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz concentration camp "doctor." The Waffen SS was responsible for the mass murder of civilians and prisoners of war, and Waffen SS

things were well suited for the job of torturers in the concentration camps. We will not forget the massacres of Oradour-sur-Glane or Sant'Anna-di-Stazzema, where whole towns were slaughtered, including the aged and infants. These massacres were carried out by tank divisions of the Waffen SS, "Hitler's political soldiers," in the summer of 1944, shortly before Grass received his induction orders.

Toward the end of the war, the character of the Waffen SS as special [Nazi] Party troops changed, with many Wehrmacht units being incorporated as a whole into the Waffen SS and young conscripts involuntarily drafted in. While the total number of soldiers in the "Greater German Reich" fell between 1943 and 1945 from 9.4 to 7.8 million, the number of members of the Waffen SS rose in the same period from 450,000 to 830,000 at the end. So, in the spring of 1945 more than 10 percent of German soldiers were members of the Waffen SS. In his 20 August 2006 letter to the Berlin *Tagesspiegel*, Werner T. Angress, author of *Die Kampfzeit der KPD 1921-23* [originally published in English in 1963 under the title *Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany, 1921-23*], wrote:

> "It is totally inappropriate to condemn Grass because of his short period of service in the Waffen SS. When I was an interrogator of prisoners in the American 82nd Airborne Division, where I was serving at that time as a Jewish émigré from Germany, I met many young Germans who had been drafted into the Waffen SS at the end of 1944 or the start of 1945 at the age of 17 to 18 years. They were still 'teenagers.' In May 1945 I was given, along with three comrades, the task of separating the 'sheep from the goats' in a camp for SS prisoners near Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg—the task of separating those who volunteered for the SS from those who were drafted. In doing this I took great care to get these youth transferred to a Wehrmacht prisoner-of-war camp because the majority of them hadn't served in the Waffen SS out of political conviction. Grass also belonged to this kind of group, which was to be found in many SS units at the end of the war. It's a real pity that he waited until now to make public his brief membership in the Waffen SS."

Grass is no leftist, but a liberal intellectual who found his political home in the Social Democracy in postwar Germany. In his famous Danzig trilogy (*The Tin Drum, Dog Years, Cat and Mouse*), the Hitler years are narrated from the perspective of children and youth who were part of them and who regained their footing in West Germany during the Adenauer years. *The Tin Drum*, his novel about the everyday life of the petty bourgeoisie under fascism in Danzig [Gdansk], was seen as counterposed to the official suppression of the Nazi period in the Adenauer epoch. Grass writes:

> "In the '50s, the time of political restoration, people spoke of the Nazi period, the period of National Socialism, as a dark phase of German history, as if the poor German people had been seduced by earth spirits that come overnight. But I know from my own youth, basically everyone knew, that it didn't all occur at night and it didn't derive from earth spirits either. It happened by the light of day, it was announced by *Mein Kampf* and many other things; and that brought me closer and closer to my background, to what I had lost; a war started and lost by the Germans had led to the loss of my native country, affecting millions of people and me as well. And so I dared to approach this complex in that way. There is another thread, also in order to further refute this legend, this demonization of the Nazi period: one needs to portray the layer of the petty bourgeoisie, which I know and am familiar with and which is particularly susceptible to National Socialism in its wishes and presumptions and longings."
>
> —Quoted in Heinz Ludwig Arnold, "Ausgehend vom Labesweg 13" [Starting at Labesweg 13], 23 June 2003

Grass, born in 1927 in Danzig of German-Kashubian extraction, always held anti-Communist and anti-Soviet views. He was caught in the framework of bourgeois anti-fascism, which on the one hand dismisses the working class and on the other considers every individual German responsible for the Holocaust. Bourgeois class rule and capitalism as the cause of fascism are removed from the picture.

Why was Grass silent for so long? Obviously he was in the Waffen SS for only a short time. Furthermore he was drafted into it and is not known to have committed any criminal acts. He never made a secret of the fact that as a youth he believed in the final victory of the Nazis. But the reactions that now assail him indicate the extent to which, with the lie of collective guilt used as a weapon, it has been made impossible to deal with the Nazi period in all its complexities in Germany. In his 12 August interview with *FAZ*, Grass stressed regarding the postwar period in West Germany: "We had Adenauer—frightful—with all those lies and all that Catholic stench. The society that was being promoted at that time was characterized by a sort of petty-bourgeois stuffiness that didn't exist even under the Nazis." Angress confirms this. Asked by the Berlin *Tagesspiegel* whether "he could imagine why Grass was silent for so long," he answered, "Germany was frightful in the '50s. And afterwards it was too late."

The lie that all Germans are to blame for the crimes of the Nazis is also very prevalent in the social climate of today's "Berlin Republic," which is cynically extolled as "normal." The ideological foundation of the much-praised Wehrmacht exhibition [which graphically revealed the crimes of the German army] equates soldiers drafted into the Wehrmacht with the Nazi criminals. As we wrote in *Spartakist* No. 163, Summer 2006 ("Wehrmacht, Holocaust and 'Collective Guilt'"): "The statement that, because the drafted soldiers were forced to carry out massacres they became counterrevolutionary scum and Nazis, blurs the class line which runs through *every* imperialist draft army between the bourgeois officer corps and the ranks, who come mainly from the working class. And it blurs over the difference between the Wehrmacht as a compulsory organization and the volunteer elite units of Hitler's regime, like the SS, SD and Gestapo."

Yevgeni Khaldei

Johnny Florea

Red Army defeated Nazi scourge. Above: Soviet soldiers trample Nazi flag on outskirts of Vienna in 1945. Right: Slave laborers slain by Nazis at Nordhausen weapons factory, April 1945.

Anti-Soviet Alliance in Bitburg

Today some of Grass' opponents play the trump card that, already in 1985 on the occasion of Bitburg, he should have stated that he had been a member of the Waffen SS. On 5 May 1985, Kohl and Reagan paid an obscene visit to the SS graves in the military cemetery of Bitburg. Ronald Reagan, then the U.S. president, wanted to embrace the "enemy" of the Second World War. For Germany's then chancellor Helmut Kohl, Reagan's visit was his return favor for Kohl's having promoted the stationing [in Germany] of American Pershing missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. As we wrote in a July 1985 *Spartakist* supplement, "Bitburg: Kohl/Reagan Stand at Attention Before SS Mass Murderers—Defeat the Anti-Soviet War Drive!" (reprinted in *Spartacist* [German edition] No. 12, Winter 1986-87): "And they ***intentionally*** sought out a military cemetery with SS graves. For Reagan, Hitler's killers who fought against Russia are simply magnificent—the sole problem was that they did this in the interest of Berlin and not of Washington."

This aspect eludes Grass with his anti-Soviet outlook. Bitburg is inseparably linked to the resurgence of German nationalism. Indeed, it was Kohl who suggested the Bitburg visit to Reagan; the point was the rehabilitation of the SS and Waffen SS. At the same time that the government festivities took place, the "Death's Head Division" of the Waffen SS was holding a convention and the cops were protecting meetings of both the "Hitler Youth" 12th SS Tank Division and the "Adolf Hitler Bodyguard" First SS Tank Corps.

Bithurg was a dividing line for West German society, which is why Grass' bourgeois criticism of Chancellor Kohl over Bitburg has not been forgotten right down to this day:

> "I know that even in editorials, certificates of innocence are currently being handed out. At present, we can afford a Chancellor whose innocence, if not ingrained, is nonetheless innate. Once again, the de-Nazification certificates of the '50s are readily at hand."
>
> —"Freedom as a Gift—Failure, Guilt, Missed Chances," *Die Zeit*, 10 May 1985

Bitburg constituted an honorable recognition of the successor state of the Third Reich, of the main driving force of NATO in Europe. As Trotsky stated in 1933, Hitler's takeover of power was the greatest defeat for the working class in history. It remains the task of the working class to end the threat of fascism and the horrors of imperialist war by smashing the capitalist system through worldwide proletarian revolution.

Grass' opponents are a pretty rotten bunch, even if their motives vary. For example, Bundeswehr [German army] professor Michael Wolffsohn, who holds torture by the state to be an appropriate measure, considers Grass' lifework "completely damaged." Or take the recently deceased admirer of [high-ranking Nazi Albert] Speer and biographer of Hitler, Joachim Fest. In the mid '80s he opened the pages of his *FAZ* to Ernst Nolte, who denounced Auschwitz as a "Bolshevik act," triggering a "red equals brown campaign" in the notorious "Historians' Dispute."

But there are also some nasty characters among Grass' supporters. The notoriously right-wing Arnulf Baring conjectures that "the Grass case will lead to a calm and fairer judgment on the involvement of many Germans in National Socialism." In the Wiesbaden State Parliament in September, the 74-year-old promptly seized the opportunity, calling the National Socialist dictatorship an "unfortunate error"

continued on page 8

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

U.S. and British imperialists deliberately targeted German civilians in February 1945 firebombing of Dresden, slaughtering over 100,000.

Günter Grass...

(continued from page 7)

and pleading to replace the term "integration" [of immigrants] with "Germanization." In fact, in the spirit of a new "patriottism," quite a few people, while taking out their anger on Grass, are trying to sell membership in the Waffen SS as "normal." They obscure the difference between the murderous Nazi thugs who served enthusiastically and voluntarily in the SS and those who were recruited into the Waffen SS through universal conscription.

Today they want to push through a new edition of the cold amnesty of Nazi cadre like that following World War II. From the outset, Nazi brass and war criminals seized the opportunity of a safe haven in the West. Only in the DDR in the '80s were two members of the Waffen SS division that carried out the massacre in Oradour-sur-Glane convicted, whereas not a single one was jailed in West Germany. In trials after the founding of the DDR in 1949, 12,881 Nazis were convicted; in the West, with a population almost three times as large, it was only half as many. While the state apparatus of the Federal Republic was filled to the brim with small-time and big-time Nazis, that of the DDR was composed of many former Nazi concentration camp prisoners, and many of its most prominent citizens were from Jewish families.

Now the intent is to use Grass' admission that he served in the Waffen SS to retroactively whitewash Nazis: [Hans] Globke (author of the statutes implementing the 1935 Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race, subsequently head of Adenauer's chancellery); [Kurt Georg] Kiesinger (in the Foreign Ministry of the Third Reich from 1940 to 1945, then West German chancellor from 1966 to 1969); and [Hans] Filbinger (Nazi navy judge, who imposed death penalties up to the end of the war, from 1966 to 1978, premier of the state of Baden-Württemberg). German imperialism had never resigned itself to the formation of the DDR, which removed its access to a third of the country. That is why, right up to today, it has been pursuing a vicious and vindictive witchhunt against anything that reminds people of the DDR and the victory of the Red Army. One of the murderers at Oradour-sur-Glane, Heinz Barth, a member of the Waffen SS "The Reich" Division that was responsible for the massacre and who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in the DDR, was set free immediately after capitalist reunification; he then sued for his pension in reunified Germany as a former Waffen SS member.

Grass Against Reunification

With the collapse of the [Erich] Honecker regime and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the DDR was caught in the whirlwind of a developing political revolution. The International Communist League undertook the biggest mobilization in our tendency's history for a Trotskyist intervention in this exceptionally open situation. Our political influence was shown when 250,000 people participated in a united-front demonstration in Treptow Park in East Berlin on 3 January 1990, which we Spartakists had initiated to protest the fascist desecration of the monument to Red Army soldiers who fell liberating Berlin from the Nazis. We called for "workers and soldiers soviets to power" through socialist revolution in West Germany and proletarian political revolution in the DDR. We warned that the SPD was the "Trojan horse" of capitalist counterrevolution.

The spectre of organized proletarian resistance against capitalist reunification revealed at Treptow alarmed the West German imperialists and their Social Democratic minions, who threw their campaign to drive the DDR into reunification into high gear. The Stalinists in the Kremlin and the DDR capitulated to the imperialists, actively participating in the forced march to capitalist reunification. And it was at this point that then-DDR Prime Minister, Hans Modrow of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party/Party of Democratic Socialism], swallowed the thesis of German collective guilt. The imperialist press rejoiced, understanding that this meant Modrow denied the essential difference between the denazified DDR and the Federal Republic, which had been established

Spartakist

East Berlin, January 1990: 250,000 protested Nazi desecration of Red Army memorial in Treptow Park at demonstration initiated by German Spartacists and taken up by ruling SED. Spartacist banner reads: "Down With NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

International Solidarity With the German Proletariat

ARBEITER und SOLDAT

8EI EUCH LIEGT DIE ENTSCHEIDUNG !

Trotskyist *Fourth International*, January 1946. June 1944 Issue of *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier), newspaper distributed by heroic Trotskyists in Brest, France, who built cell in German army.

with Nazis and the U.S. imperialists playing a decisive role. On 20 February 1990, we explained in our paper *Arbeiterpresse-korrespondenz*, which we had brought out almost daily:

> "The German Democratic Republic didn't come out of nowhere, it was constructed out of the destruction of Hitler's Reich by the Red Army at a cost of 20 million Soviet lives. Its cadres came in large part out of the concentration camps....
>
> "The Federal Republic of Germany formally declares itself the successor state of Hitler's Third Reich, underlining the continuity of German imperialism. The West German secret police were set up by simply taking over the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy operation (the Gehlen organization) wholesale....
>
> "The DDR is a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed from birth, founded by the *victims* of the Nazi terror regime."
>
> —reprinted in *WV* No. 496, 23 February 1990

When the Wall fell, Günter Grass came out against reunification, favoring a confederation between the BRD and an independent DDR. In his "Reden eines vaterlandslosen Gesellen" of February 1990 [quoted from the English, published in *Two States—One Nation?* (1990) under the title "Short Speech by a Rootless Cosmopolitan"], he wrote: "Anyone thinking about Germany these days and looking for an answer to the German question must include Auschwitz in his thoughts. That place of terror, that permanent wound, makes a future unified German state impossible. And if such a state is nevertheless insisted upon, it will be doomed to failure." In another essay, "Letzte Rede vorm Glockengeläut" [Last Speech Before the Bell Tolls], he continues:

> "Companies long known to us are occupying the book and newspaper market. The land surveyors of the former big landowners are already busy in [the East German regions of] Western Pomerania and Mecklenburg. The new colonial rulers are moving in and find zealous assistants in the form of plant directors previously tied to the SED. To counter this, there is merely a list of promised favors. But what is the use of salaries paid out at a [currency exchange] rate of 1:1 when a large number of still-viable DDR firms will soon be bankrupt? Increased employment in the West will be followed, as with a dented ball, by unemployment in the East. The only place where growth may be recorded is where our fears and those of our neighbors originate: in German right-radicalism, not least because it is not impossible that even the Golden Calf, the hard D-mark [West German deutschmark], will suffer damage."
>
> —"Einige Ausblicke vom Platz der Angeschmierten" [Some Views from the Plaza of People Who Got Taken for a Ride], May 1990

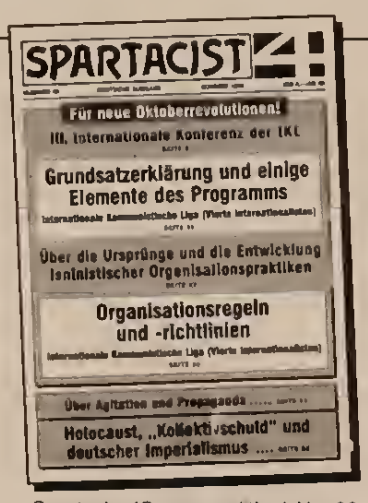
However, Grass' opposition to German reunification does not turn him into an opponent of capitalism or even a friend of the DDR. He welcomed clerical, anti-Semitic Polish Solidarność, whose counterrevolution destroyed the Polish workers state in the late '80s-early '90s. His relationship to the DDR was characterized by anti-Communism, which he adopted in the '50s during the first Cold War. Equating Nazi rule with the regime in the DDR was not a hobbyhorse solely of right-wing conservatives like Nolte; it wasn't foreign to liberals like Grass either. When the DDR sealed off the open border to West Berlin—a bureaucratic measure by the Stalinists that we defended because it served to protect the workers state from imperialist penetration and economic hemorrhaging—Grass wrote an urgent message to Anna Seghers, a Jewish Communist who narrowly escaped Nazi persecution and became chair of the DDR authors association:

> "The anxieties felt by your protagonist [in her book *The Seventh Cross*], Georg Heisler, communicated itself to me once and for all: except that the commandant of the concentration camp is no longer called Fahrenberg but Walter Ulbricht, and he presides over your state.... Up to now you have been the epitome of resistance to violence; it is impossible that you should fall prey to the irrationalism of a [fascist like] Gottfried Benn and fail to recognize the violent nature of a dictatorship that has scantily, yet cleverly, wrapped itself in your dream of socialism and communism—a dream I do not dream, but which I respect, as I do any dream."
>
> —"Open Letter to Anna Seghers," in *Two States—One Nation?*

However, his appeal to the DDR writers ("He Who Is Silent Becomes Guilty," 14 August 1961 [the day after the building of the Berlin Wall began]) was a miserable failure. [DDR writer] Stefan Hermlin replied to Günter Grass: "I didn't send my government a telegram of thanks on August 13, nor would I define my inner state as one of 'joyful agreement,' as many people like to express it.... But I do agree seriously and without qualification...to the measures that the government of the German Democratic Republic has taken to put a brake on the aggressive course of the most dangerous state in the world, the Federal Republic" (from Hans Werner Richter's 1961 *Die Mauer oder der 13. August* [The Wall or August 13]).

Very shortly, capitalist reunification was whipping up Nazi terror, which was then fanned even more by the abolition of the right to asylum, initiated by the SPD with the [1992] Petersberg Resolutions. Consequently, in protest against the SPD's policy of destroying the right to asylum, Günter Grass quit the SPD in 1993. He did do some decent things, such as marching in the front line of a demonstration against an arson attack [against immigrant hostels] in Mölln and establishing a foundation to support Roma and Sinti. At the same time that he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, the "dreadful and unique experience of Auschwitz" led him to enthusiastically support the then-SPD/Green government's military intervention in the Balkans. As we wrote in "Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism" [*WV* No. 697, 25 September 1998]: "Far from expressing opposition to resurgent German chauvinism, the embrace of 'collective guilt' by German liberals *serves as a cover* for aggressively promoting imperialist military intervention to 'stop genocide' in the Balkans and elsewhere."

For decades the German bourgeoisie longed to be freed from the chains of the European postwar order. Capitalist reunification made this possible. The Schröder-Fischer [SPD/Green] government contributed significantly to a way of looking at imperialist Germany known as "normalization." Finally the German bourgeoisie could attempt to play a role as a world power, not just economically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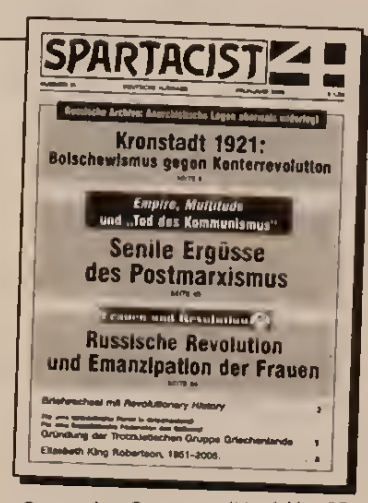
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but also by beginning to join in militarily once more. The strengthening of German imperialism has also been reflected in debates in the society about the Nazi past and the Second World War. Topics that were taboo yesterday, such as the American and British war crimes in Germany or the mass expulsions of Germans from the former eastern areas of Germany [lost as a result of the war], are suddenly being discussed. Only a few years ago, just outrage over the terror bombing of the German civilian population was being suppressed by presenting it as a "just punishment for German guilt." Today bourgeois feature-writers are discovering the "German victims." But if the reasons for the imperialist terror bombings are not given their true name—specifically, intimidating the German civilian population out of fear of a workers revolution in Germany coming out of the defeat in the Second World War—then emphasizing "German victims" as opposed to "German perpetrators" leads to a growth in German nationalism.

Crab Walk and the Question of the German Expellees

Günter Grass' book *Crab Walk* was an intervention into this debate. The book correctly asserts that as a result of the decades-long silence of the left in West Germany on the expulsions, the subject was left to the arch-revanchist expellees associations and the Nazis, who call for re-establishing the 1937 borders. But Grass' inability to understand society as divided into classes leads him to compress in one short novel the total impotence of German postwar liberalism. *Crab Walk* makes use of the popular anti-Communist prejudice that the growth of the Nazis in East Germany resulted from a "Communist dictatorship" in the East, and wavers between collective-guilt moralism—whether it might not be wrong to talk about injustices committed against Germans—and the nationalist urge to finally draw a line under history and be a "normal" nation again.

Meisel/Visum

Günter Grass (second from left) with Social Democratic Party bigwigs Oskar Lafontaine, Björn Engholm and Gerhard Schröder, January 1985.

We stand in the tradition of the Fourth International, whose European sections, in their powerful 1945 appeal for "International Solidarity With the German Proletariat," defended a socialist program for the European workers movement. Among other things, their appeal voiced their opposition to the evacuation of millions of working people from their home areas, warning: "The treatment of the German people on the principle of collective guilt provides the fascists precisely with new possibilities to fish in the murky waters of nationalism. The danger is all the greater since if the German people are collectively guilty then the Nazis who are the real guilty ones can logically hope to escape punishment." Directed at the German workers, the appeal [which appeared in English in *Fourth International*, January 1946] states: "Understand that only as a united and solid proletariat can you stamp out fascism. Recognize that in itself 'anti-fascism' means nothing. Fascism and imperialism can only be ended with the downfall of capitalism and the victory of international socialism. *Long live the German proletarian revolution! Long live the Socialist United States of the World!*"

Grass' sometimes ambivalent stance has led to contradictory reactions within and without the Social Democratic camp. The mere fact that he voiced widely known truths about the brutal slash-and-burn policy adopted by the Treuhand and Co. brought him many supporters in East Germany. [The Treuhand was the agency set up to privatize DDR industry after the 1990 counterrevolution.] His novel about reunification, *Ein Weites Feld* [A Wide Field] (1995), generated protests from prominent figures in the SPD in the West that the head of the Treuhand was depicted as too aggressive. Soon Günter Grass was back stumping for the SPD in elections. And if yesterday he was excoriating the devastation carried out by a CDU government, he fervently supported the social devastation promoted by the government of his intimate friend Schröder through the Hanz Laws [undoing many aspects of the German welfare state]. For all his harsh and just criticism of the wrongdoings and crimes of various postwar German governments, Grass was incapable of naming and condemning what is fundamentally wrong with the society—capitalism. As Trotsky once remarked, the invocation of "democracy" is the social-democratic alibi for support to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as opposed to fighting for workers democracy, which will be realized in the revolutionary state power of the proletariat.■

Spartakist

Berlin, May 2005: Spartacist placard at 60th anniversary of Red Army victory over Nazi Germany reads: "'Collective Guilt' Amnesties Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz—Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Holocaust!"

Roundup...

(continued from page 12)

federal Department of Justice and the State of New Jersey raised the bounty on Assata Shakur's head to $1 million, and the Feds added her name to domestic and international "terrorist" lists. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli!

After being imprisoned for 27 years for a murder the police and state authorities knew he did not commit, former Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) won his freedom in 1997. Dhoruba bin Wahad (formerly known as Richard Moore) won his freedom in 1990. Dhoruba was a leader of the New York Panther 21, who in May 1971, after the longest trial in New York State history, were acquitted of charges of conspiracy to blow up the New York Botanical Gardens and various buildings. He was subsequently railroaded to prison for 17 years.

A key focus of the fight against the state's racist frame-up machinery must be the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. A leader of the Philadelphia Panthers in his teens and later a renowned journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, Mumia was falsely convicted in 1982 of killing a Philadelphia policeman and sentenced to death explicitly for his political beliefs as a Black Panther. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!

We print below a January 27 protest letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to California Attorney General Jerry Brown.

* * *

We vehemently protest the nationally coordinated arrests of former Black Panther Party members who were charged with murder and conspiracy for the unsolved 1971 killing of San Francisco police officer, John Young. Those arrested were Richard Brown, Richard O'Neal, Francisco Torres, Ray Boudreaux, Henry Watson Jones and Harold Taylor. Two men already in jail—Herman Bell and Anthony Bottom—were also charged. The police are still seeking Ronald Bridgeforth who is additionally being charged with aggravated assault. This is a continuation of the decades-long government vendetta against the Black Liberation Army and other former members of the Black Panther Party. The Partisan Defense Committee demands: Drop the charges! Release them now!

This nationwide roundup is part of the state's campaign to paint those who stand up for black rights as "terrorists." For over 30 years the police have tried to pin this murder on these men. Charges brought in 1975 against John Bowman (who just died) and Harold Taylor were obtained through torture by the New Orleans police after they were tracked to New Orleans by two San Francisco police inspectors. According to press accounts, their torture included being stripped naked and beaten with blunt objects, placing electric probes on their genitals and inserting an electric cattle prod in each man's anus. The charges were dismissed because the prosecution had failed to tell the grand jury that the men's confessions had been coerced. Thirty years later, prosecutors were still unsuccessful in obtaining indictments of any of these men despite convening California state and federal grand juries—first in 2003-2004, May and August of 2005.

The State of California is no stranger to locking up Black Panther Party members on bogus murder charges. Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison for a murder that the FBI and Los Angeles police knew he did not commit. Though the BPP was destroyed thirty years ago, the government vendetta has never ceased. The FBI COINTELPRO terror campaign resulted in the outright killing of 38 key Panther activists by the FBI and local police. Those they couldn't kill were framed up and locked away in America's prison hellholes, including Mumia Abu-Jamal who was sentenced to death on false charges of killing a policeman. Mumia's death sentence was secured by the prosecutor's grotesque lie that his membership in the Panthers as a teenager proved he had been planning to kill a cop for twelve years. Tuesday's arrests are but another instance where the government, having failed in earlier efforts, resorts to extraordinary repressive measures to ensure persecution of those it deems opponents.

Drop the charges! Release them now!■

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Black History and the Class Struggle

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Left: 1862 photograph shows five generations of a slave family in Beaufort, South Carolina. Right: Graphic depicts black Massachusetts 54th regiment charging South Carolina's Fort Wagner, July 1863.

Immigrant...

(continued from page 12)

Twenty years ago, the right-wing Republican Reagan administration introduced the Immigration Reform and Control Act. They came up with a "guest worker" program primarily serving the interests of huge agribusiness. But the Act legalized 2.3 million Mexican workers, who had to document at least five years of residence in the U.S. This meant that Hispanics—who had historically been concentrated in Texas, California and also Florida, with its large number of Cubans, Nicaraguans and others—could move elsewhere. During the 1990s, the Hispanic population increased by some 60 percent, rising from 22.4 million in 1990 to 35.3 million in 2000. By 2003, the new census counts confirmed that the Hispanic population surpassed black Americans as the nation's largest minority.

Our Marxist program speaks directly to immigrants' burning needs. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants, whether legal or "illegal"—for all who have made it here. We also say that if there were a real amnesty for undocumented workers, we would support that, while recognizing that such gains are partial. We stand for full equality of all languages in all spheres of public life and defend bilingual education against "English only" bigots. We stand unalterably opposed to the bourgeoisie's anti-immigrant laws and regulations. Against the capitalists' attempts to use undocumented, low-wage immigrant workers as a club against the trade unions, we seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and anti-immigrant raids through class-struggle means, and to organize such workers into unions with full rights and protections.

We fight to build a party—a multiracial revolutionary workers party—that champions the interests and the rights of all the oppressed and exploited, whether fighting for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for defense of the besieged Latino poor, for defense of Asians, for defense of abortion rights for women, for women's liberation through socialist revolution, for democratic rights for homosexuals, for black freedom. Immigrant workers, especially from Mexico and Central America, bring militant traditions of class struggle to the U.S. And they are not only a catalyst for class and social struggle, but also a human bridge linking the struggles of working people on both sides of the border. And this is why it's so important to mobilize immigrant workers in struggle and to defend them.

It is not just a question of immigrant workers' continued militancy and determination, but that they share common class interests with the proletariat as a whole. There must be a class-struggle mobilization of the labor movement to fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, a unified struggle for our burning, fundamental needs.

Worldwide, the imperialists have perfected the art of playing upon national, ethnic, religious and sexual divisions to perpetuate their barbaric rule. At their disposal are various weapons of mass deception: their press, their political parties, their preachers and priests. Above all, they have their armed bodies of men who safeguard their "right" to exploit and live off the labor of others. As Trotskyists, we fight for international proletarian revolution.

We raise an implacable struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers, both Democrats and Republicans, and demand the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, Afghanistan, South Korea and elsewhere. We stand for the defeat of imperialism through international proletarian revolution. While the imperialist troops butcher Iraqis, the racist cops gun down blacks and Latinos here in racist capitalist America.

Marxism and Immigration

Our revolutionary internationalist proletarian program flows from the reality of the world capitalist economy. As Marxists, we understand that imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is not a preferred policy of capitalism but the inevitable product of the constant search for sources of cheap labor and raw materials. This has twice resulted in bloody interimperialist wars for the division and redivision of the world.

Whether it's immigration or trade policy, we don't seek to advise the bourgeoisie. There is no answer to the brutal immiseration produced by this boom-and-bust capitalist system without a proletarian socialist revolution that takes power out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters. Basing ourselves upon the lessons of history—the Paris Commune of 1871, and in particular the victorious October 1917 Russian Revolution—we understand that workers cannot achieve emancipation through a futile quest to reform the capitalist profit system. The fight must be for a socialist revolution that smashes the bloody capitalist state apparatus and constructs a workers state. This requires a consistently revolutionary program and the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party, a tribune of the people.

The system of capitalism long ago outlived any progressive historical role. Today, capitalism retards the development of the productive forces of society, which long ago outgrew the narrow shell of the bourgeois nation-state. We recognize that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the East European deformed workers states, an unprecedented defeat of the international proletariat, has resulted in a retrogression of political consciousness, albeit unevenly. This has meant that the proletariat today does not view its struggles through the prism of the fight for socialism. Despite the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism," there exists a rich body of theoretical and programmatic conceptions to draw upon in the struggle for the complete emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation.

The exploiters know this. And that is why they put out their anti-communist garbage. Outlived social classes fight back in defense of their obsolete systems, just like the pro-slavery ideologists in the pre-Civil War South did—those like George Fitzhugh, who wrote biting denunciations of the evils of the industrial capitalist wage-slavery system in the North in order to counter the slaveholders' Northern bourgeois opponents. It was the Southern slavocracy's desire to extend slavery that partly motivated the 1846 invasion of Mexico, which resulted in the United States government's stealing half of Mexico's territory. A workers government in the U.S. would return to Mexico certain predominantly Spanish-speaking areas along the border. It is worthy of note that in 1855 Texas slaveholders bitterly complained of the estimated loss of more than 4,000 black slaves, valued at more than $3.2 million, who escaped to northern Mexico. According to one account, by the mid 1850s several Texas counties had passed laws prohibiting Mexicans from communicating with slaves.

Capitalism, paraphrasing Karl Marx, came into the world dripping with the blood of the oppressed. In Volume One of *Capital*, Marx laid out how the development of capitalism entailed horrific consequences especially for women and children. Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin quoted from this volume in *The Teachings of Karl Marx* (1915):

> "'The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital, the laborers, their means of subsistence, and material for labor; it also created the home market.'
>
> "The impoverishment and ruin of the agricultural population led, in their turn, to the formation of a reserve army of labor for capital. In every capitalist country 'a part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat.... This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing.... The agricultural labor is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot in the swamp of pauperism'."

This process also results in the amalgamation of the proletariat of different nations and brings to the fore their common interests as an international class. "The Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (1938), one of the founding documents of Trotsky's Fourth International, exposed the deceitful "good neighbor" policy of U.S. imperialism toward Latin America. (The name has changed over the years. I know under Kennedy they used to refer to it as the "Alliance for Progress.") The Thesis stated:

> "The 'good neighbor' policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid bloc welded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the United States seeks to conclude with Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market.... The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it."

This is still true. Currently there are some bourgeois-nationalist thorns in the side of U.S. imperialism, such as Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Evo Morales in Bolivia, who spout anti-U.S. rhetoric as a way to conceal their own bourgeois rule.

We fight for the unity and integrity of the international working class against chauvinism and racism. The same racist U.S. capitalist butchers who brutally exploit the peoples of Latin America and

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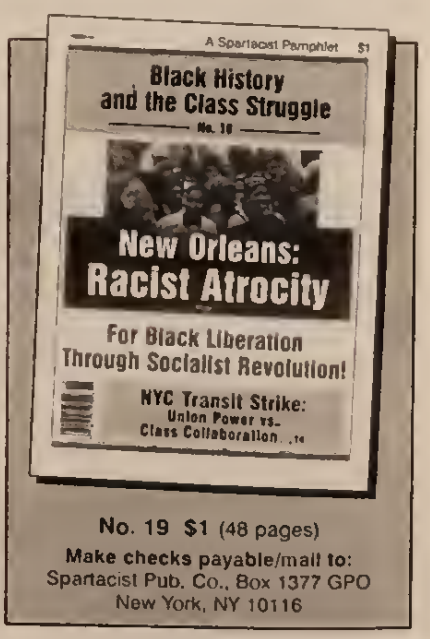

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elsewhere also let the poor and black people of Louisiana and the Gulf Coast drown, suffer and rot during and after Hurricane Katrina. They use their cops to torture black people in Chicago, and last January they sent white coal miners to their deaths in West Virginia.

The "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico

Mexico today is in turmoil. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) forced millions of Mexican peasants out of the countryside. NAFTA came into effect on January 1, 1994, and in its first two years more than 2.3 million Mexicans lost their jobs. The effect of NAFTA is an important component of increased immigration to the U.S. Also, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has accelerated immigration internationally, particularly to West Europe. NAFTA wreaked havoc for Mexican workers and peasants with the elimination of state subsidies for many goods and services. Mexican workers had their wages slashed, they were thrown out of work by the thousands, and many were forced into informal employment. The costs of basic necessities such as gas and electricity skyrocketed, and the masses today face increased starvation or are forced to emigrate.

This "free trade agreement" represented imperialist looting of Mexico. We opposed it from the very beginning from an internationalist, revolutionary standpoint. In 1991, the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Spartacist League/U.S., sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), issued a joint statement declaring, "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault" ("Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico," *WV* No. 530, 6 July 1991). In contrast, the labor tops of the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters opposed NAFTA on the basis of poisonous chauvinism and protectionism.

Apparently, the U.S. imperialists are building what they call a NAFTA superhighway—the construction of major transportation corridors from Mexico's Pacific coast port of Lázaro Cárdenas to Kansas City, and also to Canada. This is the inexorable logic of capitalist production. Capital migrates to areas of higher profitability. This demands of Marxists the organization of workers, from the Yukon to the Yucatán, for common internationalist class struggle and for socialist revolution throughout the Americas.

The labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy—holler about foreign workers "taking American jobs," with China being at the top of their list. It's in the interests of the U.S. proletariat to unite with the workers of the world to overthrow the hideous system of capitalism. The imperialists especially seek to restore capitalist rule in China, a deformed workers state, and completely turn that country into a giant sweatshop of superexploited labor and a haven for super-profits.

Immigration and Women's Oppression

Women workers in Mexico are brutally exploited, especially in the so-called free-trade *maquiladora* factory zones in the North. Women there as young as 16 suffer exposure to poisonous chemicals and endure wretched working conditions that maim and destroy them. They endure not only constant sexist abuse but outright murder by the police and their henchmen. Ideologically, the reactionary, anti-woman Catholic church and the bourgeois parties—the National Action Party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party and the Party of the Democratic Revolution—bolster their subjugation. The institution of the family is the main source of the oppression of women.

Many women from desperately poor Third World countries, including Mexico and the Philippines, endure racist, anti-woman abuse in the U.S. Some women opt for prostitution as a means to survive. Prostitution should be decriminalized and the bourgeois state should stay out of our bedrooms and our lives. Whether in Mexico, the Philippines or even the "land of the free," the capitalist U.S.A., the fight for free abortion on demand, free quality medical and child care and equal pay for equal work requires winning the most conscious elements of the working class to carry out the proletariat's historic task as the fighter for the interests of the oppressed. The working class must take up the fight for women's liberation, which requires the overthrow of the capitalist order.

As Lenin explained in his classic work *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), revolutionary working-class consciousness is not a by-product of spontaneous struggle but must be brought into the proletariat from the outside, through the intervention of a vanguard party. Proletarian internationalism is not abstract. It is a necessity dictated by the increased economic integration of the U.S., Canada and Mexico.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

In racist capitalist America, black rights and immigrant rights either go forward together or slide back separately. Black oppression is the cornerstone of U.S. capitalism, rooted in the very structure of the capitalist system and a key weapon of the ruling class historically to maintain its class domination.

The Labor Black Leagues, initiated by the Spartacist League and fraternally allied to it, promote and fight for common class struggle. On the masthead of the LBLs' newsletters, we have Karl Marx's statement that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Our program for black liberation is the program of revolutionary integrationism, the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. This program is in sharp counterposition to the program of liberal integrationism, which is based upon the lie that you can have equality between the oppressed and the oppressors, that you can have genuine black freedom under capitalism. Equality, as Friedrich Engels put it in his magnificent book *Anti-Dühring* (1878), can only be achieved by abolishing the capitalist mode of production.

Despite disproportionately bearing the brunt of racist cutbacks and job losses, black workers are a strategic component of the unionized proletariat and potentially can play a vanguard role in the struggle for the rule of the working class. However, black workers' weight in the proletariat has undergone considerable erosion. The renewal of this layer of the proletariat has been checked by new forms of racial and social controls devised by the racist rulers. Not a day goes by in which their racist "war on drugs" doesn't add to the total of broken black lives—and also Latino youths' lives. American capitalism is a prison nation, a gigantic jailhouse for the poor and the oppressed. In New York City, nearly half the black men are unemployed.

There are various schools of liberal idealism that posit race and not class as the fundamental dividing line in society. From their standpoint, racism is primarily a product of bad ideas. This notion divorces racism from its material, economic roots in capitalist society. In his latest book, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*, the scholar David Roediger reflects the bankruptcy of liberalism. How is it possible to write such a book and not mention slavery? It's not even in the book's index. He can't explain how black people became a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of this society, victims of the institutionalized racial oppression that is fostered by the bourgeoisie. Black oppression is bound up with black chattel slavery and is a foundation of American capitalism. Slavery's legacy persists: the racist segregation, the unparalleled levels of imprisonment, the racist death penalty.

Slavery was the defining reality at the founding of the United States, from the slave trade's very earliest phase and its tenuous hold in the 16th century to its full flowering in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. For the majority of the history of this country, black chattel slavery made a mockery of the democratic ideology of the founding fathers. Most of the early presidents of this country were slaveholders, along with the chief justices of the Supreme Court. The ideology of black inferiority and white superiority was a rationalization for the brutal extraction of uncompensated slave labor in the production of commodities for an international market.

AP

Mexico City: March 2006 rally in solidarity with National Mining and Metallurgical Workers Union, which launched two-day strike after government attack on union's leader.

Today, on one hand we get the neocons and others proclaiming an "end to racism," embodied in their obscenely misnamed "civil rights" initiatives that have abolished the remnants of affirmative action at many universities. The flip side of this is "people of color" liberal politics, which denies the distinct and different histories of different ethnic groups in this country and, especially, ignores the special oppression of black people. Its purveyors reject the fact that anti-black racism has been central to the maintenance of the bourgeois order in this country. Such an omission—color blindness if you will—is a back-handed concession to reactionary ideologues such as David Horowitz who openly and stridently deny the reality of black oppression.

Behind "people of color" politics is a political program. Race is viewed as the primary dividing line in capitalist society, as opposed to the class division between the capitalists and the workers. There is an implicit presumption that all non-white people have common interests against all whites. White workers and bosses are supposedly united in "white skin privilege." Large sections of the white working class do buy into the racism of this society, which is fomented by the exploiters. However, what material stake do white workers have in the perpetuation of this incredibly unequal society, whose white ruling class enjoys unparalleled riches coming at the workers' expense? None whatsoever.

That is not to say that the racist rulers don't constantly fill their heads with the lie of white superiority and black inferiority, and this has its effects. But it would be news to many of these workers—who along with black people, Latinos and Asian workers, have lost jobs and hard-earned benefits—that they, as opposed to the Wall Street money sharks, are the beneficiaries of the oppression of minorities. The presumption is that blacks and Latinos have more in common with Chinese or Indian businessmen than with Irish- or Italian-derived white workers. The presumption is that Condoleezza Rice and Alberto Gonzales are "our people."

"People of color" politics serves to perpetuate the divisions in the working class and can only help drive white workers into the arms of this country's white ruling class. Unlike the liberals and the reformists, we fight to win the multiracial working class to a program and perspective of class struggle against a common enemy, the capitalist exploiters. We fight to win the workers, no matter what their color or sex, to the struggle for socialist revolution to abolish capitalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, February 15, 6 p.m.

The Racist Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the State Vendetta Against the Black Panthers

San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center,
Rosa Parks D

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Forums: Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

February 13: Finish the Civil War! For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

U. of Chicago, Harper Memorial Library
1116 E. 59th St., Room 125

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagosyc@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, February 15, 6 p.m.

The Revolution Betrayed

University of California, Los Angeles
Haines Hall, A78

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, February 7, 6:30 p.m.

Marxism vs. Superstition: Religion Is the Opiate of the Masses!

University of Toronto, OISE Rm. 4420,
252 Bloor Street West

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 7, 6 p.m.

Women's Oppression and the Family: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 212

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

WORKERS VANGUARD

Immigrant Rights and the Fight for Black Liberation

WV Photo

Rubiera/Fayetteville Observer

Left: Queens protest against racist cop killing of Sean Bell, December 2. Right: Walkout at Smithfield against victimization of immigrant workers, November 17.

PART ONE

JANUARY 27—Three days ago, Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents descended upon the Smithfield pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, and arrested 21 workers who are now being deported. The Smithfield bosses have worked hand in hand with ICE, targeting workers on the pretext that their Social Security numbers cannot be verified.

After more than a decade of struggle by the United Food and Commercial Workers union to organize Smithfield, the company recently said it will allow a new union representation election. However, just prior to the ICE raid, the company said that beginning in February it will fire up to 600 workers, primarily those who walked out to protest the firing of 75 immigrants last year (see "Smithfield Walkout Saves Immigrants' Jobs," *WV* No. 881, 24 November 2006). Moreover, Smithfield has effectively blocked elections by appealing a National Labor Relations Board ruling that held that the company's private cops had brutalized workers during an earlier walkout.

The arrests at Smithfield are the latest installment of a vindictive campaign launched by the government following immigrant rights protests last spring. More than 750 immigrants in Southern California were rounded up this month as part of "Operation Return to Sender," a nationwide drive in which more than 13,000 people have been arrested since June, ostensibly for evading deportation orders or for having previously been deported for crimes committed in the U.S.

"Homeland Security" repression is also bearing down on unionized black workers. Late last year in Chicago, some 70 mostly black rail workers lost their jobs, many for supposedly violating new government guidelines barring ex-felons from holding such positions. As we wrote in "Protest 'War on Terror' Firing of Rail Workers!" (*WV* No. 884, 19 January): "The fight for the rights of workers, immigrants and black people will either go forward together—independent from and opposed to the capitalist class and its government—or fall back separately."

The following is adapted from a forum given in Los Angeles on 16 September 2006 by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander.

* * *

Not a day passes without many horrible examples of the social barbarism inherent in this decaying, racist capitalist system. In the world arena, so-called civilized U.S. imperialism has been and is the outstanding example of imperialist rapacity, smugness, hypocrisy, torture and mass murder. In the U.S., the bipartisan "war against terror" is a war against immigrants, black people, the left and labor. It is no accident that following the nationwide immigrant rights protests last May, the capitalist government dispatched the National Guard to the Mexican border and also sent Guardsmen back to New Orleans. Not a mere coincidence. The racist capitalist ruling class has never missed a chance to play whites off against blacks, blacks and whites against immigrants, men against women, old against young, and vice versa.

The struggles against anti-immigrant chauvinism and for black freedom are intertwined. The key to unlocking the power of labor in the United States is the fight for black liberation, which can be a motor force for proletarian revolution. We say that the color bar in America, the special oppression of black people as an oppressed race-color caste, serves to obscure the division of society into irreconcilable classes and to keep the working class divided.

Today immigrants are 12 percent of the population, with about half coming from Mexico and Central America and the rest from Asia and Europe. In the 1950s, only 2.5 million immigrants arrived in the United States, with 60 percent coming from Europe or Canada, 25 percent from Latin America or the Caribbean and only 6 percent from Asia. By the 1980s, however, immigration to the U.S. had nearly tripled to 7.3 million people, only 12 percent of whom came from Europe or Canada, with 47 percent originating from Latin America and another 37 percent from Asia. During the 1990s, an additional ten million immigrants entered the country, exceeding the prior pace set in the previous decade by 37.7 percent. The vast majority came from Latin America and Asia.

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Protest Government Roundup of Former Black Panthers!

JANUARY 27—In early morning raids on January 23 in California, New York and Florida, police arrested former Black Panther Party members on charges including murder and conspiracy in relation to the 1971 death of San Francisco police officer John Young. Two of the eight arrested were already in prison, and one more is being sought. Coming on top of decades of harassment, grand jury investigations and indictments, the racist roundup shows the relentlessness of the state's vendetta against the Black Liberation Army (BLA), an offshoot of the Black Panther Party, and other former Panthers. Fighters for black rights, labor activists and the left must demand: Drop all the charges now!

The *San Francisco Chronicle*'s front pages have been filled with stories in which those charged are smeared as "classic domestic terrorists" carrying out a campaign aimed at "assassinating law enforcement officers." There *was* a campaign of terror in the 1960s and '70s: the government's murderous COINTELPRO effort to destroy an entire generation of black and leftist militants, in which 38 Panthers were killed. In September 1968, FBI head J. Edgar Hoover called the Black Panthers "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." Commenting on today's climate defined by the "war on terror," Ray Boudreaux, one of those arrested in the roundup, said, "When I watched on TV the twin towers come down, deep in my heart I knew that someone will come by and visit me as soon as they can get it organized, and they did. Once upon a time, they called me a terrorist too. To expedite something in the system, they put the 'terror' tag on it, and it gets done" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 January).

Prosecutors are now claiming new evidence and a secret government witness. Defense attorneys believe that the witness is Ruben Scott, whose "confession" following his arrest in 1973 was coerced through torture, as were those of two others. As Bill Goodman, legal director of the Center for Constitutional Rights, said, "The case against these men was built on torture and serves to remind us that the U.S government, which recently has engaged in such horrific forms of torture and abuse at places like Bagram, Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo, has a history of torture and abuse in this country as well, particularly against African Americans."

Two other former BLA members, Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, were victimized in a frame-up following a 1973 ambush by New Jersey state troopers, during which one of the cops was killed in the crossfire with a bullet from a police revolver. While Sundiata Acoli has been in prison for over 30 years, Assata escaped prison hell in 1979 and fled to Cuba, where she still resides. In May 2005, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 886 — C-701 — 16 February 2007

Mexico: Tortilla Price Hike Condemns Poor to Starvation

AP

January 31: Up to 100,000 people protested in Mexico City against huge increase in price of tortillas.

Down With NAFTA! Expropriate the Corn Magnates! For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

Up to 100,000 people demonstrated in Mexico City on January 31 to protest massive increases in the price of tortillas, the main staple of the Mexican diet. With nearly half of Mexico's population already in poverty, including 20 percent without enough to eat, the sudden sharp increase in the price of tortillas, as well as of milk, eggs, and other necessities, threatens widespread starvation. A major factor in the impoverishment of the Mexican masses was the 1994 imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" agreement, which we have always denounced as U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. Spurred by NAFTA, the monopolization and manipulation of the corn and tortilla markets by the Mexican company Gruma/Maseca and the U.S. agribusiness giants Cargill and Archer-Daniels-Midlands (which is part owner of Gruma/Maseca) were an immediate cause of the recent sharp rise in tortilla prices.

Called by the Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT-National Union of Workers) and composed largely of labor and peasant organizations, the march reflected massive popular anger at the new government of Felipe Calderón—an open lackey of U.S. imperialism—and his right-wing National Action Party (PAN). Against the government's collusion with U.S. and Mexican agribusiness monopolies, many placards read: "We Don't Want PAN [also meaning bread], We Want Tortilla" and "Without Corn There Is No Country." The protest also called for an emergency wage increase and opposed the threatened privatization of oil and electric companies. The SME electrical workers union made up almost a third of the march. Many protesters carried portraits of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), leader of the left bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), who gave a speech at a separate rally following the initial demonstration.

Mexican society is increasingly volatile. Since coming to office on December 1, Calderón has assumed the role of a strongman, vowing to restore order after a year of stormy class and social struggle: miners and steel workers strikes; clashes between peasants and police in the village of Atenco; a rebellion in Oaxaca centered on the APPO (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca) that was initiated by a teachers strike; massive protests against electoral fraud in the presidential election last summer, in which Calderón was declared the victor over López Obrador.

Calderón declared that "we will not tolerate anyone who defies the authority of the state." Warning that this will "cost human lives," he has made a point of appearing in military garb—the first Mexican president to do so in more than 60 years. He took office as federal troops and police brutally smashed APPO and its supporters through arrests, beatings, torture and "disappearances." In a show of force aimed at intimidating the entire population, Calderón unleashed 27,000 troops throughout Mexico in "war on drugs" missions and earned high praise from the Bush administration and the American bourgeois press by extraditing 15 "drug war" prisoners to the U.S., a rare act by a Mexican government.

Mexico's imperialist overlords are pushing the regime in no uncertain terms to crack down on the workers and poor. The *Wall Street Journal* (6 December 2006) praises Calderón as the "new sheriff in town," while a special issue of the British *Economist* (18 November 2006) on Mexico complained that his predecessor, the PAN's Vicente Fox, "shrank from applying the law where protests went beyond it."

In calling for more bloody repression, the imperialists have their eyes set particularly on Mexico's nationalized oil and electrical industries, which the Calderón government has threatened to begin privatizing. The *Economist* also urged this course as "a better way of taking on the over-mighty unions" in these industries. Moves to privatize oil and electricity could touch off a more generalized social explosion. The nationalization of U.S. and British oil companies in 1938 by the bourgeois regime of Lázaro Cárdenas was an important defensive measure undertaken by semicolonial Mexico against the rapacious imperialists that must be defended by the working class—in Mexico and internationally.

In the U.S., the most powerful and dangerous of the imperialist countries, the proletariat has a particular obligation to oppose the depredations of "its own" ruling class. NAFTA has led to the devastation of the Mexican countryside, which pushed millions of peasants into the cities and led to a huge increase in urban poverty as well as mass emigration to the U.S. Some 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the money they send home is Mexico's second-largest source of foreign revenue.

When NAFTA was first proposed in the early 1990s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy denounced it from the standpoint of chauvinist protectionism, railing against Mexicans "stealing American jobs." In contrast, the SL/U.S. issued a joint statement with our Mexican and Canadian comrades that declared: "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle" (*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991). The struggle for workers revolutions in Mexico and the U.S. is intimately linked, including through the agency of the millions of Mexican immigrants who are an important component of the U.S. proletariat. We demand Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!

With a social explosion threatening in Mexico, the role of López Obrador and the PRD is to keep the anger of workers and the poor within the bounds of bourgeois populism. While many leftists look to "independent" unions like the UNT and SME, in fact the leaderships of these unions are politically tied to the PRD, while others, such as the Congress of Labor union federation, have been historically affiliated with the former ruling Party of Institutional Revolution (PRI). The demands of the January 31 demonstration, codified in a nine-point "Declaration of the Zócalo," reflect the PRD's populist program. While demanding price limits, emergency wage increases and government policies to create jobs, the declaration called for "reforming," not ending, NAFTA and appealed for a "great national agreement" and "social unity"—i.e., the false "unity" of the exploited and oppressed with the Mexican bourgeoisie. Similarly, a "National Dialogue" conference held by the SME on February 3-5 raised the class-collaborationist call for a "National Political Pact" to combat austerity and privatizations.

Counterposed to the rest of the Mexican left, which to one degree or another works within the framework of populist nationalism, the Grupo Espartaquista de México fights for the class independence of the proletariat in opposition to all the parties of the class enemy—PAN, PRI and PRD. As the GEM and SL/U.S. wrote in a joint statement last year ("Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" *WV* No. 867, 31 March 2006):

> "The counterpart to the nationalist myth of 'we are all Mexicans' is the idea that there is no class struggle in the U.S. The December strike by largely black and immigrant transit workers in New York, which crippled the world center of finance capital, refuted that notion. The multiracial U.S. working class is potentially the most powerful ally of Mexican workers. The SL/U.S. and the GEM are dedicated to forging revolutionary workers parties on both sides of the border as part of the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution."

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Amritsar Massacre: A *WV* Photo Error

December 23, 2006

To the editor:

I want to point out one small historical inaccuracy in your article, "The 'War on Terror' and the Imperialist World Order —Part Two" (WV, December 8, 2006). You caption the photo of mounted British troops clubbing defenseless Indian demonstrators as the infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919. That is wrong. That atrocity was not photographed. Moreover, at Jallianwala Bagh, the troops were on foot, they were armed with rifles, and they shot to kill. However, this photo does capture what was happening in India in 1919, when the British brutally dispersed unarmed crowds of protestors. And though you don't make the connection, the reason those Indians were protesting is directly related to the theme of your article—a "war on terrorism."

In 1905 the British decided to partition the province of Bengal, a hotbed of nationalism, along Hindu-Muslim communal lines. The nationalists in Calcutta saw this as another attempt to "divide and rule." Adopting a tactic of the Irish freedom fighters, the Indian nationalists called upon patriotic Bengalis to boycott British goods, burn their imported British cloth, and buy only Indian-made products. The government responded with an iron fist. Police whipped schoolboys who paraded in the streets singing Vande Mataram. Magistrates filled the jails. When their peaceful tactics failed to produce results, the radical youth concluded that violence was the only language the arrogant sahibs would understand. Before long, Bengali youth were tossing home-made bombs at police constables and shooting at judges. Thus was born the Indian terrorist movement. However, unlike today's terrorists, they didn't target innocent civilians. Their violence got results. In 1911 the British reunified Bengal. But the young revolutionaries didn't relent. The following year they lobbed a bomb at Viceroy Hardinge as he pompously (and foolishly) paraded atop a lumbering elephant through the narrow streets of Old Delhi.

During the First World War, the armed nationalists were the only political tendency in India to oppose the war. Like the Irish nationalists, the Indian revolutionaries sought arms from Germany, following the dictum, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The future founder of the Indian Communist Party, M. N. Roy, got his start as a gun runner for one of the Bengali groups. Another group conspired to stage mutinies in several British colonies simultaneously. The British got wind of the elaborate plot and foiled the uprisings everywhere except Singapore. Nevertheless, that mutiny, the first since 1857, rattled the British. The British needed their Indian troops to fight their war in Europe and the Near East and to maintain their rule over India.

When the war ended, the British government in India adopted draconian measures (known as the Rowlatt Act) to combat the "terrorist threat." The nationalists, with the newcomer Gandhi at the forefront, called for nationwide hartals (peaceful protests) to force the repeal of the "Black Acts." The demonstrations went off without significant violence, except in the Punjab, where mobs burned government buildings in Amritsar and clashed with the police. The lieutenant governor declared martial law and banned all public gatherings. That was just before a traditional religious festival, Baisakhi, which took place in a large, walled garden-park in Amritsar, known as the Jallianwala Bagh. Defying the ban, thousands of people strolled into the Jallianwala Bagh on that fateful day, April 13, 1919.

The mood was festive. Children played on the grass. Then, without any warning, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer marched his troops to the garden, blocked the exits, and ordered his men to open fire into the crowd. Men, women, and children were mowed down. There was no escape, no place to take cover in the open field. In panic many jumped into a well and drowned. When the shooting stopped ten minutes later, more than a thousand were dead and at least 1,200 wounded. The slaughter would have been even more horrific had Dyer been able to get his two armored cars with mounted machine guns through the narrow gateways of the park.

When news of the massacre finally seeped through the censorship, Indians were shocked. Dyer remained unrepentant. The British allowed him simply to resign. The House of Lords supported Dyer, and the *Morning Post* raised 18,000 pounds sterling to bestow on "the Savior of the Punjab." He was a hero in their "war on terror."

In retrospect, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre marked the beginning of the end of the British Raj. The British gave Gandhi what he needed to mobilize a powerful mass movement. The "terrorist" movement too, roared back to life and played a critical role in the freedom struggle that ultimately triumphed when the Union Jack was removed from the ramparts of the Red Fort in 1947. (I discuss the role of the Indian Trotskyists in that epic struggle, including their attitude towards the "terrorists," in my book: *Tomorrow is Ours: The Trotskyist Movement in India and Ceylon, 1935-48*, recently published by the Social Scientists Association of Sri Lanka.)

Perhaps there is a lesson here. When a world power has to resort to a "war on terror," then the days of that empire may already be numbered.

Charles Wesley Ervin

***WV* replies:**

WV thanks the writer for his thoughtful letter correcting our error. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Marxism and the Nationalization of Oil in Mexico

The Calderón government in Mexico is threatening to reverse the 1938 nationalization of oil by the regime of Lázaro Cárdenas, which touched off a furious imperialist reaction that included a British boycott of Mexican oil. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky made clear, the proletariat internationally, and particularly the workers of the advanced capitalist countries, must oppose the depredations of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Marxists in oppressed semicolonial countries, while opposing imperialism, must stress the need for the independence of the proletariat from the national bourgeoisie.

The oil magnates are not rank-and-file capitalists, not ordinary bourgeoisie. Having seized the richest natural resources of a foreign country, standing on their billions and supported by the military and diplomatic forces of their metropolis, they strive to establish in the subjugated country a regime of imperialistic feudalism, subordinating to themselves legislation, jurisprudence, and administration. Under these conditions expropriation is the only effective means of safeguarding national independence and the elementary conditions of democracy....

Without succumbing to illusions and without fear of slander, the advanced workers will completely support the Mexican people in their struggle against the imperialists. The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense....

The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government.... Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty-bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers, their diplomacy, their press, and their fascist hirelings. The cause of Mexico, like the cause of Spain, like the cause of China, is the cause of the international working class. The struggle over Mexican oil is only one of the advance-line skirmishes of future battles between the oppressors and the oppressed.

—Leon Trotsky, "Mexico and British Imperialism," 5 June 1938, printed in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Letters Policy

Workers Vanguard welcomes letters from our readers. Opinions expressed in letters do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the *WV* Editorial Board. We reserve the right to respond to letters either at the time of publication or at a later point. In order to facilitate the printing of letters, which we do not edit, please keep them to 500 words or less. Letters can be sent to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 or e-mailed to vanguard@tiac.net.

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Saturday, March 3, 3 p.m.

Forum: The Racist Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the State Vendetta Against the Black Panthers

1634 Telegraph St., 3rd Floor
(Near 19th St. BART)

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Tuesday, February 27, 7 p.m.

Forum: For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

U. of Chicago, Harper Memorial Library
1116 E. 59th St., Room 125

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagosyc@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, March 8, 6 p.m.

Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracies!

University of California, Los Angeles
Haines Hall, A78

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Saturday, February 24, 2 p.m.

Imperialism and War: Down With the Bloody U.S. Occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan! Hands off Iran! Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military!

Spartacist Public Office
299 Broadway, Suite 318

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, February 28, 6:30 p.m.

Anglo-Chauvinism and Nationalism Are Poison to Class Struggle! Independence for Quebec!

University of Toronto, OISE Rm. 4420,
252 Bloor Street West

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, February 28, 6 p.m.

The Revolution Betrayed: Trotskyism vs. Stalinism Defend the Workers States of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam!

UBC, Student Union Building, Room 212

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Amid World Anti-Porn Witchhunt

Teacher Convicted in Connecticut Computer Porn Case

On January 5, a substitute teacher in Norwich, Connecticut, was convicted of four counts of "risk of injury to a minor" and faces a maximum of 40 years in prison—all because of porn ads that accidentally popped up on a classroom computer. The 40-year-old teacher, Julie Amero, faces sentencing on March 2. This grotesque case, an instance of the anti-sex hysteria pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans at all levels of government, should be thrown out of court with all charges dropped!

There was no crime. There was no injury. There were only a few seventh graders possibly managing a peek at some images of human sexual activity. It's today's equivalent of 20 years ago finding a *Playboy* in your dad's sock drawer. For pubescent youth, we need hardly point out, the search for such basic and vital information is hardly restricted to classroom accidents. Still, the incident was enough to unleash the guard dogs of state repression against the unfortunate teacher.

Julie Amero is being victimized by an anti-porn, anti-sex campaign that is being expanded by capitalist governments internationally. Reactionary legislation in the U.S. has already branded hundreds of men and women "sex offenders" for engaging in consensual activity. Pilloried via public Internet listings, their lives already have been ruined, and some have even been murdered. Two men on such a registry were killed in Washington state in 2005, and two more the next year in Maine. Now hundreds more face state repression. A massive hunt was just initiated worldwide for over 2,000 individuals from 77 countries who supposedly tried to access "child pornography" on a computer in Austria. The *New York Times* (8 February) reports that "the F.B.I. is looking for as many as 600 suspects in the United States.... Germany has been given about 400 names and France close to 100."

Now Senator John McCain has introduced a bill to set up a database of "illegal images" and to force Internet service providers and Web sites "to alert the government to any illegal images of real or 'cartoon' minors," while another bill "would require all Internet service providers to track their customers' online activities to aid police in future investigations" (*New York Times*, 9 February).

After interviewing Julie Amero, journalist Brian Krebs wrote in his January 25 "Security Fix" blog on the *Washington Post* Web site: "Amero described herself as the kind of person who can hardly find the power button on a computer, saying she often relies on written instructions from her husband explaining how to access e-mail." She said that when she reported for work to a seventh grade classroom at Kelly Middle School on 19 October 2004, she saw two students looking at an innocuous-seeming hairstyling site, but then pop-ups appeared and, she said, "They wouldn't go away. I mean, some of the sites stayed on there no matter how many times I clicked the red X, and others would just pop back up." Then, Krebs reported, "Amero said she panicked and ran down the hall to the teacher's lounge to ask for help. 'I dared not turn the computer off. The teacher had asked me not to sign him out' of the computer, she recalled." No one would help. After some students told their parents, the school told her not to come back. Shortly after, the police arrested her.

Krebs' "Security Fix" blog describes what happened in great detail, understandable to those familiar with computer viruses, Trojan-horse programs, spyware, firewalls and so on. The school network had outdated software and lacked porn and other pop-up blockers. But at her trial, Amero's defense was not allowed to give a demonstration proving that the pop-ups were accidental, as well as offer other evidence. While the major news media have all but ignored this story, computer experts, including from *PC World*, a main industry magazine, and others have voiced outrage at her conviction.

Looking at porn on the computer, or in books or films, should be no crime, for anybody. We pointed out in a leaflet opposing last fall's California "sex dragnet" Proposition 83 (see *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006): "The witchhunters want to equate looking at pornography with violent crimes such as rape, sexual assault and even murder, singling out child pornography as especially pernicious. Like all pornography, it is simply words and images designed for pleasure." The Spartacist League opposes the outrageous intrusion of the government into private life and demands an end to all laws against "crimes without victims," such as prostitution, drug use and pornography.

In the U.S. and elsewhere, the attitude of the capitalist state when it comes to the explosive intersection of youth and sex is, literally, "God forbid somebody might learn something." A Texas art teacher, a 28-year classroom veteran, was suspended and told her contract would not be renewed for taking her pupils to the Dallas Museum of Art last April, where they glimpsed—oh the horror!—nude statues. And last month in Yonkers, New York, a seventh-grade teacher was barred from classes after asking students in a health class to draw accurate male anatomy. More generally, "abstinence-only" programs have been promoted in the schools over the past decade, pushing ignorance and fear about sex. As for research into sexuality, about the same time that Amero was arrested, a scientist at San Francisco State University said, "I have been in this field for 30 years, and the level of fear and intimidation is higher now than I can ever remember" (*New York Times*, 9 November 2004).

As we concluded our article on California's Prop. 83:

> "At bottom, the anti-sex witchhunt serves to bolster the capitalist order through propping up its three key supports: the state, organized religion, and the institution of the family, the central source of women's oppression. It will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and replace the family with socialized childcare and housework, freeing women to play a full role in social and political life. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

WV Photo

March for abortion rights, San Francisco, 1992.

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(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

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CHICAGO
For more information: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

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For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, February 24, 3 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church*
3300 Wilshire Boulevard
(2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

BAY AREA
Sunday, February 25, 2 p.m.
UC Berkeley
213 Wheeler
(near downtown Berkeley BART station)
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

*The views expressed by the participants are not necessarily those of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church

Immigrant Rights and the Fight for Black Liberation

The following is adapted from a forum given in Los Angeles on 16 September 2006 by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander. Part One of this piece, which we conclude below, appeared in WV *No. 885 (2 February).*

PART TWO

In recent demonstrations for immigrant rights, we heard the slogan "Today we march, tomorrow we vote." The large, nationwide pro-immigrant rights protests last spring were an expression of a lot of determination of immigrant workers—Mexicans, Central Americans, Asians—to fight for their rights against the bourgeoisie's attempts to criminalize them. These protests also represented, on the part of their organizers, a conscious attempt to steer immigrants into Democratic Party electoral politics. The protests were politically dominated by the Democratic Party and the reactionary Catholic church. The so-called "path to citizenship" "guest worker" program, which California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger recently picked up on, is pushed by Massachusetts Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy and Arizona Republican Senator John McCain. It represents a form of indentured servitude, beefed-up border patrol repression and new, fortified border walls.

A key issue in this unfolding battle is the fight for working-class political independence from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Despite occasional differences, these parties contest every four years to run the government, which is an executive committee for running the affairs of the bourgeoisie. The pro-capitalist AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy opposes the expansion of the guest worker program, while refusing to mobilize labor's power on behalf of the oppressed. The leadership of the so-called "Change to Win"—more like Born to Lose—coalition, which split from the AFL-CIO in 2005, supports Kennedy and McCain's plan and also calls for more border "security" measures.

The misleaders of both major labor federations are dead set against organizing the unorganized through class-struggle means because they are staunch defenders of capitalism and the bourgeoisie's so-called national interests. They tie the workers and the oppressed to the "friends of labor" capitalist Democratic Party. They hate and fear united class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. That's why we fight to forge a class-struggle leadership of labor through a struggle to oust the treacherous labor bureaucracy.

The potential exists for common class struggle. We saw this during the multiracial protests back in 1992 against the acquittal of the cops who savagely beat black motorist Rodney King. The Spartacist League fought for militant labor action in 1992 in defense of the besieged ghettos and barrios during the L.A. revolt. With the presence of immigrants, largely from Central America and Mexico, in these protests, this could have set the stage for genuine, united class struggle. The power existed within the labor movement nearby in the ports, in Long Beach, if the workers had been organized and mobilized. In the absence of such a struggle, the nationalists, both black and Latino, fought over the crumbs of who was going to "rebuild L.A."—i.e., who was going to line their own pockets.

Steve Appleford

Los Angeles, 1992: Multiracial upheaval over acquittal of racist LAPD cops in Rodney King beating shook capitalist rulers.

Schumann/SABA

More recently, anti-racist white youth, blacks, Latinos and others stood together on the picket lines during the hard-fought UFCW supermarket workers strike of 2003-2004. That strike was knifed and defeated by the labor tops, who prevented it from being extended nationally.

In New York City, black, white and immigrant workers united on the picket lines during the all too brief, three-day transit strike in December 2005. It was a powerful strike. It represented a fight against the anti-strike Taylor Law. It showed in action the tremendous social power of labor to cripple the financial center of U.S. capitalism. However, the transit workers union bureaucracy led by Roger Toussaint called the strike off after three days. The bureaucracy's program of class collaboration means an alliance with the very Democratic Party whose state attorney general, Eliot Spitzer, brought down the injunction against the strike. Now Spitzer is governor of New York. There was tremendous sympathy for the strike on the part of the black and Latino poor and New York City workers who saw this union as standing up for *their* future.

To build a revolutionary party we have to politically defeat the opportunist currents within the labor movement, the opponents of the revolutionary workers movement. There is no such thing as the "family of the left." While the fake-left reformists criticize aspects of the Democrats' proposed immigration legislation, they oppose the perspective of a class-struggle fight for immigrant rights and for black freedom. They oppose the struggle for proletarian revolution.

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) stated during last year's immigrant rights protests that they were "sending chills down the spine of Corporate America" (*Socialist Worker* online, 7 April 2006) and that "potentially the movement can break the logjam of U.S. politics, in which the Republicans launch attack after attack with little or no response from the Democrats" (*Socialist Worker* online, 31 March 2006). In other words, make the Democrats fight, and capitalists should cease to be capitalists. The ISO ridiculously whines that the ultra-legalistic and respectable NAACP merely supports a path to citizenship for college-age students and has firmly planted itself on the right wing of the movement. From its inception, the NAACP has lobbied to get the viciously racist rulers to ameliorate conditions for black people in the smallest kind of way, to allow the tiny black middle class more access to perks and positions. Then you have Workers World Party, which claimed that the immigrant rights protests represented "taking a path independent of both Republicans and Democrats" (*Workers World* online, 27 April 2006).

Chiming in along similar lines is a tiny organization, mainly based in New York, called the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), which claims to be Trotskyist. The LRP was founded on capitulation to anti-Sovietism and racist reaction, to anti-busing bigotry in Boston. They also chase behind the liberals, and in the words of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, bow to spontaneity. In regard to the protests, they said that this "partial victory has already begun to affect the consciousness of oppressed immigrant workers. They are learning a crucial lesson: their own power" (*Proletarian Revolution*, Spring 2006). What partial victory? The beefing up of the borders with National Guardsmen? Increased deportations and increased deaths in the deserts in Arizona? What planet do they live on?

Now I have already pointed out a few things about the historical role of anti-black racism in the U.S., that this has largely prevented the development of socialist consciousness within the proletariat. And I recall an old saying when I was growing up: "If you're white, you're right; if you're brown, stick around; if you're black, get back." It has some truth to it, but not the whole truth. Because you don't have to be black to be kicked

WV Photo

March 2006: Spartacist banner at massive L.A. demonstration for immigrant rights.

around, beaten down and locked away. Black people don't have a monopoly on suffering in this society.

Black Democrats and Immigrant Rights

In the U.S., there are a number of petty-bourgeois black hustlers, capitalist wannabes, who were the main beneficiaries of the civil rights movement and who demonstrate complete contempt for the oppressed black masses. They got PhDs in blaming the oppressed for their oppression. They include black Democrats like Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama, black nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, and for a while Bill Cosby was not to be outdone.

A number of the political con artists who represented the legalistic-pacifist wing of the civil rights movement are still around, cynically talking about a so-called new civil rights movement—which to them means a new movement to chain labor, blacks, Latinos and immigrants to the Democrats. Some of them play the anti-immigrant card, like Andrew Young, the black former UN ambassador under Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who recently talked about how various immigrants rip off black people.

Although we defend such gains as the right to vote, we point out that the failure of the liberal-led civil rights movement to qualitatively change the conditions of the black masses shows that no number of laws can change the conditions of the black ghetto masses. Because the slightest fight for jobs, decent integrated education, an end to racist police brutality means a fight to abolish capitalism, the root cause of black oppression. We fight for black liberation through socialist revolution—the assimilation of black people in an egalitarian socialist order in which the monstrous edifice of color-caste oppression has been swept away.

Black Democrats are divided on the question of immigrant rights. Al Sharpton and Jackson posture as defenders of immigrants, lining up some of the immigrants' votes for the Democrats. We know and have pointed out (see "Labor and the Fight for Immigrant Rights," *WV* No. 871, 26 May 2006) that under the liberal Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mexican workers were used, abused and sent back to Mexico during the Great Depression of the 1930s. (This is not to mention the "Operation Wetback" deportations under a later administration in the 1950s.) This was the same Roosevelt who opposed anti-lynching legislation because of his alliance with Southern racist Dixiecrats. This was historically the best the liberals have had to offer.

As a quintessential petty-bourgeois hustler, Sharpton wore a wire for the Feds in the 1980s. He has supported one or another sordid capitalist politician, like Republican Al D'Amato, as well as Roy Innis of CORE, who in the mid 1970s supported the UNITA organization, which was backed by apartheid South Africa, in Angola against the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the MPLA, which was backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Sharpton led boycotts in Harlem against Arab shopkeepers in 1986. He has served the racist exploiters well in keeping the masses in check—squelching struggle against the racist acquittal of the murderous cops who pumped 41 bullets at unarmed black African immigrant Amadou Diallo, and fronting for the Ku Klux Klan by going to court on their behalf in opposition to the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in New York City in October 1999.

L.A.-based, pro-Democratic Party liberal Earl Ofari Hutchinson issued one of his communiqués warning Latino capitalist politicians to not forget black interests as they rally for their rights. And he said, "Though Latinos have displaced blacks as the nation's biggest minority group, the popular notion lingers that they are years away from packing the political wallop of black voters and politicians" (*Pasadena Weekly*, 18 May 2006). And further he wrote in an online article (2 May 2006), "Latinos who want to change the mindset of blacks on illegal immigrants' rights must make a visible and concerted effort to reach out to blacks and not just on immigrant rights issues but on issues that are important to blacks as well."

Chambers/Orange County Register

Picketers in Southern California face down scab truck during 2003-2004 UFCW grocery workers strike.

Earl Ofari Hutchinson is a former so-called radical who long ago made his peace with this rotten racist capitalist system. Today he pushes illusions in the pro-capitalist Martin Luther King wing of the civil rights movement and he praises the arch-Uncle Tom Booker T. Washington, who from the late 1880s to the 20th century pushed segregation and "black capitalism." Washington's gospel of self-help is fervently embraced today by petty-bourgeois black misleaders who ingratiate themselves with the white ruling class. This underscores the sharp, conflicting class interests within the black population.

Again we hear, from Ofari, that the liberal pacifist King was becoming a socialist toward the end of his life. This is not new. The reformists sing the same psalms. When you hear that, it's time to reach for your wallet and watch your back. This is the same King who supported the suppression of the black masses during the Watts rebellion in 1965. This deliberate deception by these hypocritical, self-serving Democratic Party liberals is aimed at fooling the oppressed masses into thinking that the liberals represent a realistic alternative to a class-struggle program for black liberation, a program which is inseparable from a struggle to get rid of the capitalist system.

For Working-Class Unity!

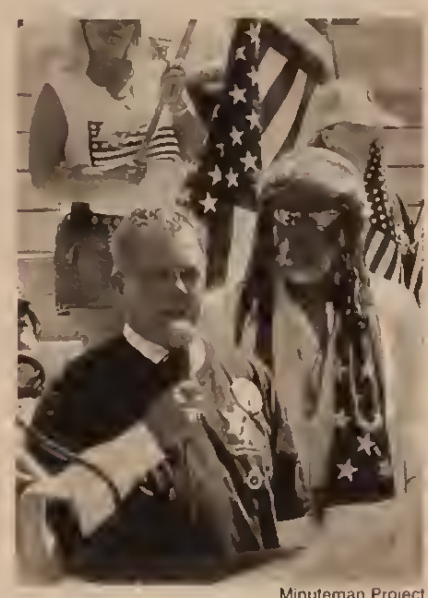
The pervasive hopelessness and despair in America's ghettos today have a basis. They grow out of several decades of defeats for working people and black people as a result of the betrayals of the pro-capitalist labor leadership and the savage attacks administered by black Democratic Party mayors as front men for racist capitalist rule. One can see the despair in the pervasive use of the "N" word.

Such defeats have generated among some blacks the growth of separatist sentiment, which is incapable, like the program of black separatism historically, of generating a program of struggle. Separatism acquiesces to the racist capitalist status quo, accepts "separate but equal" segregation. Najee Ali in L.A. is emblematic of the black nationalist program that embraces capitalism. While posing as a champion of the poor and oppressed, he rails against immigrants for "taking jobs from blacks." He defends *sharia*, Islamic law, in Afghanistan and the veil. He embraces anti-woman, anti-immigrant, anti-labor and anti-communist ideology, and he says that he is for the protection of women from the supposed evils of rap music. This is poison to integrated class struggle against the capitalist exploiters, who seek to enslave us all.

His reactionary politics is cut out of the same filthy cloth of the CIA-backed fundamentalist *mujahedin* who in Afghanistan in the late 1970s and '80s skinned schoolteachers who taught women how to read and write. Teaching women how to read and write was a crime for U.S. imperialism and their *mujahedin* Islamic cutthroat allies, just like during slavery it was a crime to teach black people how to read and write. In opposition to "born again" Cold Warrior Democratic president Jimmy Carter, we said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We warned and fought against any pullout of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Indeed, the Soviet withdrawal in 1988-89 was a criminal betrayal that paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state itself.

We don't romanticize the oppressed. We don't shut our eyes to the poisonous divisions of capitalist society. Many immigrants do buy into the anti-black racism of the capitalist exploiters. For many immigrants, this has historically been one of the tickets for admission and possible acceptance in this capitalist society. The dominant ideas are the ideas of the ruling class. And we combat the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, be it through a struggle against racism, against the oppression of women or against anti-gay bigotry. Racial divisions among workers can be overcome through militant class struggle.

The reality and centrality of black oppression have come to bite many foreign-born immigrants over the years. This includes black immigrants, like the Jamaica-born poet Claude McKay, who in the 1920s captured his recognition of anti-black racism in this country, which he thought he was exempt from, in a powerful series of essays. One of these was titled, "He Who Gets Slapped." It was him, when he tried to get into a theater. Even the relatively privileged Cuban immigrants, who are welcomed into the U.S. by the anti-Communist American rulers, soon find this out. While white Cuban *gusanos*—counterrevolutionary worms—run Miami, the black Cubans who get there are relegated to low-paid jobs. They're segregated into the ghettos like Liberty City and Overtown and subjected to racist cop terror.


Minuteman Project

June 2006: Anti-immigrant rally by reactionary Minuteman outfit, Los Angeles.

For a Workers Party to Fight for Socialist Revolution!

It will take a fighting leadership of labor, committed to uncompromising class struggle, to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary struggle against the bosses. The absence of a working-class-led fight against black oppression has crippled the labor movement in the United States, especially in the open shop South. With the significant growth of the immigrant workforce in the South, especially Mexican workers, the possibility of common struggle is sharply posed.

In Tar Heel, North Carolina, there exists the Smithfield packing plant, the biggest employer in the region and the largest pork production plant in the world. The few whites there are either mechanics or supervisors, while black and Latino workers have the dirtiest jobs. In 1997, after a failed union recognition struggle, management fired the pro-union black workers and replaced them with Latino immigrants. We know that this can blow up in the bosses' faces, like when unionized black janitors were replaced in L.A. by immigrant workers who then went on to organize strikes in the city. The morning of the union vote in Smithfield in 1997, the deputy sheriffs showed up in riot gear, and on the union trailer that had been set up were the words "n----r lover." That was the management response.

We've pointed out that the fight to organize the South means a direct fight for

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C., stopped Ku Klux Klan march centrally targeting immigrant rights, 27 November 1982.

Britain: Racism and the Islamic Veil

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *No. 197 (Winter 2006-2007), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

When cabinet minister Jack Straw declared in October that he would prefer Muslim women not to wear the veil that covers the face (the *niqab*), he opened the floodgates for a torrent of racist bigotry particularly directed against Muslim

WORKERS HAMMER

women. He also unleashed a campaign for banning the *niqab* in certain areas of public life. This comes in the wake of the ban on the *hijab* (headscarf) imposed in French schools in 2004 which was followed by similar bans in some German states, and now the Netherlands government proposes to ban the *niqab* in public places.

Straw's attack on Muslim women comes in the context of an escalation of the racist "war on terror" which seeks to brand Muslims the "enemy within." Labour ministers are trying to drum up support among the public, which is deeply opposed to the occupation of Iraq. There is also much scepticism about government "terrorism" scares, following the 2005 shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes and the police raid in Forest Gate in June 2006 in which Mohammed Abdul Kahar was shot in the chest. He and his brother were arrested although they were totally innocent. Meanwhile despite the massive "security" scare at the airports in August, no evidence whatsoever of a terror plot has been presented to the public.

In November, to whip up support for yet another tranche of "anti-terrorism" laws, MI5 head Eliza Manningham-Buller was wheeled out to give a speech that made the country appear to be awash with terrorist plots and potential terrorists. She claimed there are 30 "major terrorist plots being planned," while 1,600 individuals are "actively engaged in promoting attacks here and abroad" and no less than 100,000 people "considered the London bombings to be justified" (*Guardian*, 10 November 2006).

Soon after Straw's statement, a woman in Liverpool had her veil ripped off, there were arson attacks on mosques and the xenophobic capitalist press had a field day denouncing the veil, and all things Muslim. Straw of course says that it is Muslims wearing the veil that "could make community relations more difficult." His opposition to the veil soon took on the status of a government-backed campaign. Tony Blair proffered that the veil could make some "outside the community feel uncomfortable." Local government minister Phil Woolas called for the sacking of teaching assistant Aishah Azmi for wearing the *niqab* at work; Blair backed Kirklees Council in suspending her from her job, which was in a Church of England school with a majority of Muslim pupils. When Azmi was subsequently sacked, she denounced ministers who called for her dismissal, rightly saying it made her "fearful of the consequences for Muslim women in this country who want to work."

Meanwhile the city council in nearby Bradford—home to one of the largest concentrations of Asians outside London—is drawing up guidelines stating that pupils and staff should not wear veils during lessons. And in a landmark ruling, the House of Lords unanimously backed Denbigh high school in Luton in their exclusion of a pupil, Shabina Begum, for wearing the Muslim *jilbab* (which covers the body but not the face). This overturned a previous Court of Appeal decision that Begum's exclusion was unlawful and that she had a right to manifest her religion.

No to Racist State Bans on Muslim Dress!

Ray Tang/Rex Features

Getty

June 2006 protest following "anti-terror" police raid in East London, in which Mohammed Abdul Kahar was shot. Right: Teaching assistant Aishah Azmi was fired with Blair's backing for wearing the *niqab*.

As Marxists—and therefore atheists and fighters for women's liberation—we oppose the veil as both a symbol and an instrument of women's oppression. Nonetheless we unambiguously oppose any state or government bans and restrictions on the veil, which are racist and discriminatory against Muslims. Contrary to liberal claims that banning the veil is designed to integrate Muslims into society, bans will lead to expulsions of Muslim women from schools, universities and the workforce, which will reinforce their isolation and oppression. Bans will also fuel racism and play into the hands of the fascist BNP [British National Party].

Across Europe, bans and strictures on Islamic dress are an extension of the racist "war on terror" directed in the first instance against Muslims, who are falsely and indiscriminately branded terrorist suspects as a pretext for state repression. In Europe, people of Muslim origin are mainly the descendants of immigrant workers brought into the imperialist countries as cheap labour in previous decades to work in the lowest paid, dirtiest jobs, just like today's new generation of immigrants. In Britain, the majority of Muslims are of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin and constitute the most impoverished section of the population.

The "war on terror" is a classic "divide and rule" ploy, stigmatising Muslims as an excuse for a sweeping reduction in the legal rights of the entire population. It is also aimed at the working class, intended to stifle class struggle by insisting on "national unity" against a supposed common enemy. The "war on terror" must be fought by mobilisations of the multiethnic working class, involving its immigrant component, in a struggle against the hated Blair government and against the capitalist system as a whole. This system based on production for profit is the root cause of racism and of the oppression of women in society.

Straw's provocation ignited a fierce controversy over race relations, religion and women's rights. Supporters of Labour's "war on terror" waxed venomous against the religious strictures of Islam, which in Britain is a minority religion of the most deprived and downtrodden. The British capitalist state has its own established Christian churches in England and Wales that are tied to the heart of the conservative establishment, the monarchy and House of Lords. British society at large has been relatively secular for decades, but the Blair government has done its utmost to change that, by funding a huge growth in religious schools while over 40 of the 100 new "city academies" are to be run by Christians.

From Blair's crusading Christian godliness to local government minister Ruth Kelly's membership of the far-right Catholic sect Opus Dei, Christianity constantly interferes in the private lives of the population. The social consequences are all around. Creationism—once the preserve of Christian fundamentalists—is increasingly being taught in schools, repackaged as "intelligent design" while reactionaries of all stripes have been beating the drums for a reduction in the time limit on abortion. Religion ought not to have any official backing by the state, and people should be free to practise their religion without state interference and persecution. ***Abolish the monarchy, the House of Lords and the established churches! For separation of religion and state! For free abortion on demand! For an end to state funding of religious schools—for free, secular education!***

In the polarisation over the veil, Salman Rushdie, who supports the "war on terror," was hailed in the racist gutter press for having said "veils suck." Labour MP Harriet Harman also denounced the veil, saying, "if you want equality, you have to be in society, not hidden away from it." This hypocrisy is breathtaking coming from a cabinet member in a government that is responsible for the bloody occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Try telling relatives of the countless thousands of women and children slaughtered in Iraq that they ought to be "in society"!

Imperialist Butchers of Iraq Will Not Liberate Women!

Liberal journalist Polly Toynbee also backed Straw, arguing that "because some racists may jump on the bandwagon to attack Muslims, that's no reason to pretend veils are OK" (*Guardian*, 17 October 2006). In the name of secularism, Toynbee is echoing the Islamophobia being whipped up by Labour ministers. This campaign has nothing to do with secularism. It is not directed at Christianity (as can be seen in Blair's backing of a Christian airport worker's right to wear a crucifix at work) but is part of a generalised assault on Muslims worldwide. Pope Benedict gave it his seal of approval in September when he provocatively described Islam as "evil and inhuman." This is rich indeed, coming from the head of the Catholic Church which is responsible for the Crusades and the Inquisition.

Outrageously, the Alliance for Workers Liberty (AWL) leapt to the Pope's defence! Condemning the international outcry from Muslims that forced him into a half-hearted apology as "the effort to silence the head of the Catholic Church," Sean Matgamna opined: "If the spiritual absolute monarch of a billion and a quarter Catholics can be treated like that, the cause of free speech and freedom to criticise religion, is surely in a very bad way" (*Solidarity*, 28 September 2006). The AWL's Islamophobia is an extension of their craven loyalty to "democratic" British imperialism born out of anti-communist hostility to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Their defence of imperialist "democracy" against Islam today is a basic denial that the biggest force for terrorism on earth is U.S. and British imperialism.

Prominent liberals from Muslim backgrounds reluctantly lined up with Jack

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Straw, whom they otherwise despise. *Independent* columnist Yasmin Alibhai-Brown said, "Jack Straw's politics usually make me either furious or bilious," but on the veil, "I find myself agreeing with his every word." Alihhai-Brown was scathing against liberal apologists for the veil in Britain. Noting that unveiled women in Iran are imprisoned, "branded whores and beaten" while women in Afghanistan and Palestine suffer a similar plight, she complained bitterly that: "Instead of expressing solidarity with these females, sanctimonious British niqabis are siding with their foes" (*Independent*, 9 October 2006).

Also hacking Straw was Honzan Mahmond of the Worker Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI) who said, "I could never have imagined having anything in common with Jack Straw, but I find myself in agreement with him about how it feels talking to a woman covered up in hijab or the 'niqab' that covers women fully" (guardian.co.uk Web site, 7 October 2006). Despite the name, the WCPI is an anti-clerical reformist organisation which often looks to the imperialist powers as allies in the fight for women's rights in the semi-colonial world. Mahmoud points to the horrors of Iraq, where "the veil is being imposed at gunpoint." Yet despite the British government's role in Iraq, she sees no contradiction in calling on them to defend women at home by banning the veil.

The very institutions these people look to and support are ***responsible for*** the bloody mess in the semi-colonial world. It is absurd to appeal to the British imperialist state, whose military occupying forces in Iraq are actively fomenting the communalist terror Mahmoud so vehemently opposes. The imperialists are perfectly capable of seizing on the oppression of women in the Muslim world and elsewhere, but only to justify colonial subjugation. It is fatal to fall for the illusion that they will actually improve the status of women.

Afghanistan today is a case in point. In 2001, George Bush cited the status of women—who are brutally oppressed—as part of the justification for a devastating military assault on one of the poorest countries on earth. Among the liberals who fell for this lie was feminist journalist Natasha Walter who visited Afghanistan at the time. On a recent return visit she was shocked by the situation of women: the majority of girls cannot go to school; women who participate in public life, including a well-known member of parliament and a TV presenter, live in constant fear of being killed by fundamentalists (*Guardian*, 28 November 2006).

Workers Hammer

July 2005: London protest against killing of Jean Charles de Menezes by British cops.

The *Independent* (29 November 2006) also reported on a 46-year-old school teacher, Mohammed Halim, who was savagely killed and disemhowelled by the Taliban in a series of murders of teachers who dare to educate girls.

There is nothing new in the imperialists using the oppression of women in the colonial world to justify enslavement of a weaker country. In Victorian times Lord Cromer, the Empire's chief overlord in colonial Egypt, cited the fact that women there wore veils to justify the British occupation which began in 1882. Cromer's claim was bogus, to put it mildly: so vehement was his opposition to women's rights that in London in 1910 he became president of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage! He also opposed suffrage for working-class men, seeing it as a slippery slope towards socialism.

Soviet Bureaucracy's Betrayal in Afghanistan

The U.S. and British imperialists are responsible for the growth of the global network of Islamist forces, including Osama bin Laden, committed to *jihad* against the West. In the 1980s, the CIA organised and armed the Afghan *mujahedin* (holy warriors) who were known for throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women and shooting schoolteachers for educating girls. This massive mobilisation by U.S. imperialism was directed against the Soviet Union and its allies in government in Afghanistan.

When the Soviet Army entered Afghanistan in December 1979, we said, "Hail the Red Army!" and "Extend the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" The Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy—for its own reasons—sent in the army at the request of the nationalist government in Kabul which was attempting to lower the bride price and to introduce land reform. These modest measures provoked the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists into a "holy war" against the government forces. The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the AWL and other reformists around the world lined up with the imperialists, howling against the Soviet troops, in the first war in modern history in which women's emancipation was a central issue. The reformists lined up with their own "democratic" bourgeoisie because what was at stake was not only social progress within Afghanistan but also the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union was a workers state that emerged from the victorious October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia that overthrew the rule of the landlords and capitalists and established the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the vast peasantry. Even though tsarist Russia was the most backward of the imperialist countries, the Russian Revolution was a beacon to workers and the oppressed in all advanced capitalist countries and of course to the oppressed masses of Central Asia. Despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration that took place in the Soviet Union beginning in 1923-24, it remained a workers state until counterrevolution in 1991-92.

Nowhere were the remaining gains of the Bolshevik Revolution more clearly visible in 1979 than in Soviet Central Asia. An Afghan schoolteacher looking across the northern border at that region, which two generations earlier was as wretchedly poor as Afghanistan, saw a literate, relatively modern society where women were no longer degraded slaves.

AFP

British occupation troops near Nawzad, southern Afghanistan, killed 21 people in June 2006 battle.

The Soviet Army presence could have resulted in the incorporation of Afghanistan into Soviet Central Asia, opening up the possibility of a social transformation, something that did not exist before because a proletariat as such did not exist. But rather than fighting to defeat the brutal *mujahedin*, the Kremlin Stalinists under Mikhail Gorbachev criminally withdrew the Soviet troops in 1989. This was a huge betrayal of Afghanistan, especially its women. It also paved the way for handing over East Germany and the USSR itself to counterrevolution, a colossal defeat for the working masses of the entire world.

SWP Extols the Virtues of Islamic Reaction

Today the SWP is allied with Islamic organisations in Respect and the Stop the War Coalition (StWC). In response to Straw's statement, StWC held a "People's Assembly" in London on 18 November against Islamophobia and the "war on terror." This gathering (which provided prayer rooms, as is now standard at SWP events) issued a declaration condemning the government's attack on Islamic religious practices, and the occupation of Iraq. But in keeping with the SWP's gross capitulation to Islamic forces, the declaration says not one word on the rights of women. Referring only obliquely to the veil, it does so positively, presenting the issue as if it were a lifestyle choice and a welcome example of "diversity." It said:

> "In particular we condemn the statements made by government ministers designed to isolate, demonise and even criminalise Islamic religious practices, choice of dress and cultural expression. We affirm that such diversity in fact makes an important contribution to the overall development of our society."

The notion that the veil is just some "choice of dress" or a matter of "cultural expression" is liberal nonsense. Marxists reject such "cultural relativism" which serves to prettify hideous oppression in the neo-colonial world as merely "cultural differences." Often those who speak of "cultural relativism" do so in a laudable effort not to impose Western cultural standards on the rest of the world. However it can also be used to condone gruesome crimes like female genital mutilation or so-called honour killings. Contrary to such drivel, the head-to-toe veil is a walking prison that physically excludes women from society. It embodies the submission of women to men and their supposed inferior status. The *hijab* too is a tool of oppression, covering the hair based on the notion that female attractiveness and sexuality must be suppressed and hidden because it leads men into "sin" and is a sign of Western "decadence." ***We solidarise with the countless thousands of women who have sought to escape the tyranny of the veil, whether in the Muslim world or in the imperialist centres.***

To justify their capitulation to Islam, the SWP sometimes cites the fact that Lenin's Bolshevik Party regarded religion as a private matter. Lenin made it very clear that Marxism is based on dialectical materialism which is "absolutely atheistic and positively hostile to all religion" and "has always regarded all modern religions and churches, and each and every religious organisation, as instruments of bourgeois reaction that serve to defend exploitation and to befuddle the working class." At the same time he noted that religion serves to solace the oppressed masses in a cruel world, and therefore to free the masses from its yoke requires class struggle for socialist revolution against the capitalist system that gives rise to the brutal social conditions religion thrives on. However Lenin was adamant that revolutionaries "regard religion as a private matter ***in relation to the state***, but not in relation to themselves, not in relation to Marxism, and not in relation to the workers' party" ("The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion," 1909).

The SWP's adaptation to Islam is based on the utterly false notion that political Islam is "anti-imperialist." Since counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the imperialists have sought to portray Islamic fundamentalism—exemplified by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda—as the replacement for the "red menace" in order to justify domestic repression and imperialist military aggression. The U.S. imperialists feel emboldened in their military adventures and are seeking to strengthen their hold on the historically Muslim oil-rich Near East.

The dramatic rise of political Islam in this region is a result of the bankruptcy of secular nationalism and of Stalinism, forces that were once dominant among the poor and oppressed in Iraq, Iran and Egypt. Today the masses increasingly look to Islamic jihadist forces that are reactionary and hostile to any form of social progress. These forces are reacting in their own distorted way to the crimes of U.S. and British imperialism against the peoples of the Near East, including their backing for Israel's bloody repression of the Palestinians. The fundamentalists also utilise the perceived threat by the imperialists to "Westernise" Muslim societies as a justification for the degradation of women. However this threat is actually ***non-existent***. The U.S. and British imperialists are not about to set up secular democracies in either Afghanistan or Iraq, or anywhere else in the neo-colonial world.

Islam is not uniquely reactionary or anti-woman; in fact anti-woman bigotry is just as much an integral part of Christianity

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Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

We reprint below a 27 January GEM leaflet distributed at the Mexico City demonstration.

* * *

> "Yet the slightest attention and thought will suffice to satisfy anyone that the ways of combating catastrophe and famine are available, that the measures required to combat them are quite clear, simple, perfectly feasible, and fully within reach of the people's forces, and that these measures are *not* being adopted *only* because, *exclusively* because, their realisation would affect the fabulous profits of a handful of landowners and capitalists."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, 1917

Reuters

Corbis

Woman weighing tortillas in Mexico City shop. Right: Mexico City slum. Price increase threatens poor with starvation.

The capitalists' pockets get fatter in the same proportion as the poor get thinner. Facing a volatile situation in the country with combative struggles in defense of the basic rights of the population, and after decades of privatizations and the devastation of the countryside under NAFTA, now the bloodsucking corn magnates, in collusion with the right-wing Felipe Calderón government, even want to take tortillas away from the poor. Becoming a luxury item, tortillas are being sold for as much as 30 pesos [$2.73] per kilo (a 400 percent increase!). This crisis is a product of rapacious speculation on the part of magnates like the U.S. company Cargill and the Mexican monopoly Maseca. While the pathetic minimum wage rose just 3.9 percent, Calderón, in an outrageous display of irony, made a pact with these big consortiums for a "price limit" (which is barely observed) of 8.5 pesos [$0.77] per kilo—a 40 percent increase! Calderón and his cronies are condemning the workers, peasants and urban poor to starvation.

To fight against this crisis, workers and peasants must take control of the food that the capitalists are hoarding. Expropriate the corn magnates with no compensation! For labor strikes that demand a subsidy for tortillas so everyone can have them! For the distribution of food for all under control of the trade unions, organizations of poor peasants and the urban poor! The only way to end hunger is to seize the means of production from the capitalists through proletarian revolution and its extension internationally. Capitalism is a system based on the exploitation of labor to produce profits for the capitalists. Speculation, economic crises, misery and repression are endemic to this system and are even more catastrophic in semicolonial countries like Mexico, no matter which of the bosses' parties rules—the PAN, PRI or PRD. Capitalism cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the workers and the oppressed; it must be overthrown.

The UNT, the CROC [pro-PRI union], the SME and its Mexican Unions' Front, and the Congress of Labor (CT) had announced that they would all march together this January 31 against the rise in tortilla prices and for an emergency increase in the minimum wage and called on the CTM [PRI-affiliated Mexican Confederation of Labor] to join them. The PRI-dominated CT backed out following the declaration that López Ohrador would head up the march, and the CTM argued that Calderón should be "given some time" to see whether his measures "work"! The leaderships of the incorrectly labeled "independent" unions as well as those of the PRI unions are in reality *misleaders* of the working class who subordinate themselves to one or another wing of the bourgeoisie. ***For the political independence of the working class! For strike actions against repression and the starvation offensive!***

Under the pretext of "alleviating" the crisis, Calderón has given a green light to importing thousands of tons of U.S. corn, putting into effect NAFTA's most explosive provision, which was supposed to take effect in January 2008. At the same time, Calderón, serving his imperialist masters, is testing the waters to move on to the total privatization of strategic national industries. Down with the privatization of the oil and electric industries!

Given the backwardness of the Mexican countryside and the inability of the peasants to compete with huge U.S. agribusiness, NAFTA has caused the most terrible agricultural crisis. Millions of peasants have been condemned to misery, while millions more try to survive in the U.S. or in the big cities of Mexico, where they join the huge army that makes up the "informal economy." The large number of Mexican workers on the other side of the border serve as a human bridge to help mobilize the multiracial U.S. working class, which shares the same historic interests, to join the fight against imperialism. ***Down with NAFTA, treaty for imperialist rape of Mexico! For socialist revolution in all the Americas!***

Mexico has seen a series of convulsive social struggles that indicate the extent of the bourgeois regime's instability. Last year the industrial working class gave a taste of its power: the combative miners and steel workers union strike in Lázaro Cárdenas—the most important outbreak of class struggle in the country in many years—brought the bosses to their knees and gave the bourgeois state a black eye. Millions marched in 2005 and 2006 in defense of their electoral rights and in support of the bourgeois populist López Obrador. There were also combative struggles of the impoverished urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, such as in Oaxaca and Atenco. In the wake of the brutal smashing of APPO, the "*tortillazo*" could well be the spark that sets off mass labor struggle.

Conscious of the massive discontent with his fraudulent government and the explosive character of his right-wing measures, Calderón has launched unusually fierce repression. He has greatly reinforced all the police forces and military forces and launched massive operations sowing terror from [southern] Guerrero to [northern] Chihuahua states, targeting in particular guerrilla organizations like the EPR [Popular Revolutionary Army]. Calderón surely has his eye on Chiapas and the EZLN [Zapatista Army of National Liberation]. On January 22, Calderón imposed a new virtual state of siege in the Zócalo in downtown Mexico City, mobilizing some 4,000 police to protect his speech on "security" against protesters and to attack PRD supporters. ***Free all the imprisoned APPO and Atenco activists! Drop all the charges!***

We Spartacists are guided by the perspective of permanent revolution formulated by Leon Trotsky and vindicated by the October Revolution of 1917. The working class uniquely has the power, the cohesion and the class interest to put itself at the head of all the oppressed—peasants and indigenous people, the urban poor, women, gays—against this inhumane system of exploitation and oppression. Indeed, only proletarian revolution—destroying capitalism and its state and replacing it with a workers state based on collective ownership of the means of production—can lay the basis for the elimination of misery, bring the peasants out of their ancestral backwardness and obtain elemental democratic rights like education for all or free abortion on demand. Only proletarian revolution, fighting for its extension north of the Río Bravo, can achieve genuine national emancipation from the U.S. imperialists. Only socialist revolution can guarantee political rights for the exploited and oppressed through soviet democracy, in which *they* will lead the destiny of the country through the soviets, or councils, of workers and poor peasants.

The workers need their own class party—a revolutionary internationalist leadership like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks—to fight for power through socialist revolution. A fundamental part of the struggle for a revolutionary workers party is combatting the ideology of bourgeois nationalism that permeates the working class and is prominently pushed by the PRD. Bourgeois nationalism claims to overcome the fundamental class division in society, pushing the bogus "national unity" of all Mexicans and channeling the genuine aspiration of the masses for national emancipation from the imperialists into support to their lackeys, the Mexican bourgeoisie. Against imperialist rapaciousness and the lies of the Mexican bourgeoisie, revolutionary Marxists counterpose proletarian internationalism. We fight for an international division of labor and an internationally planned economy

Dominguez/La Jornada

Drug bust in Mexico City in January, part of massive police/military mobilization by right-wing Calderón government.

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Carlos Torres Oseguera

January 12: More than 3,000 steel workers in Lázaro Cárdenas struck to protest arrest of union leader who was released later that day.

Britain...

(continued from page 7)

and Judaism as of Islam. However, while Christianity and Judaism adapted to the rise of industrial capitalism, Islam remained rooted mainly in those parts of the world that remained poor and undeveloped, due to the world system of capitalism. Historically and today, the development of the weaker countries has been *arrested and retarded by imperialism*. Capitalist imperialism is based on the domination of the world by a handful of wealthy states using their military might to protect their markets and spheres of influence. All religions reinforce the patriarchal family, and the institution of the family is the main source of women's oppression in society. It is the mechanism for inheriting property, for socialising new generations of workers and for inculcating the moral and sexual codes of the ruling class.

Hue and Cry Over "Multiculturalism"

The row over the veil in Britain overlaps with a controversy over "multiculturalism," a policy of voluntary cultural and racial segregation of minority communities that has been promoted by governments for decades. It has always been hated by right-wingers as a concession to racial tolerance. Now it is being denounced as "self-segregation" and Blair has declared that everyone has a "duty to be part of an integrated United Kingdom." This means conform to so-called British values, or, in Blair's words, "don't come here" (*Guardian*, 9 December 2006). Multiculturalism is also detested by liberal Muslims because it strengthens conservative, patriarchal and religious forces within minority communities. It was invoked to justify the government's tacit support to reactionary protests by Sikh elders that shut down the play *Behzti* (Dishonour) in Birmingham in December 2004. Written by a Sikh woman, the play was savagely critical of the oppression of minority women, including by religious elders.

We Marxists fight for ***voluntary integration of all minorities based on full equality***. But we understand that the eradication of racism, women's oppression and all forms of discrimination requires a revolutionary struggle, mobilising the power of the proletariat, to uproot capitalism and liberate humanity from poverty and want. Predictably, the reformist SWP defends multiculturalism. This denies that minority communities, like the rest of society, are class-divided and that the struggles of immigrant and other minority workers for jobs, unions and equal status means breaking the grip of religious and other conservative community leaders. Moreover, supporting multiculturalism promotes illusions that the capitalist state can be used as an instrument to fight racist oppression. The capitalist state exists to defend class rule based on private property; it is the executive organ of the capitalist class for the suppression and exploitation of the working class.

The increased prevalence of the Islamic veil in Britain is in part due to the rise of political Islam internationally. It is also a result of relentless racism, poverty and hardship suffered by immigrant workers and their descendants under British capitalism. Two decades ago, religion had much less influence among minorities from South Asia. In 1985 the film *My Beautiful Laundrette*, based on a novel by Pakistani-derived writer Hanif Kureishi telling of a gay relationship between a young Asian man and a National Front "hard man," was hugely popular. Today an Asian gay film would cause uproar.

Tass

Musadeq Sadeq/AP

Above: Afghan women in 1980, as Soviet Army intervention opened prospect of social emancipation. Right: In today's Kabul, woman in *burka* begs on street.

In so far as integration of minorities exists in this country, it was not handed down by government policy, but was fought for in the streets and on picket lines. In 1958 in London's Notting Hill and in Nottingham, black and Asian residents fought back racist mobs backed by police in scenes similar to those in Oldham in 2001. Blacks and Asians have been integrated into the workforce and the trade unions and have historically played a prominent role in the class battles of this country. The Grunwick strike in 1976 in London was a landmark battle by Asian women for decent working conditions. In the great miners strike of 1984-85, the black and Asian communities provided huge support to the overwhelmingly white miners, as an act of solidarity against the common enemy—the Thatcher government. The Heathrow airport wildcat strike that paralysed BA [British Airways] last year and cost them millions, carried out by the ground crews in support of over 600 sacked catering workers, was a powerful demonstration of the social power of the working class. The racially integrated workforce struck in class solidarity with the catering workers, the majority of whom were Sikh women, showing how class struggle can transcend ethnic lines.

Within the Respect coalition, the SWP has dropped their reformist claim to fight for "socialism" or the working class. They have disavowed secularism and any meaningful fight for women's or gay rights in order to maintain their bloc with Islamists. In its own way, this shows the SWP has absorbed the "death of communism" myth to the same degree as Jack Straw, who argues that unlike 50 years ago when the divisions in society "were ones of class," in the post-Soviet world and especially since 9/11 they are "principally ones of religion" (*New Statesman*, 18 September 2006). This myth must be combated and shattered through class struggle. A class-struggle fight to defend the rights of Muslims and all immigrants and minorities against the racist capitalist state is in the interests of all the working class. Against anti-immigrant racism, we call for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants***.

We are dedicated to building a multiethnic revolutionary workers party which will champion the rights of all the oppressed and whose task is to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class, overcoming backwardness and prejudice in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist class rule. The liberation of women requires successful struggle for working-class rule. This will lay the basis for an egalitarian communist society of material abundance, which alone will make it possible to replace the family, the key institution of women's oppression. This is also the only route to the eradication of racism and inequality and will open the road to the full emancipation of women.■

Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

Soviet Central Asia, 1924: Communist cadres of Zhenotdel, Bolshevik commission for work among women, teach literacy. October Revolution was beacon to women of the East.

under working-class rule.

To wage a successful struggle against the constant rightist attacks, it is necessary to shatter the widespread illusions in the PRD. The PRD is a party of capital, whose differences with the PAN are, at bottom, over how to administer capitalist exploitation. In the old style of the PRI, the PRD tries to deactivate the enormous discontent and keep it within the framework of bourgeois politics through concessions to the workers and the poor. The PRD is incapable of breaking with the imperialists, to whom, like the rest of the Mexican bourgeoisie, it is tied by thousands of threads.

In fact, the PRD does not even oppose NAFTA but rather seeks simply to "renegotiate" it. The PRD wants to renegotiate the continued subordination of Mexico to the imperialists, giving it a more "dignified" and "democratic" image. The nature of the PRD can also be seen in its actions. PRD-directed police forces, together with police forces under the PAN and/or the PRI, attacked striking UNAM students in 1999-2000 (in the end breaking the strike) as well as workers in Lázaro Cárdenas, peasants in Atenco and many, many others. Only defeats can come from putting one's trust in the bourgeoisie. ***Break with AMLO and the bourgeois PRD!***

We Spartacists fight against the capitalists' policy that tries to make the workers bear the full burden of the crisis, which is caused not by material scarcity but by capitalist greed and exploitation. Open the books! Down with trade secrets! Against chronic and massive unemployment, and to maintain the cohesion of the working class and mobilize the enormous mass of the poor urban street vendors at its side, the working class should fight for an extensive program of public works and a sliding scale of working hours, to divide up all the available work. Against the galloping increase in the cost of living, we call for price-monitoring committees composed of delegates from the factories, unions, cooperatives, peasant organizations and the urban poor. We demand a sliding scale of wages to assure an automatic increase in proportion to the increase in the price of consumer goods. In short, we call for employment and dignified living conditions for all. But such simple and rational demands are counterposed to capitalism—it is necessary to prepare its general overthrow through the construction of a revolutionary workers party.■

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Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

to see him freed. I want to make the point that millions around the globe took up Mumia's case over the years. They took it up based on the work of the Partisan Defense Committee, affiliated with the Spartacist League, as is the Labor Black League, as well as many, many other organizations that did not at all have the PDC's politics. These included the MOVE organization, the various Free Mumia coalitions, Equal Justice and Noelle Hanrahan from the Prison Radio Project and many organizations internationally. But we are unique in understanding that the capitalist state cannot be reformed and that Mumia's case, for all the reasons that we have said, represents the epitome of the race question, the class question and the fight for freedom for us all.

People around the world identified with Mumia and his cause out of a visceral rejection of all of the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, war, racial and ethnic bias. In all of these ways they saw in him a symbol. Though being in lockdown 23 hours a day, seven days a week, in solitary, Mumia nonetheless has never given up his own convictions and his own fight against the injustices of the system.

What needs to be underscored here is what happens when you are on the streets demanding a new trial on the basis that the courts can be pressured to be fair. Other political organizations that say that they are socialists, like Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and Workers World, know full well that such demands are in contradiction with the understanding that capitalism must be overturned. These reformist groups spread illusions that the courts can be reformed, that we can count on the courts to provide some justice. Well, the courts will respond, but only from the fear of mass action, particularly the action of the organized working class, with its power to strike. It is such social unrest that drives them to make some amelioration in the system.

UPI

Owens/Philadelphia Bulletin

Left: Nearly 600 Philly cops besieged MOVE's Powelton Village commune in 1978. Above: At August 1978 press conference, Mayor Rizzo justifies siege and lashes out at "new breed" of journalists such as Mumia (far left).

Early Evidence of Innocence

I worked on Mumia's legal team from about 1995 through June 1999. Before that, we in the PDC tried our best to help Mumia get good legal counsel. We also campaigned to make it clear who Mumia was—a Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, a black militant and journalist. The Partisan Defense Committee believes that Mumia is innocent. And basically the evidence of Mumia's innocence that was uncovered during the period from 1995 through 2001 is due to the work that we did. Not because we are great lawyers, or the most experienced, but because we understood that the state had framed Mumia up and that he was an innocent man.

The evidence was simply there to be seen. In 1995, a man named William Singletary testified at a hearing for Mumia. Singletary is a black man who was not a leftist but a Vietnam vet who had a towtruck company that required a lot of cooperation from the cops, and he happened to be on the street corner in the Center City area when Daniel Faulkner was shot. He tried to tell the cops that he saw somebody wearing a green Army jacket get out of a car and shoot the cop, and Mumia came along after the fact. They would not hear anything of this. They threatened him, coerced him and falsified his witness statements. He left town and was not there for the 1982 trial. We got Singletary to testify at Mumia's 1995 Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) appeal hearing.

We also located Veronica Jones, and she testified in court the following year. She was a prostitute who had testified at the 1982 trial that she was on the scene but really didn't see very much of what happened. This contradicted her initial witness statement that she saw the shooter running from the scene. When she testified in 1996, she admitted that she had lied at the trial. She said that her original statement was true, that she saw the shooter run from the scene, but that she had been coerced by cops, who had threatened that she would be sent away for a long time on a robbery charge and not see her young children, to say something different. As she was testifying in '96, the prosecution pulled her off the witness stand and arrested her in court on a two-year-old petty larceny warrant from New Jersey.

And then we had another PCRA hearing in 1997, where another former prostitute named Pamela Jenkins, who was a prostitute-lover of a cop who had been prosecuted and convicted on federal corruption charges, testified that various police officers knew that Mumia was not the shooter. She testified that Cynthia White, another prostitute who was the key prosecution witness, had lied when she said that she saw Mumia shoot Faulkner. She lied due to threats from and fear of the cops.

Susan Schary

Artist's depiction of attorney Rachel Wolkenstein being ordered to jail by Judge Sabo at 1995 PCRA hearing seeking overturn of Mumia's conviction.

These are some of the things that happened in the early period before the late Judge Sabo, the racist judge who ran the courtroom without even the pretense of what's supposed to be a fair hearing. In 1982, before Mumia's trial, Judge Sabo stated in the presence of a court stenographer and another judge, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." That was Judge Sabo.

The Significance of the Beverly Confession

I want to say a bit about Arnold Beverly, who confessed to killing Faulkner. Arnold Beverly was a hitman for the mob. He was hired, according to his statement, by the mob and the cops—working with a cop liaison—to shoot and kill Faulkner on that night in December 1981. He had heard—and this was all he was told—that Faulkner was a problem for the cops and the mob. Center City was rife with corruption. The cops got payoffs for the clubs, the gambling, the prostitution.

Later we learned that at the time Faulkner was killed, there were three ongoing federal investigations into cop corruption, which disclosed the fact that the cops and the mob were like one. We have an affidavit from a witness who testified in several different federal prosecutions that he had heard from cops that they were afraid that there was a cop informant working for the FBI. We believe that informant was Faulkner, that the killing of Faulkner was a hit, and that Beverly was one of the people hired to do that. When Mumia showed up on the scene, quite accidentally, the cops who were there knew exactly who he was. Some of the cops involved in corruption were the very same cops who had earlier attacked the Panthers and who had attacked MOVE.

The chief police officer on the scene on December 9, 1981, was Inspector Alfonzo Giordano. He also happened to have been the right-hand man for Frank Rizzo, the former head cop and mayor of Philadelphia. He also happened to have been the head of the Stakeout squad, the SWAT team in Philadelphia that went after the Panthers in 1969 and 1970. He also was the cop who was in charge of the barricades thrown up around the MOVE Powelton Village compound in 1977-78.

When the cops saw Mumia on the scene in December 1981, they all knew him as the one who was the 16-year-old spokesman for the Panthers back in 1970, the one who spoke out after the FBI killing of Panthers. Less than ten years later, Mumia became a reporter and exposed the lies that the cops and the city were saying about the MOVE organization. Mumia covered the trial of the MOVE 9, who were falsely convicted of killing a cop during the Powelton Village siege, when in fact the cop was killed in police crossfire. MOVE members were sent away to prison for 30 to 100 years. That trial took place in August 1981. Faulkner was shot, and Mumia was shot and almost killed, in December 1981. The police knew exactly who Mumia was and they were really happy to get him.

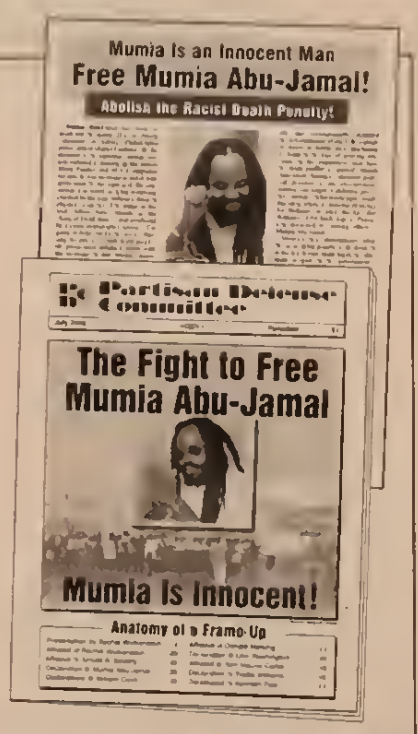
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Now there are a lot of stories going around about Arnold Beverly, that he is all about the money and the fame, and that he has told many different stories. There is an affidavit by Beverly in the PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*, that you should read. I first talked to Arnold Beverly in 1989. He said a lot of things to me that never changed, except for one thing. In 1989 he didn't admit that he killed Faulkner. In 1999 he did admit this. The fundamentals of what he said, including the particular cops who were involved in setting this up, remain the same. Arnold Beverly confessed and is willing to testify for Mumia not because he is a good guy and is altruistic, nor for money. Rather, the cops tried to kill Beverly that night, too, because they wanted to make it look as if there was just a shootout on the street between various blacks, and Faulkner was shot in the middle of it. And Beverly was shot that night.

I also want to address the rumor that Mumia doesn't want anything to do with the Beverly evidence. Mumia knows what the PDC is doing about his case, as he has for the 20 years we've worked with him. That doesn't mean that Mumia agrees with everything the PDC says, but there is nothing we have done about his case that he has not known about, that he has not been able to say yea or nay to. He knows about the PDC-initiated newspaper ads titled "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!" that have been published which protest the state frame-up and cite evidence of his innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly. Mumia has approved of all the work that we are doing.

Why is there so much hullabaloo over this? I want to make it clear that the Beverly evidence did not come to the fore until 2001. His evidence presented an entire picture of what happened. The very contradictory evidence presented by the prosecution at Mumia's trial is explainable only with the benefit of the information that Beverly provided. This has to do with the number of shooters and where the shooters were. It has to do with the type of gun that was used.

Very importantly, the Beverly evidence has to do with how Mumia was shot—not by Faulkner but by another cop. And there was something that had always plagued us. We had gone through the record, and there were all these references in police reports that said that the shooter wore a green Army jacket. Somebody said that the guy in the car that was stopped by Faulkner at the site wore a green Army jacket, and somebody else said that Mumia wore a green Army jacket. Six or seven people said that there was somebody on the scene with a green Army jacket.

I've seen the evidence that the prosecution has, and I've talked to Mumia and his brother, Billy Cook. And I'll tell you that Mumia did not wear a green Army jacket that night. He wore a quilted sort of ski jacket, red with big blue stripes in the front. Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. And Faulkner wasn't wearing a green Army jacket; he wore a police uniform. Singletary said the shooter wore a green Army jacket. Two cops said there was a green Army jacket there, including one who said the shooter had a green Army jacket. Arnold Beverly said he wore a green Army jacket.

Frame-Up and Cover-Up

In addition to that, the evidence of the shots fired does not fit with the prosecution's case. Also, the cops and prosecutors invented a confession that Mumia supposedly made. And on this confession question, let me go back. Giordano, who was on the scene when Mumia was arrested, invented a witness to whom, it turns out, promises were made and who wasn't in the place that the prosecution said he was. Giordano also invented the story that Mumia—after he was shot, beaten up, thrown into a police van—confessed and that his gun was simply lying at the scene.

WV Photo

PDC contingent at Philadelphia march on 25th anniversary of Mumia's arrest, 9 December 2006.

Giordano never testified at the trial. In fact, Giordano was removed from regular duty and put on desk duty during Mumia's trial. He resigned from the police the day after the death sentence came in. It wasn't until 1986 that he was actually charged with and pled guilty to corruption and tax evasion charges based on his receipt of tens of thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during the 1979-1980 period. 1981 isn't included in there. But we have a witness who says that Giordano was a target of the federal investigations going on that year.

Nothing in the prosecution's case holds up under examination. You look at the ballistics evidence, and the witnesses and what they said they saw and what the prosecution says, and it does not hold up. There is proof over and over again that Mumia is innocent, that his conviction was a police and prosecution frame-up, that the FBI knows perfectly well who was involved in the case. They know that Faulkner was an informant or otherwise involved in this. And they know that cops like Giordano who were involved in the prosecution of Mumia were being investigated. None of that came out during Mumia's trial. And the court refused Mumia's defense any and all information during the PCRA hearings from 1995 to 1998.

What the Beverly evidence does is to make it impossible for anyone to argue that Mumia's case is about one rogue cop, or one not-so-honest prosecutor and one racist judge. Mumia's case proves the nature of the capitalist state, the nature of the courts, the cops and the prosecution.

I got a call from Frank Serpico about a week ago. People may know him as the New York cop who spilled the beans on police corruption in 1971. What he said to me about the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) is very interesting. He said: I know about those guys. I know that the fact that the Fraternal Order of Police targets every person who has gone on record for Mumia is proof that they are covering up for something, that this is proof that Mumia is innocent, and proof of the corruption of these cops. Because the F.O.P. has protected cops all over.

Now, I don't agree with Serpico that it is possible to have a police force without corrupt cops. I want to make that clear. But this is a man who spent his life trying to find some honesty in the police force and risked his life to do that. So one has to respect that, within its own terms. These police forces are very powerful, and they are given aid and comfort and support by the Democrats and Republicans. And falling in behind are the fake socialists who promote the lie that the capitalist state can be reformed.

I want to end with the following point. We have a huge, huge battle ahead of us. It will not do us any good to think that maybe because the Court of Appeals may be hearing oral argument in Mumia's case and will be rendering a decision sometime in the next few months, that this is the answer for Mumia. Every single stage of Mumia's case has shown that the courts are committed to seeing Mumia executed or making him spend his life entombed in prison. It will take not only us here tonight but mass mobilizations, primarily focused on the power of labor with its allies—youth, the unemployed, etc.—to show that we will not permit the state to execute Mumia or entomb him in prison for life, to show that we are committed to fighting to free Mumia now. Free Mumia now!■

WV Photo

South African workers at June 1995 protest by COSATU union federation hold up flyers demanding "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" as part of worldwide campaign.

Immigrant...

(continued from page 5)

black equality and against the anti-union company thugs who are backed up by the union-hating, racist Klan terrorists. Organizing the unorganized in the South today has necessarily got to be on an internationalist basis, to undercut the capitalists' attempt to pit sections of the proletariat against each other. Opposed to the reformists, who proceed from a nationally limited framework, we put forward a revolutionary internationalist program that flows from the nature of the world capitalist economy. As I've said, we do not advise the capitalist rulers on immigration. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!

The racist atrocity in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina graphically shows the continued racial oppression of black people. It's out in the open for the world to see. It shows the anarchy and bankruptcy of American capitalism, of capitalism period, and the necessity of struggling for a planned economy under workers rule. The working people of the world saw how this government let people suffer and die. The fight to rebuild New Orleans, the fight for jobs for the unemployed and displaced at union wages, for free, quality medical care, the fight to defend public education against the flourishing of charter schools—all these sharply pose the question of fighting for a new leadership in the labor movement.

There is no substitute for building a Leninist vanguard party, a tribune of the people like the Bolshevik Party forged in tsarist Russia that led the working class and the oppressed to the seizure of state power in 1917. They established Soviet rule: democratically elected workers councils that administer the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the U.S., it took a civil war to end slavery, and it will take international socialist revolution to end capitalist wage slavery here and throughout the world. I want to conclude with a statement issued on August 18, 1945 by the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party in its newspaper, the *Militant*, just a few days after the U.S. atomic-bombing of Japan:

> "Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!"

The fight for a communist future of humanity is our only guarantee to life—to live for the first time as free human beings, administering a world socialist order of material abundance and cultural enrichment, in which all of our potentials can be realized. That is what the Spartacist League, the U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights for. We call on you to join us in that fight.■

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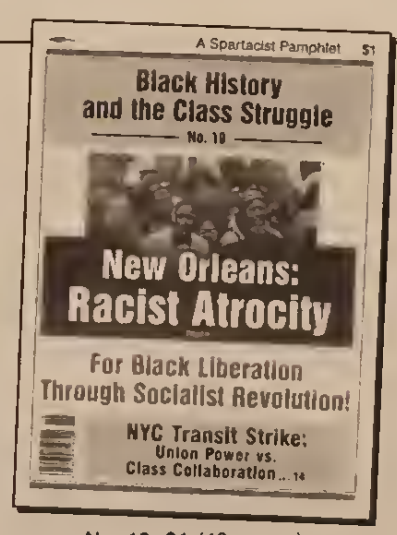

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The Frame-Up of an Innocent Man

Mobilize Labor's Power! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

no credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal and son Mazi Mustafa.

The urgent effort to revitalize the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal was a special focus of the Partisan Defense Committee's annual Holiday Appeal fund-raisers for class-war prisoners, which were held in December. A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, subsequently a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, Mumia was framed up on false charges of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981 and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views and activities. With Mumia's case currently before the federal Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the fight for his freedom has entered a decisive stage. Mumia's attorney Robert Bryan recently announced in a letter to Mumia's supporters that while the court had notified him in November that oral arguments would be scheduled for January, "that was later rescinded." A decision could come within weeks or months.

The Holiday Appeal events followed a series of rallies in October called under the slogans: "Free Mumia Now! Mumia Is an Innocent Man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Leading up to and after the rallies, full-page ads appeared in the *Nation*, the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *San Francisco Bay View* listing hundreds of trade unionists, academics, authors and other notables who had signed a PDC-initiated statement declaring that Mumia is innocent and demanding his immediate freedom. Ads have subsequently appeared in the French Communist Party's newspaper, *l'Humanité*, and the *Morning Star* in Britain, as well as papers in Germany and Canada.

The ad (which is reprinted in *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006) clearly states, "Both the Pennsylvania state courts and the federal courts have refused to consider the reams of documented evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. Foremost is the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the police officer." Notable signatories to the statement include Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; the writers Alice Walker, John Wideman, and Nobel Prize winners Dario Fo and Nadine Gordimer; hip-hop artist Chuck D. of Public Enemy; New York City Council member Charles Barron and Illinois Congressman Danny K. Davis. Among the signatories from organized labor are the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Amalgamated Transit Union and International Longshoremen's Association locals and NYC's 1199 SEIU East. The breadth of signers to the statement is evidence of the potential to mobilize mass protest on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man who was the victim of a racist and political frame-up.

Those fighting for Mumia's freedom must recognize the depth of the hatred the capitalist rulers have for a man known as the "voice of the voiceless." The capitalist state's relentless vendetta against those who fight for black freedom was seen in last month's arrest of eight former Black Panther Party members on charges of killing a San Francisco cop over 30 years ago. Those charges had been repeatedly rejected by grand juries and in one case thrown out of court because "confessions" had been coerced by the police through torture (see "Protest Government Roundup of Former Black Panthers!" *WV* No. 885, 2 February). That Mumia is the state's foremost target was seen in a Congressional resolution passed with overwhelming support in December that condemned the decision by the Parisian suburb of Saint-Denis to name a street after him.

With events in Los Angeles, Chicago, the Bay Area, Toronto and New York, the Holiday Appeal raised more than $10,000 for 16 recipients of the PDC class-war prisoners stipend fund. In addition to Mumia, the recipients include eight members of Philadelphia MOVE, former Black Panther supporters Mondo we Langa and Ed Poindexter, Jaan Laaman and Thomas Manning of the Ohio 7, American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, Mumia's son Jamal Hart and prison activist Hugo Pinell. Each of these cases illustrates that there is no justice in the bourgeois courts for anyone perceived as an opponent of the racist capitalist rulers.

We print below an edited version of a presentation by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein at the December 17 New York City benefit.

* * *

We cannot be lulled into thinking that because Mumia has an appeal pending before the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which is hearing three (and only three) of his more than two dozen legal claims, that this is a great opportunity for Mumia. It is good that the court is hearing these claims. But it is also likely that they are just greasing the skids toward a final conclusion that Mumia should be executed.

Prior to my meeting Mumia for the first time almost 20 years ago with Paul Cooperstein, also from the Partisan Defense Committee, in August 1987, Mumia passed along a quote from *Henry VI* about how the first thing we'll do after taking power is kill all the lawyers. We sent back to him a quote from V. I. Lenin that had similar negative sentiments about lawyers.

The work that I have done along with other comrades of the Partisan Defense Committee has been, simultaneous with legal assistance, to push propaganda, publicity and protest, concentrated on mobilizing the social power of the labor movement, of the working class, which has the only real power to change anything. We base our work on the understanding that the only way to get rid of the injustice that exists in this society is through socialist revolution, and in the process we must fight tooth and nail for Mumia's freedom, and for democratic rights of all sorts. The abuses of the capitalist system will not stop, the capitalist system will not be reformed in any way that will be long-lasting. The only fundamental change that's possible is a change in the social system, which means socialism.

Mumia is not a Marxist. Mumia is not a socialist. But he has been absolutely steadfast in his opposition to racist oppression, to the extremes of capitalism, to injustices, to American imperialism. That is the reason that he is a target of the rulers of this country, who see in him the spectre of black revolution. They have seen that in him from his early days as a Black Panther Party member and from his becoming an advocate for the MOVE organization, for his continued statements in defense of blacks and others against the capitalist state. And for all of these reasons, the capitalist state—the courts, the prosecution, the bourgeois politicians—are committed to seeing Mumia executed or locked up in the living hell of life imprisonment.

We are up against enormous odds. So this gathering, in which we are having fun, dancing and listening to wonderful music, has to be sort of a respite and a way to reorganize ourselves for the very critical fight to prevent Mumia's execution and

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James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Left: Mumia in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panthers. Right: Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo's cops stripped Panthers during 1970 raid on their Philadelphia office.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 887 | C-701 | 2 March 2007

No to UN Sanctions!

Down With U.S. War Moves Against Iran!

Imperialists Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

U.S. Navy (top), AFP

Top: *USS John C. Stennis* has been sent to Persian Gulf, part of U.S. war provocations against Iran. Above: U.S. troops carry out assault in northern Baghdad, February 10.

FEBRUARY 27—Having already reduced Iraq to a living hell under the U.S. occupation, the Bush administration is carrying out one provocation after another against Iran while steadily beefing up military forces in and around the Persian Gulf. Two U.S. aircraft carriers have been positioned near the Iranian coast. *BBC News* online (20 February) reports that the U.S. has readied plans for attacks on Iran, to be triggered either by "confirmation that Iran was developing a nuclear weapon" or "a high-casualty attack on US forces in neighbouring Iraq...if it were traced directly back to Tehran." A U.S. bombing campaign "would target Iranian air bases, naval bases, missile facilities and command-and-control centres."

At Washington's behest, the UN Security Council in December demanded that Tehran halt its uranium enrichment program and imposed a first round of sanctions on Iran, barring technology sales that could be used for nuclear or missile development. Washington imposed additional sanctions targeting specific Iranian banks and other companies. This came after almost three years of inspections in which the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) found no evidence of a nuclear weapons program.

U.S./UN sanctions are having a marked impact on the Iranian economy, especially on oil production, its lifeline. A number of oil fields are in dire need of modern technology to reverse their normal decline (such as by reinjecting natural gas to flush out more oil), for which Iran needs foreign technical expertise. U.S. officials have warned oil companies that they risk financial sanctions if they help promote Iran's oil development. American military threats are also having an economic impact. "Oil companies are simply assessing risk, including what some see as the real risk of a military strike against Iran," said a former State Department official. "Some are deciding it's not worth it" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

As we go to press, stock markets around the world have taken a huge hit, with U.S. shares marking their greatest losses since markets were reopened after the September 11, 2001 attacks. While the sell-off was triggered by a large drop in Shanghai's stock index, the London *Financial Times* online reported today that "concerns over Iran, worries about the US subprime mortgage market and a warning from Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Federal Reserve, about a possible US recession punctured recent market optimism."

As revolutionary opponents of U.S. imperialism, the Spartacist League opposes any economic sanctions against Iran, which are acts of war. Both the 1991 and 2003 wars against Iraq were preceded and prepared by UN-imposed sanctions. In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S. imperialism or by Israel—the only nuclear-armed country in the Near East—or by any other force operating on behalf of the imperialists, our stand as Marxists is one of revolutionary defensism: for the military defense of Iran against imperialist attack without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. As we wrote last year in "Imperialists Threaten Iran" (*WV* No. 869, 28 April 2006):

> "As the bipartisan threats demonstrate, the greatest menace to the workers and oppressed of the world is the U.S. imperialist rulers—who have not only acquired the means to destroy the world several times over, but who have actually carried out nuclear holocaust, incinerating some 200,000 Japanese people in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The Iranian regime says that its nuclear energy program does not include plans to develop the bomb. The fact of the matter is that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran clearly *needs* nukes to defend itself and deter a U.S. attack. In today's world, possession of nuclear arms has become the only real measure of national sovereignty."

It takes some chutzpah for the U.S. rulers to complain about Iranian interference in Iraq. The destruction of Iraqi society under U.S. occupation has engendered the horrors of mass murder and population expulsions. Almost daily, scores of civilians die in the ethnic and communal slaughter unleashed by the war and occupation. Bodies, often showing signs of hideous torture, turn up constantly in sewers and garbage dumps, victims of murderous militias and death squads that often overlap with the police and military. The flight of Sunnis and Shi'ites from once-mixed neighborhoods has turned into the greatest refugee crisis in the Near East since the Zionists' 1948 expulsion of Palestinians and the creation of Israel. According to the UN, two million Iraqis—about 8 percent of the prewar population—have fled the country, mostly to Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Iraq's smaller Christian and other minorities are threatened with being eradicated from their homeland.

In the leadup to the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, we called for the military defense of both countries without giving any political support to the reactionary Taliban cutthroats or the bloody capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein, which had slaughtered thousands of Communists, trade unionists, Kurds and others. Today, we call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Afghanistan, Iraq and Central Asia. As we did when Bush launched these wars, with bipartisan support, under the rubric of the "war on terror," we call on the U.S. proletariat to wage class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home.

Mass slaughter is the concentrated expression and ultimate logic of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist system. The atrocities visited on the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan, the pounding attacks on the lives and livelihoods of working people and minorities in the U.S. and around the globe—this is the face of imperialism, of the irrational, anarchic, profit-driven capitalist system in its epoch of decay. The only road to putting an end to the horrors engendered by this system is that of socialist revolution. To lead the U.S. proletariat in smashing the American imperialist order requires a revolutionary workers party, forged through the struggle to break the working class from its allegiance to the Democratic Party, the other party of war and racism.

Democrats' "Left" Camp Followers

Bush's Iraq debacle has had as a consequence the growth of Iranian influence in Iraq and the region. As a University of

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FROM Women and Revolution ARCHIVES

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: A PROLETARIAN HOLIDAY

This year for International Women's Day, March 8, we are reprinting an article from the Spartacist League's journal *Women and Revolution* on the working-class origins of this holiday. *W&R* began in 1971 as the publication of women's circles, which included men, that were initiated by the Spartacist League to intervene with a revolutionary socialist program into the New Left radical women's movement. In 1973 *W&R* became the journal of the Spartacist League Central Committee's Commission for Work Among Women, expressing our understanding that the struggle for the liberation of women is the work of the revolutionary vanguard as a whole. Based particularly on our appreciation of the work of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, we uphold the need to build a women's section of the vanguard party of the proletariat in order to extend its influence to broad layers of working-class and minority women and draw them into the revolutionary movement.

The contents of *Women and Revolution* reflected the Marxist materialist understanding that women's oppression is rooted in class society. *W&R* dealt with a broad range of social questions, from human sexuality and culture to the acute degradation of women in countries of belated capitalist development, where the fight for women's rights is a motor force of revolutionary struggle. While *Women and Revolution* was suspended as an independent publication in 1997 as a necessary measure to consolidate scarce party resources, *Women and Revolution* pages are published today in *Spartacist*, journal of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), as well as in the ICL's sectional press.

The following article is reprinted from *W&R* No. 8 (Spring 1975).

* * *

Bourgeois feminists may celebrate it, but March 8—International Women's Day—is a *workers'* holiday. Originating in 1908 among the female needle trades workers in Manhattan's Lower East Side, who marched under the slogans "for an eight hour day," "for the end of child labor" and "equal suffrage for women," it was officially adopted by the Second International in 1911.

International Women's Day demonstration in Petrograd, 1917, touched off February Revolution. Banner demands increase in rations for soldiers' families.

> Under the lead of the Third International, the day of the working women shall become a real fighting day; it shall take the form of practical measures which either solidify the conquests of Communism...or prepare the way for the dictatorship of the working class.
>
> —Alexandra Kollontai

International Women's Day was first celebrated in Russia in 1913 where it was widely publicized in the pages of the Bolshevik newspaper, *Pravda*, and popularized by speeches in numerous clubs and societies controlled by Bolshevik organizations which presented a Marxist analysis of women's oppression and the program for emancipation.

The following year the Bolsheviks not only agitated for International Women's Day in the pages of *Pravda* (then publishing under the name *Put' Pravdy*), but also made preparations to publish a special journal dealing with questions of women's liberation in Russia and internationally. It was called *Rabotnitsa* (*The Working Woman*), and its first issue was scheduled to appear on International Women's Day, 1914 (see "How the Bolsheviks Organized Working Women: History of the Journal *Rabotnitsa*," *Women and Revolution* No. 4, Fall 1973).

Preparations for the holiday were made under the most hazardous conditions. Shortly before the long-awaited day the entire editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*—with one exception—as well as other Bolsheviks who had agitated for International Women's Day in St. Petersburg factories, were arrested by the Tsarist police. Despite these arrests, however, the Bolsheviks pushed ahead with their preparations. Anna Elizarova—Lenin's sister and the one member of the editorial board to escape arrest—single-handedly brought out the first issue of *Rabotnitsa* on March 8 (or, according to the old Russian calendar, February 23) as scheduled. Clara Zetkin, a leading figure in the German Social Democratic Party and in the international working women's movement, wrote:

> "Greetings to you on your courageous decision to organize Women's Day, congratulations to you for not losing courage and not wanting to sit by with your hands folded. We are with you, heart and soul. You and your movement will be remembered at numerous meetings organized for Women's Day in Germany, Austria, Hungary and America."
>
> —Quoted in A. Artiukhina, "Proidennyi Put'," *Zhenshchina v revoliutsii*

By far the most important celebration ever of International Women's Day took place in Petrograd on 8 March 1917 when the women textile workers of that city led a strike of over 90,000 workers—a strike which signaled the end of the 300-year-old Romanov dynasty and the beginning of the Russian Revolution. One week afterward, *Pravda* commented:

> "The first day of the revolution—that is the Women's Day, the day of the Women Workers' International. All honor to the

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TROTSKY

LENIN

The 90th Anniversary of the February Revolution

Sparked by an International Women's Day demonstration on March 8 (February 23 by the old Russian calendar), where women workers in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) demanded bread and opposed the interimperialist First World War, the February Revolution toppled the autocratic rule of Tsar Nicholas II. Alongside the new bourgeois Provisional Government arose workers and soldiers soviets (councils), posing a situation of dual power. Writing before his return from exile in Switzerland, Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin outlined a course toward the seizure of power by the working class, supported by the peasantry, which he would elaborate in Letters from Afar *and the "April Theses." Lenin's struggle for this strategy, not least against leading Bolsheviks who urged critical support to the bourgeois regime, prepared the way for the proletarian socialist October Revolution.*

The new government that has seized power in St. Petersburg, or, more correctly, wrested it from the proletariat, which has waged a victorious, heroic and fierce struggle, consists of liberal bourgeois and landlords whose lead is being followed by Kerensky, the spokesman of the democratic peasants and, possibly, of that part of the workers who have forgotten their internationalism and have been led on to the bourgeois path. The new government is composed of avowed advocates and supporters of the imperialist war with Germany, i.e., a war in alliance with the English and French imperialist governments, a war for the plunder and conquest of foreign lands—Armenia, Galicia, Constantinople, etc....

The new government cannot give the people peace, because it represents the capitalists and landlords and because it is tied to the English and French capitalists by treaties and financial commitments. Russian Social-Democracy must therefore, while remaining true to internationalism, first and foremost explain to the people who long for peace that it cannot be won under the present government....

The new government cannot give the people bread. And no freedom can satisfy the masses suffering from hunger due to shortages and inefficient distribution of available stocks, and, most important, to the seizure of these stocks by the landlords and capitalists. It requires revolutionary measures against the landlords and capitalists to give the people bread, and such measures can be carried out only by a workers' government....

The truth about the present government and its real attitude on pressing issues must be made known to all working people in town and country, and also to the army. Soviets of Workers' Deputies must be organised, the workers must be armed. Proletarian organisations must be extended to the army (which the new government has likewise promised political rights) and to the rural areas. In particular there must be a separate class organisation for farm labourers.

Only by making the truth known to the widest masses of the population, only by organising them, can we guarantee full victory in the next stage of the revolution and the winning of power by a workers' government.

Fulfillment of this task, which in revolutionary times and under the impact of the severe lessons of the war can be brought home to the people in an immeasurably shorter time than under ordinary conditions, requires the revolutionary proletarian party to be ideologically and organisationally independent. It must remain true to internationalism and not succumb to the false bourgeois phraseology meant to dupe the people by talk of "defending the fatherland" in the present imperialist and predatory war.

—V. I. Lenin, "Draft Theses, March 4 (17), 1917"

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 27.

No. 887 **2 March 2007**

Britain: Down With Anti-Muslim Witchhunt on Campuses!

We reprint the following article from the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Hammer *No. 197 (Winter 2006-2007), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League.*

WORKERS HAMMER

The racist Labour government, with its hands soaked in the blood of the people of Iraq and Afghanistan, is ratcheting up the "war on terror" on university campuses. An article in the *Guardian* (16 October 2006) revealed leaked government plans, according to which "lecturers and university staff across Britain are to be asked to spy on 'Asian-looking' and Muslim students," while admitting that "universities will be anxious about passing information to special branch," for fear it amounts to "'collaborating' with the 'secret police'." A month later Bill Rammell, minister of state for higher education, issued a widely publicised report on universities, stating that "there is a real, credible and sustained threat to the UK from violent extremism in the name of Islam" and issuing guidelines on "tackling extremism in the name of Islam" ("Promoting Good Campus Relations," 17 November 2006). These "guidelines" amount to a state-sponsored witch hunt of Muslim societies. Make no mistake, this is an attempt to silence or purge any student, campus organisation or lecturer who speaks out against the brutal colonial occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan, or defends the Palestinians against murderous assault by the Zionist state, by branding them as potential "terrorists."

Workers Hammer

London: Spartacus Youth Group literature table at student fair on SOAS campus, 30 September 2006. SYG defeated attempt by Cliffite SWP to enforce administration's ban on non-English literature.

Metro

July 2005: British police patrol train in aftermath of criminal subway bombing. "War on terror" is pretext for increasing police powers.

Paul Mackney, joint general secretary of the University and Colleges Union (UCU) has stated that UCU members "will not be police informers" and warned that lecturers "may be sucked into anti-Muslim McCarthyism." State repression is a daily fact of life for Muslims, blacks, Asians and other minorities. For supposedly "looking Asian," Brazilian electrician Jean Charles de Menezes was executed by the cops in July 2005; the "war on terror" targets Muslims in the first instance but it will also be used to regiment the whole population and to repress social struggle. It is essential for students and most importantly the university unions to oppose this witch hunt of Muslim students. We say: *Down with Labour's racist "war on terror"!*

SOAS Student Union Bureaucrats Enlist in "War on Terror"

Ominously connecting foreign-language leaflets with "suspected extremist literature on campus," the guidelines give a scenario in which "some leaflets were written in English, and others appeared to be in Arabic" and suggest that such material could "constitute a criminal offence." However, well before these guidelines were issued, a crackdown on campus societies distributing foreign-language material was underway at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and is being enforced by student union bureaucrats and the ostensible leftists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). At the 30 September 2006 freshers fair, Spartacus Youth Group members were informed that "all information/leaflets/handouts *must* be in English." This was specified in an e-mail sent by Jack Footitt (SOAS Student Union, Co-President: Sports and Societies) to all SOAS societies. Our comrades were promptly informed by all three student union Co-Presidents, including Lauren Evans and Clare Solomon (a prominent representative of the SWP on campus) that we would have to remove foreign-language material from our literature table or leave. This included a Chinese-language placard defending the 1949 Chinese Revolution as well as literature in Arabic, Tagalog, Japanese, Polish and other languages. We vigorously protested this anti-communist censorship, an outrageous attempt to prevent the multilingual student population from reading communist propaganda. On this occasion these bureaucrats backed down.

The chauvinist "English-only" rule for societies' literature is the thin end of the wedge of the government's "war on terror" on universities. Zionists on campus have been acting as auxiliaries of the U.S., British imperialists and the state of Israel, targeting the lecturers union, Muslim students and Palestinian activists. Some months ago, the UCU faced a vitriolic Zionist backlash when the union adopted various resolutions calling for a boycott of Israel in protest against Israeli repression of the Palestinians. We defend the UCU against this witch hunt, while disagreeing with open-ended boycotts of Israel (see "Zionist Backlash Over 'Boycott Israel'," *Workers Hammer* No. 196, Autumn 2006 [also printed in *WV* No. 875, 1 September 2006]).

Defend Nasser Amin!

Nasser Amin, a Muslim student at SOAS was viciously witch-hunted for an article he wrote in the March 2005 *soasspirit* entitled "When Only Violence Will Do," advocating the Palestinian people's right to defend themselves with violence against murderous Israeli terrorism. In an exchange with Sheikh Hamza Yusuf, Amin wrote:

> "Those peoples who are being denied a right to self-determination in their native soil by foreign colonialist occupations—a right their tormentors take for granted with respect to themselves—and suffer as a result, have a right to armed resistance, if no other way is available. By contrast, there is *no* right to violence if the objective is ultimately to exploit further, conquer even more and steal more land, as is the case with Israeli violence."

This sent the handful of Zionists at SOAS into a frenzy, while revealing their well-placed connections to the right-wing gutter press in Britain and to forces connected to the Bush administration. In Parliament, Labour MP David Winnick howled for Amin to be prosecuted for incitement to racial hatred while rabidly reactionary *Daily Mail* columnist Melanie Phillips called for Amin's article to be "brought to the attention of the police." Amin says he received death threats and was slurred as an "Islamofascist" and "anti-Semite." Equating criticism of the Israeli state with anti-Semitism is a standard smear of the Zionists; Melanie Phillips brands SOAS itself as the "School of Orchestrated Anti Semitism."

Gavin Gross, a prominent Zionist at SOAS who was instrumental in the witch hunt of Amin, was sympathetically interviewed in *FrontPage Magazine* on 27 June 2005. *FrontPage* is the mouthpiece of racist ideologue David Horowitz who is part of a reactionary cabal in the U.S. that includes Daniel Pipes and his Campus Watch website and has orchestrated witch hunts against Middle Eastern studies departments and pro-Palestinian professors such as Joseph Massad at Columbia University. Horowitz is high in the councils of the Republican Party and Pipes is part of the neo-conservative Project for the New American Century, which has even included Vice President Dick Cheney and former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Describing the intimidation he faced as an opponent of Zionism at SOAS, in a 29 January 2006 interview with the Muslim Public Affairs Committee, Nasser Amin said:

> "There has been a feeling of extreme fear and trepidation amongst all students critical of Israel at SOAS, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. People are terrified of being defamed in the media, threatened

continued on page 4

AP

New York City police terrorize British tourists of South Asian descent, July 2005.

Britain...

(continued from page 3)

> in Parliament with arrest, bullied by the British Board of Deputies with a lawsuit or being sent death threats."

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Key to defeating this campaign on campuses is forthrightly taking up the defence of the Palestinian people. The SYG intransigently defends the Palestinian people in their just struggle against Zionist state terror. However, as Marxists we insist that as long as the conflict remains one of nation against nation, the Palestinians can only lose out to the far wealthier, heavily armed Zionist state. The Palestinian nationalist PLO have tried nearly everything to beat the Israeli garrison state: from fighting to negotiating to appealing to the UN and Western imperialists, and it has all been futile. Despair amongst the Palestinian population has led to growing support for reactionary Islamic fundamentalist forces such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

Whilst we defend Nasser Amin against the right-wing backlash, we have fundamental disagreements with his outlook. We vehemently oppose Amin's equation of the Israeli civilian population with the armed forces. He states that all Israelis "benefit from the immoral actions of a colonial state in which they have chosen to reside" and therefore, according to Amin, Israeli civilians "cannot be considered as innocent." This amounts to a denial of the Hebrew-speaking people's very right to exist as a nation. It is a mirror-image of the Zionists' denial of the national rights of the Palestinians and illustrates the genocidal logic of all nationalism.

What drives the bloody cycle of Zionist slaughter and Palestinian defiance and despair is the root cause of this conflict: two peoples lay claim to the same land. There can be no equitable resolution to the conflicting national claims of the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples under capitalism. So long as the national axis is emphasised, the situation will always be bleak and hopeless. But if the *class axis* is emphasised there is at least a chance of a just solution. Against all variants of nationalism, we counterpose a programme of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. The road to the social and national liberation of the Palestinian people lies through common class struggle by the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers against both the Israeli and Arab ruling classes, who likewise are oppressors of the Palestinians. Only within a socialist federation of the Near East can the right to national self-determination for both the Palestinian and the Hebrew-speaking peoples be equitably realised. This requires the revolutionary overthrow of the Zionist state and all capitalist regimes in the region. ***For a sociolist federotion of the Near East! Down with the U.S./British occupation of Iraq and Afghoniston! All Israeli troops ond settlers out of the Occupied Territories! UN troops out of Lebonon now!***

UK Indymedia

London, July 2005: Protest against cop killing of Brazilian immigrant electrician Jean Charles de Menezes.

Protest the "War on Terror" at SOAS

The extent to which the Blair government can succeed in enforcing the "war on terror" depends on the amount of class struggle opposing it; that is, whether the multiethnic working class is mobilised to defend itself, including immigrants and minorities who are in the cross-hairs of increased state repression. At the same time, racism and violent repression of workers and minorities is intrinsic to the capitalist state and cannot be eradicated short of proletarian revolution. Those students who still make it to university in this racist, capitalist society, despite tuition fees, high living costs and enormous debts, are being threatened that if you oppose the occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan or defend the Palestinians, you do not belong there. But the Achilles heel of this racist Labour government and all its armoury of state repression and violence is the exploited multiethnic working class, on which this "flexible" economy depends. Militant protest by students against the latest proposals for spying on Muslim students and political societies could be the spark for a protest by workers against the Labour government's racist "war on terror" more generally. On 13 March 2002, the SYG held a united-front protest at SOAS against the "war on terror" in defence of Fahim Ahmed, a member of the Socialist Labour Party Youth who was detained and tortured under the Terrorism Act. The protest demanded: "Down with the Labour government's anti-terrorist laws and anti-immigrant witch hunt!" We also emphasised that "Anti-terrorist laws target immigrants, minorities, the working class and the left!" This is amply proven by the fact that the "English-only" rule for societies' literature was used against us communists at SOAS.

Through our protest in 2002 we sought to explain to youth and students that the working class must take up the fight against the "war on terror" and anti-immigrant hysteria because only the working class has the social power and historic interest to lead the struggle to smash the capitalist system through proletarian revolution and the establishment of a socialist society. This forthright revolutionary perspective is counterposed to that being offered by the reformist left. At a 15 November 2006 SOAS student union general meeting, the SWP's Clare Solomon put a motion "to oppose the current racist and Islamophobic backlash" and "to defend the right for Islamic societies and other groups to organise politically on campuses." Not surprisingly, Solomon's motion neglected to oppose the chauvinist "English-only" rule for societies' literature, since Solomon herself is enforcing the ban! A separate motion at the same meeting opposed the ban, not because it augments the "war on terror," but because it "infringes on the school's image," and it proposed "to allow banners containing any language that we have the resources to translate." Translate for whom, Special Branch? In fact, this mere amendment to the foreign-language gag, facilitating the work of the secret police, is entirely within the framework of the new government guidelines.

Central to Solomon's motion was a call to back the Stop the War Coalition's (StWC) "'Islamophobia and the War on Terror' people's assembly" on 18 November 2006. The SWP opposes Islamophobia but this goes hand-in-hand with a wholesale capitulation to Islam and religious obscurantism. This is nothing new: during the 1980s the SWP stood with the imperialists in their anti-Soviet crusade. In response to the December 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, we said "Hail Red Army!" and "Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" whilst the SWP along with most of the left supported the reactionary, imperialist-backed *mujahedin* cut-throats who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and shot school teachers who dared to teach girls to read.

Against the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan today, the StWC's strategy is to echo bourgeois-defeatist voices that it is in British imperialism's best interest to get out of Iraq and to be less slavish to the Bush White House, including General Sir Richard Dannatt, the *head of the British Army*, whom the StWC even invited to join their platforms. The open letter for the "People's Assembly" complained that the "disastrous 'war on terror', of which this government has been such a prominent supporter...has made Britain more vulnerable not less to terrorist attack" and argues that the government should "abandon its support for the foreign policy of the US administration, including the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan." Such craven appeals to the Blair government, butchers of Iraq and Afghanistan, to introduce a kinder, gentler imperialism is what reformism boils down to. British imperialism is no less savage and brutal than U.S. imperialism, simply weaker and more decrepit.

In contrast to the reformists and opportunists of all shades, we stand in the tradition of the Bolsheviks who led the working class to power in Russia in October 1917, taking proletarian revolution out of the realm of theory and into flesh and blood reality. As the SYG speaker at our March 2002 protest made clear:

> "British imperialism is not a policy that can be changed; Blair cannot be pressured to be kinder to workers and minorities. For us imperialism is a system that must be replaced by a socialist society where all those who work, who produce the wealth of this country, must rule!"

If you want to fight against imperialist war and to see a world free from racism and oppression, join us!■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Thursday, March 15, 7 p.m.

**U.S. Out of the Near East!
Defend the Palestinian People!
For a Socialist Federation
of the Near East!**

Rosa Parks D
San Francisco State University
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, March 8, 6 p.m.

Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

University of California, Los Angeles
Haines Hall, A78
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: stsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.

The Fight for Black Liberation: Key to Socialist Revolution in America

Kent Room 511, Columbia University
(1 train to 116th St.)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, March 14, 6:30 p.m.

The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women

University of Toronto, OISE Rm. 2279
252 Bloor Street West
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, March 7

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man—Free Him Now!

11 a.m.: Speakout
UBC, Student Union Building
outside Lower Plaza (south)

**1 p.m.: Video Showing
*From Death Row,
This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal***

UBC, Student Union Building, Room 214

Wednesday, March 21, 6 p.m.

Why China Is Not Capitalist: Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

UBC, Student Union Building, Room 215
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

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Archive...

(continued from page 2)

International! The women were the first to tread the streets of Petrograd on their day."

As the position of Soviet women degenerated under Stalin and his successors, as part of the degeneration of the entire Soviet workers state, International Women's Day was transformed from a day of international proletarian solidarity into an empty ritual which, like Mother's Day in the United States, glorifies the traditional role of women within the family.

Women and Revolution

Bound Volume

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Now incorporated into *Spartacist*, the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Women and Revolution* reflects our commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

Issues No. 1 (May/June 1971) through No. 20 (Spring 1980)

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But International Women's Day is a celebration neither of motherhood nor sisterhood; to ignore this fact is to ignore the most significant aspects of its history and purpose, ***which was to strengthen the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat***. Unlike the pre-war Mensheviks who wanted to conciliate the feminists of their day by limiting the celebration of International Women's Day to women only, the Bolsheviks insisted that it be a holiday of working women and working men in struggle together. As Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote in the lead article of the first issue of *Rabotnitsa*:

> "That which unites working women with working men is stronger than that which divides them. They are united by their common lack of rights, their common needs, their common condition, which is struggle and their common goal.... Solidarity between working men and working women, common activity, a common goal, a common path to this goal—such is the solution of the 'woman' question among workers."

Today the Bolshevik program for the full emancipation of women is carried forward by the Spartacist League. We are proud to publicize the real history of International Women's Day, a part of our revolutionary heritage, and we will celebrate it with public forums around the country presenting the Marxist analysis of women's oppression and the program and strategy to smash it.

As we deepen our influence in the working class, we look forward to celebrating future International Women's Days not only through the dissemination of propaganda, but also through the initiation of the full range of activities traditionally associated with this proletarian holiday—*general strikes, insurrections, revolution!*

Forward to a Women's Section of the Reborn Fourth International!

For Women's Liberation through International Proletarian Revolution! ■

Corbis

Women march in 1910 May Day parade in New York City.

Young Spartacus

Free Wilson...

(continued from page 12)

indiscretions, the 'Romeo and Juliet' exception. And since Mr. Wilson's conviction, the law has been changed to exempt oral sex as well. But the courts say that can't help Mr. Wilson retroactively." *Overturn the conviction! Free Genarlow Wilson now!*

Racist forces in the Georgia legislature are blocking a bill that would allow Wilson and others to reopen their cases to take advantage of the recent revision in the law. Leading this effort is state senator Eric Johnson, who rails that Wilson's acts constituted "rape" and vows to "stand with future possible victims of politically correct apologists who want to turn loose convicted sexual predators." This racist bigot had earlier promoted a referendum to enlarge the Confederate battle flag that appears on the state flag. Only in 2003 did Georgia overturn a law against "fornication" (banning sex outside marriage) that dated back to the slaveholding era of the 1830s and was used historically against black men and interracial couples.

Dixon and Wilson were sentenced under Georgia's SB440 law authorizing youth from 13 to 17 to be charged as adults for committing the so-called "seven deadly sins" that include "aggravated child molestation" and "aggravated sodomy." According to the Georgia Public Defender Standards Council, black teens are five times more likely than whites to be sentenced under this law, while white youth are 84 percent more likely to have their cases transferred back to juvenile court than blacks. Similar laws across the country were adopted throughout the 1980s and '90s as the racist capitalist rulers deemed a generation of black youth to be innate criminals who must be swept off the streets and warehoused in prisons, mainly through the "war on drugs." The same 15-year-old who is deemed too immature to consent to the pleasurable activity of sex is mature enough to be tried, convicted and sentenced to up to life in prison as an adult!

Along with Wilson, five others were charged following the New Year's Eve party. The five pleaded guilty to lesser crimes to avoid long prison terms but are now forced to spend their lives as "registered sex offenders," targeted for vicious state repression and vigilante violence.

Skaili/L.A. Times

California youth inmate taking "class" while locked in a cage.

Wilson refused such a plea deal, saying it would be "a lifelong sentence in itself." Even if Wilson could win early release, he would be barred as a "sex offender" from living with his mother, where his eight-year-old sister lives.

Under the 1996 "Megan's Law" signed by Democratic president Clinton, "sex offenders" must register permanently with local authorities upon release from prison. Their names and addresses are made public, including postings on the Internet, setting them up for assault and murder. More than 370,000 names are on the national registry. A Georgia law enacted in July 2006 forbids "sex offenders" from living within 1,000 feet of a school, playground or church. Terminally ill people, others suffering from Alzheimer's and even people living in nursing homes have been ordered evicted. Georgia is also among those states that allow the barbaric measure of chemical castration.

Georgia's reactionary "child molestation" law was one of a raft of measures enacted nationally over the last couple of decades that aimed at both increasing the repressive reach of the capitalist state and bolstering the institution of the family. Along with religion, the family, the principal source of women's oppression in class society, serves to instill obedience to authority and promotes puritanical morality. This is at the heart of crusades against pornography, youth sexuality, homosexuality and abortion. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have consistently opposed the intrusion of the government into private life and demand an end to all laws against "crimes without victims," such as prostitution, drug use and pornography. We oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws, which deny the fact that young people are, and have always been, sexually active. Our guiding principle is simply that of mutual effective consent. Government out of the bedrooms!

In his 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, this great abolitionist and former slave denounced "the corrupt, slaveholding, women-whipping, cradle-plundering, partial and hypocritical Christianity of this land." Indeed, religious reaction has historically been bound up with attacks on black rights in the U.S., where the oppression of black people as a race-color caste is rooted in the foundations of the capitalist economy. The desperate conditions facing black youth—police terrorizing the ghettos, mass unemployment and incarceration, the rollback of affirmative action and resegregation of urban schools—can be eliminated only through the overturn of capitalist class rule by the multiracial working class. We fight to build the revolutionary workers party that is essential to lead the proletariat in this struggle. Black liberation through socialist revolution!

* * *

Contributions for Genarlow Wilson's legal defense should be made payable to the Genarlow Wilson Defense Fund and sent to Scott Kaye, 729 Piedmont Ave., Atlanta, GA 30308. ■

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Black Liberation...

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can somehow be pressured to serve the interests of its victims. But the capitalist state—made up of the cops, armed forces, courts and prisons—is the violent enforcer of the exploiting class's rule over the workers. This state cannot be reformed; it has to be smashed and replaced with a workers state. The black Democratic Party hustlers are enemies of black liberation, serving as front men for the white ruling class. Militant, independent class struggle requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which chains workers to the Democratic Party and the brutal capitalist system. We need a new, class-struggle labor leadership!

The rally participants were overwhelmingly black—a snapshot of how racially segregated this country is, how deeply racism is embedded in American capitalism. But the massive outpouring also showed that although the determination of the oppressed for a real fight is palpable, the front men for capitalism work overtime to derail struggle. Our task is to build a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party, like the Bolshevik Party that led the October 1917 workers revolution in Russia, to lead the fight for working-class power, for international proletarian socialist revolution.

Capitalist Rulers' War on Blacks

On February 2, the NYPD reported that they had stopped and frisked over a half-million individuals in 2006—a ***more than 400 percent*** rise from what was reported for 2002. Over 55 percent of those stopped were black and over 30 percent were Hispanic. And that's just what was recorded. The 1991 sadistic LAPD beating of Rodney King seen by all on video cameras captured what goes on all the time. "Stop and beat" has always been part of life on the city streets. In the weeks after the killing of Sean Bell, the NYPD shot five more men, killing Timur Person and Anatoly Dmitriev. And on January 7, 38-year-old black Brooklyn resident Blondel Lassegue died after police shocked him with a high-voltage Taser gun.

The *New York Times* cited commentators saying that perhaps the cops hadn't been reporting stop-and-frisk stats because this is not a priority in the "age of terrorism." Cops have been given even more leeway to assault people on the street, recalling the 1857 Dred Scott decision that black people "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." We said that the American ruling class's never-ending "war on terror" that first targeted the most vulnerable and isolated immigrants would ultimately target black people and the entire working class. The mounting attacks on the rights of immigrants, blacks and workers are the domestic reflection of the brutal, racist occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan by the U.S. imperialists, the world's biggest terrorists.

Victims of NYPD racist terror, with years of their deaths; clockwise from top left: Eleanor Bumpurs (1984), Michael Stewart (1983), Sean Bell (2006) with fiancée and daughter, Timothy Stansbury Jr. (2004), Amadou Diallo (1999).

This past June in Miami's impoverished Liberty City ghetto, cops set up and then arrested seven poor young black men on bogus terrorism-related charges. Regarding the racist frame-up legal system, a Florida lawyer observed: "We used to have agents and confidential informants creating drug deals in Liberty City. Now it looks like they are creating homegrown cells."

We must burn into the consciousness of the working class the hideous examples of barbaric capitalist class rule and the urgent necessity for class struggle against the entire capitalist system. One of the most outrageous displays of capitalist state violence in the U.S. was the firebombing of the Philadelphia MOVE house on May 13, 1985, in which eleven men, women and children were burned to death. This occurred under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in collusion with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the Philly cops. It was a bloody signature of the Reagan years.

Today we continue to raise the racist atrocity of New Orleans in the aftermath of Katrina as an expression of the need for black liberation through socialist revolution. In the period immediately following Katrina, the dispossessed survivors who weren't left to die were shot at and criminalized. Now the people who managed to make it back barely have any jobs, hospitals, schools and housing, and black Democratic Party mayor Nagin is beefing up the police, including by having more sheriffs patrol the streets, and setting up police checkpoints, while cops randomly beat and shoot black men.

We have called on the labor movement to fight to win union jobs at union wages for all, to organize the unorganized, to fight against the oppression of black people, and to enlist the victims of Hurricane Katrina in the rebuilding of New Orleans alongside immigrant workers. A massive program of federally funded public works is required to rebuild New Orleans and the rest of the devastated Gulf Coast. Katrina's aftermath exposes that the capitalist profit system is irrational, anarchic and a barrier to human progress—there is an urgent need for an international socialist planned economy.

U.S. "Democracy": Capitalist Dictatorship

The liberals and reformists chant, "No justice, no peace." We live in a society based on the private ownership of the means of production, where capitalists squeeze all they can out of the exploited, non-possessing workers. So the question is posed: justice for whom and peace on whose terms? There is no justice from the capitalist state because its job is to hold down the masses so the capitalists can freely exploit. "American democracy," which the reformists embellish and plead for the capitalists to "live up to," in reality is the two-party political shell for the dictatorship of the U.S. capitalist class over the working class and the poor.

Friedrich Engels explained in 1884 in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* how the rise of state power was bound up with the development of class society, noting that the state arose as an instrument by which the exploiters suppress the exploited. As Engels wrote, the state "is a product of society at a certain stage of development, it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel."

Engels explains how class society needs a state apparatus, pointing to

> "the establishment of a ***public*** power which no longer directly coincides with the population organising itself as an armed force. This special public power is necessary because a self-acting armed organisation of the population has become impossible since the split into classes. . . This public power exists in every state; it consists not merely of armed men but also of material adjuncts, prisons and institutions of coercion."

The capitalists maintain class domination not only through their control of cultural, religious, educational institutions and through the bourgeois family, but ultimately with raw violence.

Lenin took this up again in 1917 in *The State and Revolution*. Lenin was fighting anti-revolutionary opponents in the workers movement, like the Mensheviks and the bulk of the Social Revolutionaries and anarchists who opposed the struggle for proletarian revolution. Lenin pointed out that Marx only found one point from the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* that he considered out of date. Based on the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, Marx wrote that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." Lenin continued, "The working class must ***break up, smash*** the 'ready-made state machinery,' and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it." The working class must rule with its own state, the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is, workers soviet democracy—democratically elected workers councils that administer a collectivized socialist property system. Lenin had to interrupt completing *State and Revolution* to help lead the Bolshevik Revolution.

American Capitalism and Black Oppression

Under capitalism, workers are compelled to sell their labor power or starve. One story: the U.S. Department of Agriculture has purged the word "hunger" from all their reports. Now according to official statistics, eleven million people who face a constant struggle with hunger are people with "very low food security." Some of you remember when Reagan was president they called ketchup a vegetable. Joblessness, a crumbling infrastructure, homelessness and imperialist wars are all inherent within the boom-bust system of capitalist exploitation—that is, the exploitation of the many by the few. This is not a matter of "misplaced priorities," as liberals and reformists put forward.

In America, class exploitation has always been wrapped in the envelope of racism. Black people in the U.S. are a

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

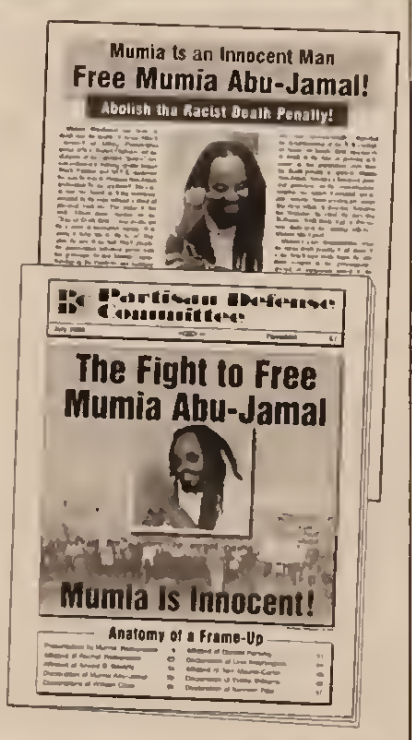
The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. Final legal papers have been filed with the Third Circuit Court of Appeals and a legal decision could come without notice in weeks or months. We must mobilize now to win his freedom.

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saddam on the Gallows

Saddam Hussein is gone.

The President of Iraq, who fell out with his imperial paymasters in Washington, was hanged for his hubris, amidst taunts by hooded supporters of Muqtada Al-Sadr, head of the Shi'a Mahdi Army.

His crime? Surely not the killing of his Shi'a opponents, nor his torture of Iraqis; for in the grim aftermath of these events, US envoys continued to skin and grin with him, shaking his hand (as did the then-Reagan Administration's Donald Rumsfeld), and sending him more tools of war and weapons of mass destruction.

If he was guilty of crimes against humanity, what of those many Americans who aided and abetted him? What of those many Western businesses which armed him (and greatly profited from such arms deals)?

It is a sign of our cynical times that the nation that egged on and armed Saddam during his long and brutal war with Iran, that looked the other way when he waged his reign of repression against the Shi'a majority, now deigns to punish him for doing their bidding.

Saddam was sentenced to death for human rights violations that happened in 1982, right? Well, why did the US sign diplomatic treaties with Iraq in 1984? In the remarkable book, "Behind the Iraq War", written by the Indian activist group, Research Unit for Political Economy (New York: Monthly Review, 2003) we learn that diplomatic relations between Iraq and the US were formally restored "well after the United States knew, and a U.N. team confirmed, that Iraq was using chemical weapons against the Iranian troops" [p. 31]. In fact, in 1986, when the U.N. Security Council tried to condemn Iraq for using mustard gas against Iran's troops, the US blocked the resolution!

As RUPE writes, arming Iraq against Iran was good business:

> "Brisk trade was done in supplying Iraq. Britain joined France as a major source of weapons for it. Iraq imported uranium from Portugal, France, and Italy, and began constructing centrifuge enrichment with German assistance. The United States arranged massive loans for Iraq's burgeoning war expenditure from American client states such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The U.S. administration provided 'crop-spraying' helicopters (to be used in chemical attacks in 1988), let Dow Chemicals ship its chemicals for use on humans, seconded its air force officers to work with their Iraqi counterparts (from 1986), approved technological exports to Iraq's missile procurement agency to extend the missiles' range (1988). In October 1987 and April 1988 U.S. forces themselves attacked Iranian ships and oil platforms." [p. 31]

If that ain't aiding and abetting, what is?

But those who aided Iraq have since joined hands to condemn him, and to rip the nation into strips (a Shi'a strip, a Kurd strip, and a Sunni strip). They could care less about the Iraqi people, or even such canards as "democracy". For the farthest thing from American and Western concerns is the will of the Iraqi people. According to every reputable poll, Iraqis are sick and tired of their occupiers, the Americans.

The U.S. loved Iraq during 'The War of the Cities' when almost a million people on both sides were slaughtered. But Saddam got too big for his britches. He thought he could act with impunity in his region of the Middle East.

Saddam didn't know that this was a pleasure reserved to the US Empire. For only the US could start a war on this scale, cause the death of over a 1/2-million people, use false pretexts to invade a sovereign state, torture its people, ravage cities like Fallujah, almost shatter the nation into threes, wreak untold national and regional havoc—and call it liberation.

The execution of Saddam Hussein was purely an exercise of raw American power.

History will prove this is but a minor blip on the road to oblivion.

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

For the ICL's position on national/religious divisions in Iraq, see, for example, "The U.S. Occupation and the Kurdish Question" (*WV* No. 871, 26 May 2006) and "Imperialist Occupation: Hell for Iraq" (*WV* No. 882, 8 December 2006). Both articles are available on the ICL's Web site, www.icl-fi.org.

Edward Reed

From right: Charles Barron, Al Sharpton with NYC mayor Bloomberg at November 27 press conference where city rulers appealed for calm following cop killing of Sean Bell.

race-color caste segregated at the bottom of society. At the same time, black people are disproportionately part of the organized working class. Won to a revolutionary Marxist program, black workers will play a leading role in the struggle to emancipate the black masses and all working people through sweeping away the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

We fight for revolutionary integrationism. This is a fighting program counterposed to both liberal integrationism—the false view that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of American capitalism—and black nationalism. The struggle for integration of black people into American society on the basis of full economic, social and political equality can only be realized through a proletarian revolution that uproots the rotting capitalist system and ushers in an egalitarian socialist society.

Race-color caste oppression will exist as long as capitalism exists—whether you are Fred Weary, the Houston Texans lineman who was tasered to the ground in November for changing lanes without signaling, or you are Michael Jackson or Barack Obama. Obama, the "articulate" and "clean" black candidate according to Democratic Senator Joseph Biden's condescending racist statement, first earned these "credentials" at the 2004 Democratic Party convention, where his keynote address blamed black parents for the misery and hopelessness of black youth because, as he said, they don't "turn off the television sets." Obama just voted in September for a 700-mile fence for the Mexican border.

Barack Obama's rapid career rise is based on the capitalist lies: the so-called "end of racism," "it's a level playing field now" and "if you're poor, it's your fault." The resurgence of arguments in favor of accommodation to the racist status quo comes from both the white racist ruling class and their black lackeys and has been in the works since the rollback of the gains of the civil rights movement starting in the 1970s. It has accelerated with the bourgeois triumphalism over the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union that was supposed to mean the "end of history" and the "death of communism." The final undoing of the USSR, the world's first workers state, was a huge defeat and has meant a global capitalist offensive against workers and oppressed. Working-class consciousness has been thrown back, and masses of workers around the world no longer identify their struggles with the struggle for socialism.

There is an inextricable link between the fight for black liberation and the question of socialist revolution. The 1917 October Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, was the greatest 20th century victory for the world's workers and oppressed. The Third (Communist) International, which came out of that revolution, insisted that the struggle for black liberation was key to the American revolution and demanded that the American Communist Party address the special oppression of black people. James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, said that the Bolsheviks instructed them that "the Negro question [is] a *special* question of doubly-exploited second-class citizens, requiring a program of special demands as part of the over-all program—and to start doing something about it" (*The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]). In those early years, the Communist Party's aggressive struggle for racial equality and against the exclusion of blacks from the unions laid the foundations for the later successes of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in organizing mass, integrated industrial unions.

Despite its degeneration under the Stalinist bureaucracy, we unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet workers state and the East European deformed workers states against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack and called for proletarian political revolution. Today we call for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. We fight to forge Trotskyist parties to struggle for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and establish regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

Today the mass of black youth are no longer even a reserve army of labor but, in the eyes of the racist rulers, constitute a surplus population. Decrepit, overcrowded, segregated schools are the holding cells on the way to prison. Under Democratic president Clinton, the prison system population soared, today reaching over two million. Others are recruited to be cannon fodder in U.S. imperialism's wars, like the murderous occupation of Iraq. In the name of the "war on drugs," black youth are swept into the prison system and, if they get out, they can't get jobs, they're ineligible for education aid and in many cases can't vote. Their families have been destroyed.

The capitalists are determined to have a monopoly of violence, and that's why they push gun control as a supposed solution to the misery and desperation of urban life. In November in Atlanta, 88-year-old Kathryn Johnston managed to fire several shots in self-defense before cops with a "no knock" warrant broke down her door supposedly "looking for drugs" and killed her. We are for the decriminalization of drugs. We oppose gun control and are for the right of self-defense.

Black women workers face triple oppression. Between 1977 and 2001, there has been an almost 600 percent increase in the number of women jailed; a third are black and 16 percent are Hispanic. The California state assembly is discussing building 15 new so-called "mini" women's prisons. Both black men and women are disproportionately the victims of neglect and prejudice over HIV/AIDS, as well as the mass destruction of public housing, the axing of welfare and the attacks on health care. Attacks on abortion rights hit young black women hard. We are for free abortion on demand as part of free quality health care for all and fight anti-gay bigotry. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

continued on page 8

AP

New Orleans, September 2005: Hurricane Katrina survivors abandoned by racist capitalist rulers.

Black Liberation...

(continued from page 7)

Racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism are essential weapons in the ideological arsenal of the ruling class to divide and weaken workers. White workers as well as black workers and immigrant workers lose when the bosses pit sections of the working class against each other, aiming to choke off joint action against their common enemy, the capitalist class. In the course of militant class struggle, like on the picket lines, workers learn who are their real allies and enemies, and the need to rely on their own strength.

Many immigrant workers have a history of social struggle in their countries of origin and are a living link to desperately needed international working-class solidarity. The working class as a whole must take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. At Smithfield Foods in Tar Heel, North Carolina, there has been more than a decade of struggle by the United Food and Commercial Workers to organize the largely black and Latino workforce. Up to 500 black and Latino workers walked out or didn't come to work on Martin Luther King Day this year demanding that it he made a company holiday. Black rights, immigrant rights and the rights of the entire working class go forward together or go backward. Working people need a party that fights for ***their*** interests, a workers party that fights for a workers government.

Finish the Civil War!

The American bourgeois order was born in violence against the indigenous population, which was largely exterminated, and continued through indentured servitude and the hrutal forced-labor system of hlack chattel slavery. In the South before the Civil War, policing was geared almost entirely toward the maintenance of slavery. "Patrollers" were the most visible police force, employed to track down fugitive slaves. They could search slave dwellings for weapons, break up gatherings and look out for so-called "suspicious" activity. Any adult white male could be conscripted to put down a slave revolt. The violent punishment of the black population was codified, for example, in a 1723 Maryland law that called for cutting off the ears of blacks—slave or free—who struck a white person.

Some 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern black freedmen fought in the Union Army in the Civil War. And, following the defeat of the South, Radical Reconstruction was the most democratic period in U.S. history. But the victorious Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of black equality. They looked at the devastated South and saw opportunity for profitably exploiting both resources and the freedmen. With the Compromise of 1877, the last of the federal troops were pulled from the South, symbolizing the end of Reconstruction. Black people were disenfranchised, politically expropriated and kept at the bottom of society.

Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) and Lenin's *State and Revolution* (1917) explained nature of the state as instrument of class rule.

The institution of Jim Crow segregation began to take shape, marked hy strict racial codes that returned the black population to a position of subservience. State repression was supplemented by the racist terror of the Ku Klux Klan. This was the era of lynch law. In many cases, police would release prisoners to lynch mobs, and then participate. Racist police terror in the U.S. is the legacy of slavery and lynch mob violence, and the death penalty is legal lynching. We say: Finish the Civil War—for a third American Revolution, a workers revolution!

NYC and Police "Reform"

The history of the New York City police underscores the "liberal" North's key role in perpetuating black oppression. The NYPD was established in 1845 as the city's growing economy attracted new immigrants who were squeezed into tenement districts. Irish and German immigrants battled with police.

There is a long history of anti-labor violence and repression in America, like the 1886 Haymarket massacre in Chicago. In New York, the cops attacked organized workers in the "Eight Hour strikes" of 1872, and in 1874 immigrant workers protesting joblessness were attacked by cops on horses in the Tompkins Square Riot. Is this just ancient history? No. In Houston, Texas, cops mounted on horses attacked striking immigrant SEIU janitors in November, severely injuring at least five people, including an 83-year-old New York janitor who had come to Houston in solidarity. But the janitors prevailed, winning a three-year contract. Cops and security guards—scab herders during strikes—as well as prison guards are not workers and should be ousted from the unions. Phony socialists like the Socialist Alternative group, which considers cops and security guards part of the labor movement, are feeding deadly illusions in the class enemy.

Special commissions and civilian review boards, committees and investigations, petitions and community speakouts against cop brutality—they have all happened time and time again. The underlying purpose of such "reforms" is to bolster the police and clean up their bloody image, and the reformist left keeps pushing such schemes. In the protests over the Sean Bell killing, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has repeatedly called for the firing of Police Commissioner Ray Kelly, fostering the illusion that if the city's top cop changed names that would be a victory. That's a lie. Some time after the Amadou Diallo shooting, Giuliani appointed a new police commissioner, his thoroughly vile and corrupt crony Bernard Kerik. The ISO even claims that replacing Kelly would be comparable to the "victory" of Donald Rumsfeld resigning. But that just cleared the way for Bush to increase the number of troops in Iraq.

New York has had no lack of investigations into "police misconduct," starting in 1894 with the Lexow Committee, continuing with the 1970 Knapp Commission and the 1994 Mollen Commission. Civilian complaint review boards date back to 1953. Democrat David Dinkins, NYC's first and only black mayor, bragged that he carried out the largest increase in the police force in the city's history. The character of the police doesn't change no matter who runs them. In 1992, in response to his call for yet another version of a civilian review board, he was treated to 10,000 armed cops rabidly besieging City Hall, an event that launched Rudy Giuliani's mayoral campaign.

Self-Defense Against Racist Terror

Black people are not just victims and have organized to fight against racist attacks. After World War I, masses of black people were moving out of the South into Northern cities. Racist mob and cop attacks exploded, some sparked hy racists horrified at the sight of armed black soldiers returning. Black people began to organize self-defense, many inspired by the recent victorious Russian Revolution. In 1920, at the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, John Reed, one of the founders of the American Communist Party and author of *Ten Days That Shook the World*, reported that "among the negroes themselves a great racial consciousness arose." Reed noted, "Defense societies were organized everywhere by the returned negro soldiers for resistance to white lynchers" (see "Early Communist Work Among Blacks," *Young Spartacus* No. 21, January-February 1974).

The racist rulers are okay with hegging, weeping and praying, but when they see black people defending themselves, they treat it like a slave revolt. In the late 1950s and early '60s, black veterans and others organized. These included the courageous Robert F. Williams, Marine veteran and author of *Negroes With Guns* in Monroe, North Carolina, and the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice. They armed themselves against the Ku Klux Klan lynchers, saving black lives. Williams' NAACP chapter was expelled by the national office because he organized black self-defense. The Spartacist League raised money for the Deacons for Defense, an effort embodied in the slogan "Every Dime Buys a Bullet." While we supported self-defense, we pointed out the contradiction in the political programs of these groupings. For example, Charles Sims, leader of the Bogalusa Deacons, looked to the federal courts and government and the Democratic Party.

The history of the civil rights movement has been rewritten to make icons of the pro-Democratic Party liberal-pacifist wing of that movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. and others, who relied on the federal government and the Democratic Party. What is buried or distorted is the history of those who opposed cringing appeals to the racist rulers, those like the Deacons, Williams, Malcolm X and many militants attracted to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panthers. When the civil rights movement swept into the North, the bankruptcy of the liberal legalistic perspective of its leaders was quickly exposed, as it collided head-on with the cold, hard reality that hlack oppression is rooted in the foundations of American capitalism. The important and real hut partial gains for black people during this period were largely in the realm of formal legal equality. But the Northern ghetto masses had lived for some time with so-called "equality under the law"—at the end of the unemployment lines and the barrels of cops' revolvers.

The bankruptcy of the liheral-led movement led to the explosions of black anger across the Northern cities. In Harlem in 1964, an off-duty police lieutenant shot and killed a 15-year-old black youth. The cops used the resulting protest as an excuse to launch a pre-emptive strike against unrest in the ghetto. A demonstration at Harlem's 28th Precinct two days later was repeatedly pressed back by the cops, who hurled racist slurs and eventually charged into the main hody of the protest. In the ensuing days, wave after wave of tactical cops swept through Harlem beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths.

Afterwards, black nationalist groups,

July 1964: In response to NYC cop riot, Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee held rally in garment district (right) calling on labor to defend ghetto masses.

the NAACP and the Democrats joined together in a Unity Council. With our small forces we worked for a while in the Harlem Defense Council, a group led by Progressive Labor's Bill Epton, urging residents to organize block by block for self-defense. We initiated the Harlem Solidarity Committee, which organized a mass rally in the downtown garment district around the slogans: "Remove the rioting cops from Harlem" and "Support the right of the citizens of the ghetto to defend themselves." In 1964 as now, we have consistently sought to link the anger of the ghettos and barrios to the labor movement's enormous potential power.

The Black Panther Party formed in 1966, describing themselves as "revolutionary nationalists," a contradiction in terms. The Panthers shared with the rest of the (predominately white) New Left a rejection of the centrality and strategic social power of the integrated labor movement in the struggle against oppression and capitalism. This further isolated the Panthers and facilitated their destruction.

These days you will not hear how the Panthers offered to send their members to Vietnam to assist in the fight against U.S. imperialism, about how they initially organized independently of the Democrats and Republicans. Now they are portrayed either as good guys who organized breakfast programs or as a bunch of criminals. The Panthers represented the best of a generation of black militants who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class. They sought to strip away the deeply felt powerlessness of the black population in relation to the

Marzani & Munsell

Stewart/Bethel

Left: Armed self-defense organized by Robert F. Williams in Monroe, North Carolina, 1957. Above: Black Panther Party march, 1969.

more railroaded to decades in prison hellholes, including Mumia Abu-Jamal. Others made their way into the Democratic Party, like New York's Charles Barron.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been imprisoned for over 25 years, sent to death row after being falsely convicted of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Mumia is an innocent man, and the struggle for his freedom is central to the interests of the entire working class. He must be freed now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

We do not simply decry the cruelty of the capitalist system. We fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party that will bring a communist program based on the history of working-class struggle to the workers, a revolutionary program based on their objective interests in liberating all mankind. Wage workers engaged in particular struggles against their employers will not spontaneously see the necessity for overthrowing capitalism. History proves that the party must bring that consciousness to the working class. In explaining the necessity of a revolutionary party, Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902):

> "The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

The Spartacist League is dedicated to building such a party, based on the fusion of declassed revolutionary intellectuals and class-conscious workers. And such a party can only be built through sharp political struggle against the misleaders of the working class.

Cases in point are the treacherous pro-Democratic Party NYC labor tops, like teachers union head Randi Weingarten and the TWU's Roger Toussaint. While making appearances at protests against cop terror, they have not lifted a finger to lead their membership in class action in defense of the besieged ghettos and barrios. Toussaint and the leadership of the TWU are closely allied with the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association head Patrick Lynch! Trotsky wrote in 1940 in *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* about reformist-led unions "drawing closely to and growing together with the state power."

The reformist Workers World Party offers its newspaper as a press release vehicle for Democratic city councilman Charles Barron, who has been using his credentials as an ex-Black Panther as a cover for feeding illusions that you can reform the cops. Workers World openly supported this capitalist politician for Congress in 2006. Barron has been mainly calling for Ray Kelly to be fired and has also pitched an appeal to the UN, portraying that den of imperialist thieves and their victims as a vehicle for justice. Trailing right behind Barron are the nationalist December 12th Movement and the Black Men's Movement, which was formerly called the Black Men's Movement Against Crack. The late Sonny Carson, who led a poisonous bigoted boycott of Korean grocers in Flatbush in 1990, had a hand in founding these groups.

A group called the New Black Panther Party has called for boycotting "non-black" businesses. This separatist outfit is an offspring of the anti-woman, anti-Semitic demagogue Louis Farrakhan, whose reactionary 1995 "Million Man March" for "atonement" was lauded by the racist bourgeoisie because it forgave the oppressors and exploiters for their enormous crimes against black people, working people and the poor while blaming the oppressed for their oppression. The New Black Panthers have a record of poisonous denunciations of Korean shopkeepers. Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead, has his own security company, X-Men Security, offering his services to police housing projects. All black nationalist groups see the primary division in society as race, not class. Farrakhan and his ilk live off the despair of the ghettoized black population and sneer with contempt at the multiracial working class while pursuing their petty "black capitalist" schemes.

The Party for Socialism and Liberation, Workers World Party and Socialist Alternative all call for variations on "community control" of the police. Such calls are an echo of the 1960s. This demand combines liberal illusions in the nature of the bourgeois state with illusions that the oppression of black people can be ended through "control" of ghetto institutions. Community control is a cruel hoax, amounting to quibbling over "control" of the rotting carcasses of the inner-city ghettos.

The nationalist and reformist groups embrace sectoralism, an anti-working-class perspective that blacks, Latinos, immigrants—all sectors of the oppressed—must organize separately. This is a gift to the capitalist exploiters because it assists in perpetuating divisions in the working class. They accept the racial, ethnic and sexual divisions of capitalist society as unalterable. In practice, this means confining struggles to the boundaries of capitalism and fighting over pieces of a shrinking pie.

The U.S. is one of the most unequal industrialized countries in the world. To begin to put an end to poverty will require the expropriation of the bloodsucking capitalist class. Workers uniquely have power at the point of production. They can shut down capitalist production, pointing to their ability to seize the means of production and run society in the interests of all. When the profit system is swept away and replaced with a rational planned economy based upon workers councils, the vast wealth of this country can be utilized for human need instead of capitalist greed. Then we'll be on the road to black freedom and the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed.

We are revolutionary internationalists. We stand in the communist tradition of the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian Revolution of 1917. Beset by civil war and faced with imperialist encirclement, the leaders of the Soviet workers state immediately sought to spread that revolution internationally. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), stands for new October Revolutions, here and everywhere. Join us!■

WV Photo

23 October 1999 labor/black mobilization initiated by Partisan Defense Committee rode KKK out of New York City.

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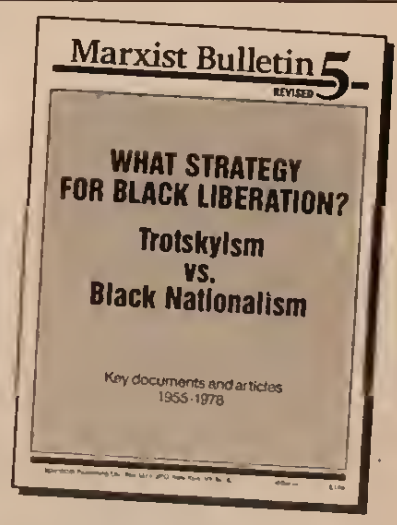

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

California professor—and cousin of the king of Morocco—described the situation in an article titled "All the Ingredients for a Strategic American Disaster" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 2007): "The winner is obviously Iran. The American strategy of dismantling the army and Baathist structures of the Iraqi state led to the elimination of Tehran's traditional enemy, while American confidence in the Shi'ite clerics has helped Iran's allies inside Iraq. Washington has thus strengthened the very state it claimed to be fighting." The *New York Times* (18 February) chipped in: "Iran has strengthened ties with Syria, built the militia Hezbollah into a state within a state in Lebanon and offered support to the radical Palestinian group Hamas. But the cornerstone to its regional plans lies in Baghdad."

AFP

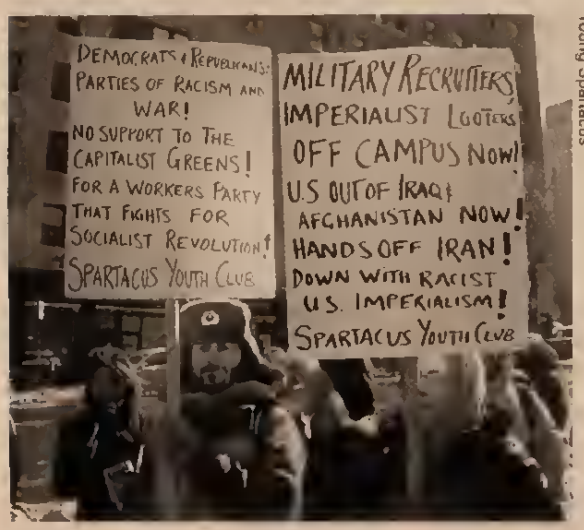
Iranian uranium conversion facility near Isfahan.

Bush's Democratic Party opponents are voicing skepticism about his claims against Iran—as are governments and editorial writers around the world. But the Democrats portray Iran and its developing nuclear capacity as a "threat" just as starkly as do the Bush gang, differing only in the means to contain it. Among the contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination, New Mexico governor Bill Richardson called in the *Washington Post* (24 February) for "directly engaging the Iranians about their nuclear program," noting that "saber-rattling is not a good way to get the Iranians to cooperate." Richardson is here repeating the line of the bipartisan Baker commission, which also complained about the Bush government's "unilateralism" in attacking Iraq without the support of the "international community." Nevertheless, Richardson's bottom line was: "For the United States to attack Iran without exhausting all diplomatic options would be a terrible mistake."

For his part, John Edwards has parroted Bush's warning that "all options are on the table" in regard to Iran, while a February 14 statement by Hillary Clinton called for Bush to seek Congressional approval before any military action. Barack Obama, who has cast himself as the "antiwar" candidate, earlier told the *Chicago Tribune* (25 September 2004): "Launching some missile strikes into Iran is not the optimal position for us to be in. On the other hand, having a radical Muslim theocracy in possession of nuclear weapons is worse. So I guess my instinct would be to err on not having those weapons in the possession of the ruling clerics of Iran."

The Democrats rode to victory in the November Congressional elections largely because of popular opposition to the Iraq occupation. In this they were aided by the "antiwar movement" built by the reformist left. The various antiwar coalitions supported by the Workers World Party (WWP), Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), International Socialist Organization (ISO), Socialist Action et al. pleaded with the imperialist rulers to bring peace to the Near East and to reorient their priorities. With their timeworn calls for money for schools and jobs and not war, these reformists demand that the rulers of the capitalist profit system serve the interests of those they exploit and oppress.

The reformist left's fundamental allegiance is to bourgeois democracy: the political shell for the dictatorship of the capitalist class. Thus the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2006) wrote following the Democrats' electoral victory: "The long dormant antiwar movement must take to the streets to remind this country's ruling elite that they ultimately must answer to the people they govern." Now comes the obvious next step: directly appealing to the Democratic Party, which has dutifully voted funding for both the Iraq and Afghanistan wars/occupation, to now use the "power of the purse" against the White House.



Young Spartacus

SYC at Columbia University antiwar walkout, February 15.

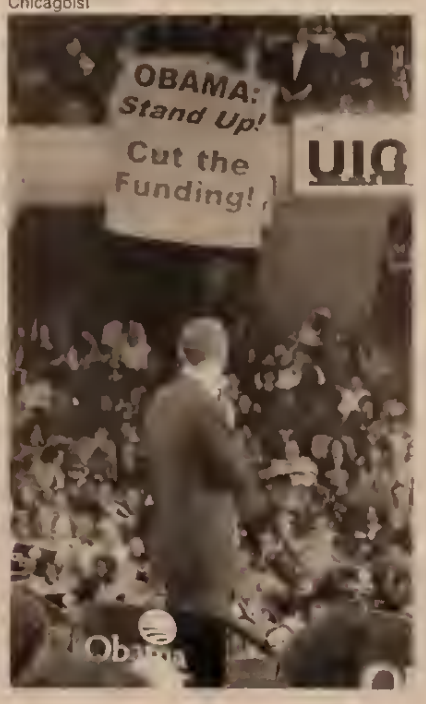
At a February 11 rally for Barack Obama at the University of Illinois-Chicago, protesters including ISO members unfurled a banner that read: "Obama: Stand Up! Cut the Funding!" Chiming right along are the calls issued for the March 17 "March on the Pentagon" by the PSL's ANSWER coalition and the WWP's Troops Out Now Coalition (TONC). Where ANSWER pleads, "From Iraq to New Orleans, Fund People's Needs Not the War Machine," TONC intones, "We Must Force Congress to Cut Off War Funding."

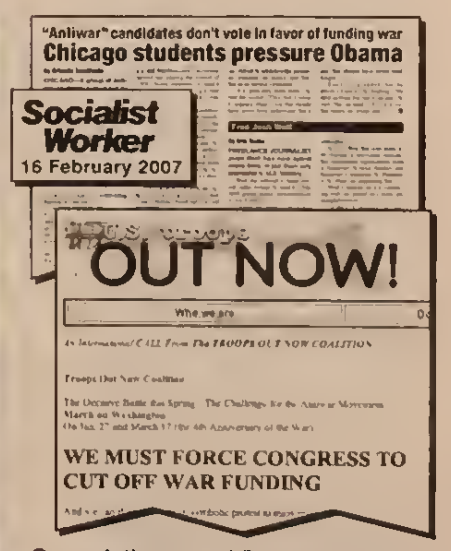
Promoting themselves as the party that can best wage the "war on terror," the Democrats who oppose Bush's Iraq occupation all embrace the murderous occupation of Afghanistan as a "just" war in retaliation for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Congressman Tom Lantos, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, opposed Bush's troop increase in Iraq by declaring that the president should "send all of the 22,000 troops of the Iraqi surge to Afghanistan." Extricating U.S. forces from the Iraq quagmire could also give Washington more flexibility to pursue its threats against both neocolonial Iran and the North Korean deformed workers state, and to pursue as well the imperialists' strategic goal of capitalist counterrevolution in China, the most powerful of the remaining societies where capitalism was overthrown.

Thousands more U.S. troops are now being redeployed to Afghanistan. Britain is adding its own extra contingents, even as it pulls out a quarter of its forces from southern Iraq. With the capitalist media braying about the resurgence of the Taliban and Al Qaeda, even Pakistan, a long-time U.S. asset in the region, is feeling heat from Washington. According to press reports, on his recent trip to Pakistan, Vice President Cheney threatened the Musharraf regime with a cutoff of aid if it did not move against Taliban-linked forces near the Afghan border. Citing unnamed U.S. officials, a *New York Times* (26 February) article stated that "the White House has ruled out unilateral strikes" in the area "for the time being."

When the U.S. invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, none of the reformist groups raised the elementary call for the military defense of those countries. Now, an ANSWER statement on its March 17 protest does not even mention the occupation of Afghanistan, not to speak of Bush's threats against Iran. This is a good measure of the U.S. left's capitulation to the rulers' "war on terror" as it tails the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism.

Chicagoist





Camp followers of Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism: ISO-led protesters unfurl banner at Barack Obama campaign rally, University of Illinois-Chicago, February 11; leaflet by WWP's Troops Out Now Coalition.

War Lies, and More

In January, Bush threatened that U.S. forces would "seek out and destroy" Iranians supposedly arming and training insurgents in Iraq. In a calculated provocation, American troops the next day seized five Iranians who even Iraqi officials maintained were diplomats. U.S. officials then upped the ante by revealing that Bush had authorized the military to "kill or capture" Iranian agents in Iraq. A *New Yorker* online article (25 February) by Seymour Hersh quotes a former senior intelligence official saying that "the word went out last August for the military to snatch as many Iranians in Iraq as they can" and that "they had five hundred locked up at one time." A former National Security Council official told Hersh: "This is all part of the campaign of provocative steps to increase the pressure on Iran. The idea is that at some point the Iranians will respond and then the Administration will have an open door to strike at them."

Hersh noted that with the two carrier strike groups near Iran due to be relieved in the spring, there is worry within the military that the two groups "may be ordered to stay in the area after the new carriers arrive." The former intelligence official told him that contingency plans "allow for an attack order this spring." Many commentators have said that the U.S. is looking for a new "Tonkin Gulf" incident, referring to the cooked-up 1964 "attack" on a U.S. warship by North Vietnamese forces that provided the pretext for a massive escalation of American forces in Vietnam.

To bolster Washington's claims that "the highest levels of the Iranian government" were targeting U.S. forces in Iraq, American officials pointed to captured armor-piercing explosives that they said were fabricated in Iran. But attempts to whip up anti-Iran sentiment are falling flat. First it was revealed that a press conference originally scheduled for late January had been repeatedly postponed because the "evidence" was so dubious that no official in Washington would take responsibility for it. (The briefing was finally presented off-camera by anonymous officers in Baghdad.) Then the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff contradicted the "revelations," insisting that he saw no evidence of Iranian government involvement. Bush had to admit that he did not really know if attacks "were ordered from the top echelons of the government" in Tehran (*New York Times*, 15 February).

Having retailed the lies about "weapons of mass destruction" that served as a pretext for the Iraq war, even the pliant bourgeois press has expressed skepticism about the administration's claims concerning Iran. But they did not pursue such obvious questions as why the supposed Iranian weapons displayed for reporters had English markings. An Iranian UN official aptly noted in a letter to the *New York Times* (26 February), "The evidence that has been produced is preposterous (the dates on the evidence are in American date format—month first, day second—whereas the rest of the world does not use this format)." And, as Paul Krugman wrote in the *Times* (12 February), close U.S. ally Saudi Arabia "is believed to be a major source of financial support for Sunni insurgents—and Sunnis, not Iranian-backed Shiites, are still responsible for most American combat deaths."

In any case, as revolutionary opponents of U.S. imperialism, we recognize that when the insurgents in Iraq carry out strikes against the U.S. occupiers, such acts coincide with the interests of the international proletariat. However, we do not imbue these forces with "anti-imperialist" credentials and stand in intransigent opposition to the murderous communal violence that is often carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies. Should the Iraqi proletariat raise its head, it would face not only the savagery of the imperialists but also

Department of Defense

AFP

Left: Russian president Putin and U.S. defense secretary Gates at Munich conference, February 10, where Putin denounced Washington's plan to place "missile defense shield" in Poland and Czech Republic. Right: February 3 protest against U.S. plan in Czech village of Jince.

the brutality of the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists and bourgeois nationalists that dominate the "resistance."

In regard to the hysteria over Iranian nukes, as the UN Security Council considered imposing further sanctions, the London *Guardian* (23 February) reported: "Much of the intelligence on Iran's nuclear facilities provided to UN inspectors by American spy agencies has turned out to be unfounded." "The United States has a long history of fabricating evidence," declared an Iranian government official (*New York Times*, 13 February). That's for sure. In the 1980s, when Washington was funneling vast quantities of arms and money to the Islamic fundamentalists fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the CIA sought to cover its tracks by supplying the *mujahedin* with Russian guns purchased from international arms merchants. Washington's support to religious reaction in Afghanistan demonstrated how U.S. imperialism fostered the growth of Islamic reaction during the Cold War as a counterweight to Communism and secular nationalism in the Muslim world.

While the bulk of the "left" howled along with the imperialists against the Soviet intervention, we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We noted this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the oppressed peoples and women of Afghanistan. The Kremlin's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1988-89 was the opening for the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution throughout East Europe and within the Soviet Union itself. The restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union—a historic defeat for the world proletariat—has brought devastation to the working people of those societies and emboldened the imperialists in their attacks globally while fueling the resurgence of religious reaction throughout the world.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Far from being "anti-imperialist," as the Workers World Party claims, the Iranian clerical regime would be perfectly amenable to a reconciliation with Washington, if conditions permitted. The Iranian mullahs observed a tactful silence during the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq. They strongly encouraged the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and played a key role in the negotiations that set up a quisling government in Kabul under Hamid Karzai. Since then, Tehran has arrested hundreds of suspected Al Qaeda fighters streaming into Iran from Afghanistan, turned them over to Saudi Arabia and other countries and provided names, photographs and fingerprints to U.S. intelligence officials.

According to a number of press reports, Tehran offered in 2003 to end its military support for Hezbollah and Hamas and to help the U.S. "stabilize" Iraq in return for Washington lifting sanctions and dismantling the Mujahedin Khalq, an Iranian opposition group with bases in Iraq. The offer was reportedly rejected out of hand by Vice President Cheney.

The reactionary 1979 Iranian "Islamic Revolution" that overthrew the CIA-backed Shah was supported by the bulk of the left internationally in the name of "anti-imperialism." This included the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party in Iran, which had a base among the country's strategic, heavily Arab oil workers. Uniquely on the left, the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) gave no political support to Ayatollah Khomeini's forces. We warned that absent a decisive break by the working class with the Islamic forces, the 1978-79 upheaval would have a disastrous outcome. We said: "Down with the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini! For workers revolution in Iran!" After taking power, the mullahs enslaved women in the veil, slaughtered thousands of leftists and trade unionists and intensified repression against Kurds and other minorities.

The current regime has continued the murderous repression. On February 24, Iranian soldiers near the Turkish border killed 17 militants associated with the Party of Free Life of Kurdistan, an offshoot of the Kurdistan Workers Party based in Turkey. Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who says that Israel should be "wiped out from the map of the world," has called the slaughter of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust a "myth" and last year organized a conference with Holocaust deniers from around the world, including outright fascists.

In one significant way, Iran is, in this period, an anomaly in the Near East. The growing opposition in that country to the current regime appears to have a significant secular component, as many aspire to free themselves from stifling religious rule. Ahmadinejad took the presidency in June 2005 having promised to provide more jobs, fight corruption and redistribute wealth. However, inflation has exploded, with the price of staples like bread and meat rising as much as 25 percent, students are disaffected, workers' strikes have been growing and the Kurdish and Azeri north, the Arab southwest and the Baluchi southeast are simmering. In December's municipal elections, the president's political allies suffered an embarrassing defeat.

It is the task of the working class in Iran, leading women, national and ethnic minorities and all the oppressed behind it, to overthrow the Persian-chauvinist Islamic regime. Key to this perspective is the forging of a Marxist workers party. Such parties must be built throughout the Near East to unite the proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—in struggle against imperialism and against the Zionists, mullahs, colonels, sheiks and all the other capitalist rulers. The fight for workers rule in the Near East crucially includes shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution.

This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, which vitally includes the fight to extend working-class rule to the imperialist centers, not least through the struggle for socialist revolution in the U.S. In the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East, Marxist workers parties are essential to break the proletariat of the region from fundamentalism, nationalism and illusions in imperialist "democracy." The Stalinized Communist parties of the Near East, which made a mockery of this revolutionary perspective with their support to various bourgeois forces, share responsibility for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism among the working and oppressed masses.

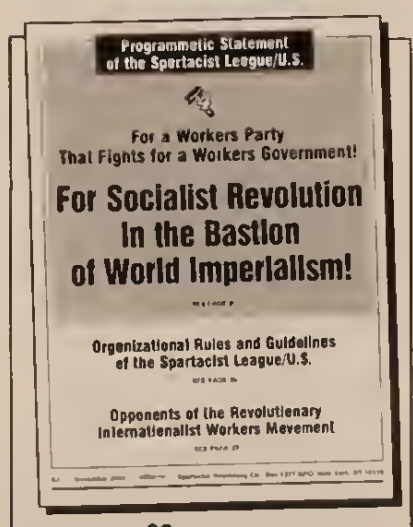
Down With U.S. Imperialism!

As further sanctions loom, the Iranian government has taken the just stand that it will defy UN strictures against its nuclear development. While Russia accommodated the U.S. by voting for UN sanctions, it has also provided Iran with $700 million worth of TOR-M1 antiaircraft batteries, "whose likely target in the event of conflict would be American fighters and bombers" (*New York Times*, 18 February). Russian leaders were already furious over the eastward expansion of NATO which, having signed up the former Soviet republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, is now making overtures to Georgia and Ukraine. At a security conference in Munich in February, Russian strongman Vladimir Putin lashed out at the U.S. over its plan to install a missile defense system—supposedly directed against intercontinental missiles launched by Iran!—in Poland and the Czech Republic.

It is particularly criminal that representatives of the Chinese deformed workers state voted on the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Iran. The Chinese Stalinist regime has also collaborated with the imperialists in the ongoing "negotiations" aimed at stopping North Korea's development of nuclear weapons. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We support Pyongyang's testing and development of nukes as a deterrent against imperialist blackmail and hailed China's successful anti-satellite weapons test in January.

Beijing's aid to the effort to disarm North Korea—an expression of the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—undermines China's own defense. We fight for workers political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on workers democracy. Such revolutionary regimes must be guided by a program of revolutionary internationalism, fighting to extend proletarian rule through international socialist revolution.

In the U.S., we seek to mobilize the proletariat in struggle against its "own" ruling class—the deadliest terrorist force on the planet. After Bush announced the U.S. troop "surge" in Iraq, we wrote in "Imperialists Escalate Bloody Iraq Occupation" (*WV* No. 884, 19 January): "It is the road of class struggle that points the way toward smashing imperialism from within, through socialist revolution. If there is to be a future for coming generations of working-class and minority youth other than one of grinding exploitation, joblessness, mass imprisonment or use as cannon fodder, if the impoverished masses of the world are to have a future other than starvation and slaughter, this whole system must be torn up by its roots and replaced by a rational, planned economy under workers rule internationally." ■



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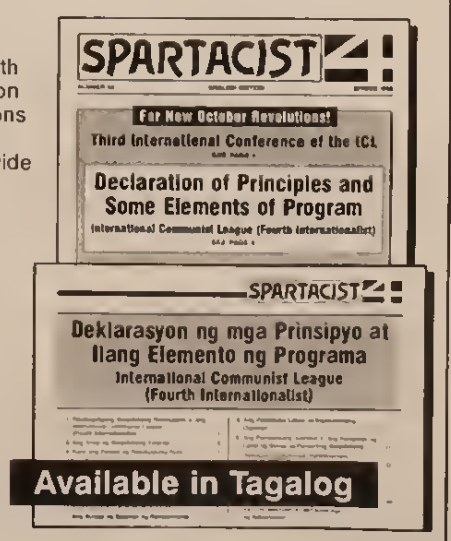

WORKERS VANGUARD

We Will Not Forget Sean Bell, Victim of NYPD Terror

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

We print below a presentation, edited for publication, by Karen Cole at a February 17 New York Spartacist League forum.

On December 16, comrades of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense joined the huge Fifth Avenue rally to protest the November 25 undercover cop killing of 23-year-old Sean Bell on his wedding day and the wounding of Trent Benefield and Joseph Guzman in a storm of 50 bullets. Nicole Paultre Bell, Sean Bell's fiancée, told the truth when she said, "They barricaded him in and they executed him." In racist capitalist America, another young black man has been cut down by the cops, the thugs in blue, in the prime of his life. In the aftermath of the killing, the cops rampaged through Queens and the Bronx, lying about looking for a gun in a frenzied attempt to blame the victims while the killer cops were put on a paid vacation.

WV Photo

December 2006: Queens protest against racist cop killing of Sean Bell.

Tens of thousands of working people and youth came out because they were furious at the kill-crazy cops who maraud through the crumbling inner cities terrorizing black and Latino men, women and children. The ruling class grinds down poor, minority and working people and then unleashes their cops to harass, humiliate, beat and kill—on the street like Sean Bell, in their building lobby like Amadou Diallo, where they work like Ousmane Zongo, on the rooftop like Timothy Stansbury, and in their home like Alberta Spruill. The hard truth is that the only way to eliminate police brutality is to do away with the whole system of racist American capitalism. The Spartacist League fights for a class-struggle program for black liberation as an inseparable part of the fight for the emancipation of the entire working class from capitalist exploitation.

What's called for is mass protest headed by New York City's integrated labor movement—independent from the capitalist bosses and their political parties. A small taste of the kind of working-class action that's necessary was seen in New York City in 2005, a little over a year ago, when the Transport Workers Union (TWU) defied the no-strike New York state Taylor Law and crippled the finance capital of the world for three days. That strike was enormously popular with working people in New York who wanted to see a real fight, and workers watched it across the country. Wall Street billionaire and NYC mayor Bloomberg denounced the heavily black and immigrant striking transit workers as "thugs."

The transit workers demonstrated the social power that can be mobilized in defense of the oppressed. But just as the transit workers were crippled by the pro-capitalist, pro-Democratic Party TWU bureaucracy that demobilized the strike, workers as a whole are held back by the existing labor misleadership from striking a labor-centered blow against racist cop terror. Mass labor-led protest—for example, a one-day citywide strike—would send a much more powerful message to the capitalist rulers than any number of photo-ops for Democrats Al Sharpton and Charles Barron.

The Democrats and union bureaucrats who organized that December 16 rally and their reformist hangers-on peddle cop reform schemes and thus reinforce dangerous illusions that the capitalist state

continued on page 6

Serving Ten Years for Oral Sex

Free Genarlow Wilson!

In a case exemplifying racist and anti-sex bigotry in the U.S., Genarlow Wilson, a 20-year-old black man, languishes in a Georgia prison on a mandatory ten-year sentence with no hope of parole for engaging in consensual oral sex three years ago with a younger schoolmate. In December, the Georgia Supreme Court refused to reconsider Wilson's conviction for "aggravated child molestation" after earlier turning down his appeal by a four-to-three vote in which each of the court's four white justices voted to keep him locked up. Wilson faces spending the rest of his young adulthood behind bars.

Young Spartacus

As Wilson and a group of friends were celebrating New Year's Eve in 2004 in a hotel room, he and others were caught on videotape having oral sex with a 15-year-old girl. Even the girl's mother testified in court that her daughter initiated the activity. But under Georgia law, where the age of consent is 16, she could not be considered to be "legally consenting." Jury foreman Marie Manigault has complained bitterly about the jury being misled to believe that they had to convict Wilson. She told *Atlanta Magazine* (January 2006) that only after announcing the verdict was the jury informed that Wilson would spend at least ten years behind bars. "I just went limp. They had to help me to a chair." She added, "Because we were ignorant we sent this child to jail."

The son of a single mother, Wilson was an honor high school student with a 3.2 grade point average, an all-conference football player and track star who was being recruited by Ivy League colleges like Columbia and Brown. His case recalls that of Marcus Dixon, an 18-year-old black high school athlete and an A student who was thrown into prison in 2003 under the same law for having consensual sex with a white girl just shy of 16 (see "Racist Frame-Up in 'New South': Free Marcus Dixon!" *WV* No. 819, 6 February 2004). Even Tyrone Brooks, a black Democratic state legislator who co-sponsored that law, had to admit that the Dixon case was used to send a message that "young black boys better not have sexual relationships with young white girls."

Amid much publicity over Dixon's blatantly racist prosecution, the Georgia Supreme Court reduced his conviction to "statutory rape," cutting his sentence to the 15 months he had already served. Dixon's case has helped to call attention to Wilson's imprisonment, which has been

The Bernstein Firm

widely denounced. A *New York Times* (21 December 2006) editorial calling for Wilson's freedom noted: "What makes this case more absurd is that if Mr. Wilson and the young woman had sexual intercourse, he would have been guilty only of a misdemeanor and not required to register as a sex offender, thanks to a provision in the law meant to avoid just this type of draconian punishment for consensual youthful

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 888 | C-701 | 16 March 2007

Reformists Crawl to Democrats

Down With U.S. Imperialism!

For Class Struggle at Home!

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan! Hands Off Iran!

Getty

January 23: U.S. Marine and Iraqi troops round up detainees in Anbar province.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 has led to the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, a toll that increases daily with the communal warfare between Sunnis and Shi'ites unleashed by the occupation. The United Nations estimates that some 8 percent of the population has been forced to flee the country, while untold thousands remaining in Iraq have been driven from their neighborhoods and towns.

The war and occupation that have devastated Iraq and its peoples is also increasingly a debacle for U.S. imperialism. It is the growing defeatist mood in the ruling class that the liberals and reformist left appeal to in their calls for national anti-war demonstrations on March 17-18—the fourth anniversary of the war—that beg the capitalist politicians for peace. Their appeal to the Democratic Party—the other party of U.S. imperialism—is explicit and direct, summed up in a common chant at recent protests: "Stop the killing! Stop the war! What the hell is Congress for?"

Perceiving that real damage has been done to the interests of U.S. imperialism by the Iraq occupation, Bush's bourgeois critics are increasingly vocal. A number of politicians and media mouthpieces have warned Bush against issuing a (highly likely) pardon of Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Vice President Cheney's former chief of staff, following his March 6 conviction on charges of lying and obstruction of justice in the CIA "leak" case. Libby was the fall guy for the White House for the outing of Valerie Plame as a CIA agent, which was the Bush gang's retaliation for her husband Joseph Wilson's exposure of some of their more grotesque lies about Iraqi "weapons of mass destruction."

With the U.S. bogged down in a losing military adventure, the *Los Angeles Times* (12 March) reports that "American military planners have begun plotting a fallback strategy for Iraq that includes a gradual withdrawal of forces" in the event that "the current troop buildup fails or is derailed by Congress." The article notes "an atmosphere of extraordinary tension within the Pentagon."

In a bid to extricate the U.S. from the Iraq morass, Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi on March 8 announced a bill to pull troops out by August 2008, or sooner if the Iraqi government does not meet "benchmarks" set by its Washington handlers. Democratic leaders banged heads for weeks to come up with a bill that might actually pass and would not portray them as soft on "national defense." The bill would *increase* funds for the military, on top of hikes demanded by Bush. According to Democratic Congressman David R. Obey, chair of the House Appropriations Committee, the bill would "redirect more of our resources to the war against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, fighting the right war in the right place."

The latest atrocities in this "right war" include the slaughter on March 4 of at least 16 people in Afghanistan's eastern Nangarhar province, when U.S. troops opened fire on civilians. Troops then seized and deleted photographs and film footage of the massacre from AP cameramen. The next day, nine members of one family were killed in a U.S. air strike in central Afghanistan. The Bush administration has also engaged in a series of military moves against Iran, dispatching additional naval forces to the Persian Gulf/Arabian Sea region, and continues to push for stricter UN sanctions against Tehran over its nuclear energy program. The recent increase in U.S. troop levels in Iraq and Afghanistan poses an added threat to Iran.

As revolutionary Marxists, we say that working people in the U.S. and internationally have a side against the U.S. occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. This does not entail the least political support to either the Islamic fundamentalists or the nationalist remnants of the Ba'athists in Iraq, or to the Taliban and similar reactionary forces in Afghanistan. We oppose any economic sanctions, which are acts of war, against Iran. Iran *needs* nuclear weapons as a deterrent against imperialist attack. In the event of military attack by the U.S. or any country acting on its behalf, we call for military defense of Iran while giving no political support to the mullah regime.

We warn that a big reason the Democrats look to cut U.S. losses in Iraq is to reinforce American military capabilities directed against China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining countries where capitalist rule was overthrown. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, despite the rule of parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies.

The same ruling class that has wreaked devastation from Iraq to Afghanistan and threatens more of the same in Iran has slashed the pensions, health care and jobs of the working people at home while shredding democratic rights in the name of the "war on terror." The scandal over the horrendous conditions at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, which has prompted the resignation of the Army's surgeon general among others, is only the latest display of the contempt the capitalist rulers have for those they exploit and oppress, and in this case send off to kill and be killed in their predatory wars.

The crimes of America's racist capitalist rulers are compounded by the sheer incompetence and corruption of the current administration. This deadly combination was seen by all in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, when largely poor and

continued on page 8

Young Spartacus

20 March 2004: Spartacist contingent at Los Angeles protest on first anniversary of bloody U.S. invasion of Iraq.

7 25274 81030 7 11

Wikipedia: A Million Monkeys Typing

Since Wikipedia was launched in 2001 with the professed aim of providing a "free encyclopedia to every single person on the planet in their own language," it has grown explosively. With the number of visitors doubling every four months, it has become the third most popular "news and information" source on the Web. Nearly anything searched on Google returns Wikipedia as one of its top hits. Wikipedia exists in over 200 languages—including, get this, Klingon!—and the English site alone boasts nearly 1.7 million entries. By way of comparison, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* does not exceed 120,000 entries.

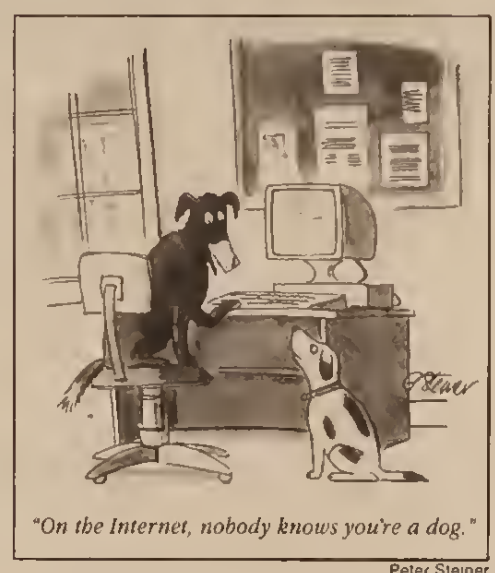
But Wikipedia is no encyclopedia. A menace to historical knowledge, it is a New Age fraud that often provides a sanctuary for libel and character assassination. The software tool called "wiki" (derived from a Hawaiian term for "quick" or "informal") enables anyone to create or edit entries whenever whatever enters their minds. The *New Yorker* (31 July 2006) observed, "The user who spends the most time on the site—or who yells the loudest—wins."

A lie can travel halfway around the world while the truth is putting on its shoes, as the old proverb says. As scandals grow over the disinformation in many of Wikipedia's entries, criticism has mounted in bourgeois academia and the media. Last month, the History Department of Middlebury College in Vermont became one of the academic institutions to bar students from using Wikipedia citations.

As Marxist materialists, our worldview is rooted in historical and scientific truth. Thus *Workers Vanguard* has had a strict, years-long policy of not using Wikipedia as a factual source of any kind.

Most ominously, beginning in 2004 Wikipedia has been cited in over 100 judicial rulings, including at the appellate level just below the U.S. Supreme Court. Right-wing judge Richard A. Posner of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in Chicago recently gushed that "Wikipedia is a terrific resource.... Partly because it [is] so convenient, it often has been updated recently and is very accurate" (*New York Times*, 29 January). Posner speaks like a true believer in the Bush administration, whose idea of "accuracy" can be gauged by its lies about Saddam Hussein's "weapons of mass destruction."

One Jimmy Wales, an options trader who became the founder and guru of Wikipedia, tours the world promoting his "volunteer community" of "open participation." Wales explicitly rejected scientific peer review of entries because it was "intimidating; it felt like homework." There is no such oppressive authority in "wikiality," to borrow a term from Stephen Colbert of Comedy Central's *The Colbert Report*. "I love Wikipedia," Colbert said in a July 2006 episode. "Any user can change any entry, and if enough other users agree with them, it becomes true."



"On the Internet, nobody knows you're a dog."

Peter Steiner

Wikipedia is not just low farce. The *New York Times* (24 December 2005) notes "dozens of accounts of people editing entries to suit their own business or personal interests, or their biases." Nazi white supremacists alter terms such as "racist" to "white nationalist," while corporations hire bloggers to write favorable entries on their companies.

Anonymous libelers attack from behind Wikipedia's apparent immunity. One prominent target was John Seigenthaler, former editor of the *Tennessean* in Nashville, who in September 2005 discovered that for four months Wikipedia had been carrying the smear that he was implicated in the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy. This was meant to wound and defame, as Seigenthaler had been one of Robert Kennedy's pallbearers. Seigenthaler wrote in *USA Today* (29 November 2005) that due to federal law, "unlike print and broadcast companies, online service providers cannot be sued for disseminating defamatory attacks on citizens posted by others." A local man later came forward as the author of the smear, saying that he thought Wikipedia was a "gag" Web site. Jimmy Wales himself could read how some Wikipedist in 2005 concluded Wales' biographical entry with the tale of his murder "at 18:54 EST on December 12" by three shots to the head.

The anonymity on which Wikipedia prides itself recently flared up into a scandal in the media when one of its most respected administrators, known previously only as "Essjay," turned out to be a fraud. For years he had thrown around credentials of a "tenured professor of religion" with "a Ph.D. in theology and a degree in canon law," when in fact he is a 24-year-old with neither advanced degrees nor teaching experience. Wikipedia's mendacity was further proven when Wales cynically welcomed the self-confessed liar onto his staff, only to drop him a week later after getting blowback.

The Web is a powerful and useful tool. But it also has a lot of garbage. The *New Yorker* article remarked that Eric Raymond, the open-source software pioneer whose work inspired Wales, stated that "'disaster' is not too strong a word" for Wikipedia. A founding partner of Wikipedia who has since extracted himself described what he left behind as "difficult people, trolls, and their enablers." What better habitat for the dregs of yesterday's Spartacist-hating "Marxism" and "Trotskyism" Internet newsgroups, the kind of people who probably have not left their computers, bathed or seen sunlight in weeks? As for cyberspace frauds, we are reminded of David North's Socialist Equality Party, an organization of dubious political bandits that years ago liquidated its paper in favor of the "World Socialist Web Site"—a medium through which it can rewrite its history when convenient.

The Web is often lauded as a means of mass participation and democracy. But neither facts nor scientific laws are determined by such methods, much less by an anonymous, multiplayer, fantasy computer game. Science is the product of hard work and a rigorous critical assimilation of the achievements of past cultures and epochs, and it is embodied in the work of authoritative figures and institutions. This does not suit the petty-bourgeois Wikipedia crowd, which is thriving in a period dominated ideologically by the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" myth and the attendant growth of religious superstition. Wales himself is an Ayn Randist free marketeer. Whatever resentments Wikipedia's fans have of the genuine ills of bourgeois academia have been twisted into a secular variant of George Bush's faith-based idiocy.

In the period of its revolutionary ascent, the bourgeoisie fought for knowledge as crucial for economic progress and as a weapon against feudalist clerical tyranny. Diderot's Encyclopedists helped to ideologically arm the Great French Revolution of 1789-93. Today, capitalism in its death agony creates a barrier to the expansion of the means of production while dragging culture back into a new dark age. What quality education the U.S. bourgeoisie maintains is increasingly restricted to elite universities. The growth and influence of Wikipedia occurs in a period when public education is in tatters and masses of ghetto and barrio youth rot in today's Bastilles.

Embracing science and the scientific method, we Marxists understand that only the revolutionary overthrow of the decaying bourgeois order by the proletariat will pave the way for the elimination of scarcity, making mankind's great achievements and knowledge available to all. ■

In Commemoration of the Paris Commune

TROTSKY

LENIN

March 18 marks the date in 1871 of the workers' uprising that created the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune stood as the first proletarian dictatorship in history until it was crushed in a massacre by bourgeois military forces who killed tens of thousands of workers. In his introduction to an address by Karl Marx given shortly after the Commune's suppression, Friedrich Engels explained that the working class must smash the bourgeois state machinery and create its own state on the road to communist society, in which class divisions will have been overcome and there will be no need for a state power.

From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through simple division of labour. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, had in the course of time, in pursuance of their own special interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society. This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, but equally so in the democratic republic. Nowhere do "politicians" form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states, or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions....

According to the philosophical conception, the state is the "realisation of the idea," or the Kingdom of God on earth, translated into philosophical terms, the sphere in which eternal truth and justice is or should be realised. And from this follows a superstitious reverence for the state and everything connected with it, which takes root the more readily since people are accustomed from childhood to imagine that the affairs and interests common to the whole of society could not be looked after otherwise than as they have been looked after in the past, that is, through the state and its lucratively positioned officials. And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they have rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy; and at best an evil inherited by the proletariat after its victorious struggle for class supremacy, whose worst sides the victorious proletariat, just like the Commune, cannot avoid having to lop off at once as much as possible until such time as a generation reared in new, free social conditions is able to throw the entire lumber of the state on the scrap heap.

Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

—Friedrich Engels, 1891 Introduction to Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Judy Coleman, 1918-2007

Julia (Judy) Coleman, a longtime supporter of the Communist Party (CP) and later a friend of the Spartacist League, died at home on February 19. Throughout her life she was motivated by a deep hatred of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression, and as a Partisan Defense Committee sustainer, she was concerned above all with the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. We extend our condolences to her friends and to her family, Paul, Diana, Kathy, Kris, Pavlos and Corenthia.

Born in Brooklyn, New York on 20 April 1918, Judy married Esmond Coleman in 1936. They were together for 56 years until Es's death in 1992. During her first year at New York University, she became active in the Young Communist League student fraction and joined the CP in 1939. In later years she was especially proud of her political work as a CP activist in the black ghetto in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania during World War II and in San Francisco's Fillmore district in the 1950s.

During the McCarthy era Judy and Es hid, housed and took care of various CPers who faced prosecution from the government witchhunters. After close friends and comrades were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee and blacklisted, Judy became one of the first social workers in California to enter private practice. She left the CP in the late 1950s, after the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin's terror and the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary which crushed the workers political revolution there. But she continued to call herself a socialist. She would often comment that she hadn't voted for the Democrats since she left the CP. She came to respect the politics of the Spartacist League, and remarked that the U.S.'s bloody role in Vietnam had made her see that the Trotskyists of the 1940s, unlike the Stalinists who supported the "democratic" imperialists in the Second World War, had been right to oppose U.S. imperialism. A PDC sustainer from 1999, she was a fixture at Bay Area PDC picnics and Holiday Appeals.

Judy had a deep interest in the working people she met and an uncanny ability to earn their confidence. Everywhere she went, people told her their life story and sought her advice. She traveled all over the world, visiting 41 countries, with Es and by herself.

She had a sharp eye for hypocrisy and cant. At the end of her life, when she was asked if she would like to see any political people from the old days, she responded with typical acid wit, "I'd like to talk to Earl Browder and set him straight about that 'Communism is 20th Century Americanisin' slogan," naming one of the more grotesque slogans of the Stalinist Popular Front period.

We will all miss her insightful stories, compassion, humor and good company.

Coleman Family

Judy Coleman at entrance to tunnels of Cu Chi, Vietnam, 1994.

Abuses Workers, Screws Customers
Labor: Organize JetBlue!

Valentine's Day turned into a Halloween horror for hundreds of JetBlue customers, with passengers on nine aircraft forced to sit for over eight hours on the tarmac at JFK airport in New York. Drinking water and food supplies gave out, toilets overflowed and parents resorted to ripping up T-shirts to make diapers. JetBlue had kept its aircraft in the takeoff queue during a lengthy ice storm in a calculated gamble to avoid cancellations and diminished profits. The non-union, cut-rate carrier, a darling of Wall Street, then fell apart. The airline canceled more than 1,100 flights over the next six days, as management was unable to coordinate operations and move personnel to offset the initial disruptions. The meltdown exposed how the company's much-heralded profitability rests largely on short staffing, an undersized fleet, a shoestring communications system, etc.

The JetBlue nightmare is emblematic of the ever-more unfriendly skies of the U.S. airline industry, where drastic cost-cutting is common to all carriers. JetBlue was only one of several airlines that screwed over their customers during the Valentine's Day storm. And in December, American Airlines stranded hundreds of passengers on a runway in Texas for almost nine hours. Workers and passengers alike have suffered from airlines competing for profits by slashing wages, stealing pensions and stretching their operations dangerously thin, at the expense of safety as well as comfort.

In few industries is the relationship between working conditions and passenger service and safety as direct as it is in air transport. Passengers are increasingly being squeezed into tiny, narrow seats of jam-packed aircraft while the workers handling their luggage, the flight attendants serving them, the mechanics making the planes airworthy and the pilots doing the flying are regularly overworked and otherwise abused. Even as the skies are more crowded than ever, the airlines continue to cut staffing.

A concerted effort by the unions to organize JetBlue would be a giant step toward reversing the industry-wide offensive against jobs, wages and working conditions. Crucially, the situation also cries out for organizing workers at "third party" contractors, to whom maintenance and other work is increasingly outsourced. Since 2001, the bosses at the major carriers have wrung massive concessions from the unions in part by raising the bogeyman of the non-union JetBlue, where lower wages, hefty health care payments, harsh discipline and unpaid, off-the-clock training courses are the norm. JetBlue CEO David Neeleman is known for bragging that by keeping out unions, the carrier has avoided "unproductive labor work rules." After the Valentine's Day disaster, the same Neeleman appeared on the David Letterman show begging the public to give the airline another chance.

AP

Stranded JetBlue passengers at Kennedy Airport, February 15.

JetBlue's contempt for its passengers and workers is a matter of record. In 2005, JetBlue conducted an "experiment" in which 29 pilots flew up to 11 hours in a day, in excess of the legal limit of eight hours, in an attempt to show that pilots could fly longer hours without fatigue. This grotesque exercise was halted only after leaders of pilots unions complained to FAA headquarters. With its 2006 "Return to Profitability" plan, JetBlue cut the number of employees per aircraft by 14 percent while continuing to expand its flight network—an invitation to disaster.

The company's flight attendants, who have to clean the aircraft cabins because the company is too cheap to hire cleaners, are trying to organize into the Association of Flight Attendants. Baggage handlers have fought to be organized into the International Association of Machinists. But last year, the National Mediation Board intervened to block a union certification election after the company inflated the list of eligible voters, a common tactic employed by corporations and backed by the capitalist government.

Responsibility for the failure to undertake the necessary hard struggle to organize JetBlue and other non-union outfits lies with the pro-capitalist union tops, who see the bosses and their state as "partners." The labor tops at United Airlines pushed the company's Employee Stock Ownership Plan in exchange for massive concessions, a scheme that proved absolutely worthless when the company went bankrupt. Airline unions have enormous social power—the world economy simply could not function without air transport. But instead of using that power, the leadership of the airline unions has allowed the companies to pick them off one by one.

The consequences of the bureaucrats' class collaborationism were made graphically clear when the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) at Northwest Airlines struck against outsourcing and cutbacks in 2005, the most significant industry strike in recent years. The request for solidarity by the AMFA craft union was met with outright scabbing orchestrated by the leaders of the other unions, many of whom rationalized their backstabbing by complaining about AMFA's raids against the Machinists, Teamsters and others. The strike went down to a bitter defeat, and an opportunity to improve the fighting position of workers at *all* carriers was betrayed.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Courts Cover for Secret Police

Turn Over FBI Files! Free Leonard Peltier!

The struggle for American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier's freedom suffered a double blow last month when two of his legal challenges for release of FBI files were turned down. In separate lawsuits under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in New York and Judge Donovan W. Frank of the District of Minnesota kept under government seal thousands of FBI documents, once again covering up the racist frame-up that has already stolen 30 years of the life of this courageous fighter for the oppressed.

Leonard Peltier and the radical AIM were targets of the FBI's sinister and deadly COINTELPRO activities in the 1970s because they resisted the enforced poverty, unending humiliation and racist oppression meted out by the U.S. government. The Oglala Sioux Pine Ridge Reservation was a war zone into which the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) poured hundreds of agents, supplemented by trained and armed thugs, in order to terrorize and crush Native American activists. On 26 June 1975, the FBI, BIA and local cops launched a brutal attack. At its peak, 250 Feds surrounded 30 AIM militants and their supporters. In the firefight, the FBI lost two agents.

Peltier, who fled to Canada, and three others were charged with the agents' deaths. Charges were dropped against one of the three, and the two others were acquitted in 1976 by a Cedar Rapids, Iowa jury, who stated they had not believed "much of anything" said by government witnesses and that it seemed "pretty much a clear-cut case of self-defense." Peltier was extradited from Canada and his trial moved to Fargo, North Dakota, a town with strong bias against Native Americans. On 18 April 1977, he was convicted by an all-white jury. At his sentencing, Peltier denounced the judge for his privileged position in the racist establishment that had gone "about the business of murdering my people and attempting to destroy our culture." The judge then sentenced Peltier to two consecutive life terms. And although a federal attorney in a later proceeding would admit that the government did not know who shot the agents, every legal door has been slammed in Peltier's face.

Last month's decisions illustrate the capitalist rulers' determination to keep buried the dirty workings of their secret police. It has been known for years that the government withheld exculpatory evidence from the defense during Peltier's trial, including ballistics tests showing that his gun was not used in the shooting. In 2001, Peltier's lawyers learned that there were some *140,000 pages* in his FBI files and initiated a series of FOIA lawsuits. Peltier has strong reason to believe that the files would provide evidence of government attempts to infiltrate the original defense team. However, the Second Circuit decision exempted the FBI from having to reveal a "confidential source" or the information the source provided.

In the Minnesota decision, Judge Frank, a Clinton appointee, declared misconduct by the FBI to be "irrelevant" and admonished Peltier's attorneys to prove that the FBI is acting in "bad faith," all the while denying access to the documents that could indisputably prove it! Frank dismissed Peltier's efforts to reverse his conviction as "not the core purpose of the FOIA," which he said is governed by "the public interest standard." What he means is the bourgeois rulers' interest in condemning this fighter for Native American rights to a life of prison hell.

Now 62, Peltier has developed diabetes and high blood pressure and has already suffered a stroke, which left him partially blind in one eye. Peltier has been part of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of stipends to class-war prisoners since 2005. The PDC and Spartacist League support the dogged pursuit of every legal opening, while placing no faith in the justice of the capitalist courts. We are dedicated to building a revolutionary movement based on the social power of the working class which, in struggling for power against this brutal and vicious ruling class, will win freedom for its class-war victims. Free Leonard Peltier!

* * *

To learn more about supporting Leonard Peltier's defense, visit the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee Web site: www.leonardpeltier.net. Write to Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, USP Lewisburg, P.O. Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. For more information about the PDC: www.partisandefense.org. ■

Habeas Corpus Appeal Denied for Jamal Hart

Free Him Now!

On February 26, the United States District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania denied Jamal Hart's *habeas corpus* petition, which could have freed him after more than ten years in prison. Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was framed up for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father.

Hart was first charged under Pennsylvania state laws, which would have resulted in probation. However, the Justice Department under Democratic president Bill Clinton intervened to use federal laws to exponentially extend the sentencing range for Hart. The prosecution labeled Hart a "career criminal" because of three previous convictions. However, as Hart explained in a January 15 letter from the federal penitentiary at Schuylkill, Pennsylvania, to the Partisan Defense Committee, "After thorough research by prison officials here at FCI Schuylkill, it has been revealed that an assault conviction I was accused of in 1995 DOES NOT EXIST and should not have counted in the first place. Due to this blatant miscarriage of justice, I should have been sentenced to the original sentence range of 6 years 5 months to 8 years instead of the dreadful 15 years to life."

Monique Code

Jamal Hart (right) with his son, Jamal Hart Jr.

Hart's appeal could have laid the basis for a reduction of his sentence and his release for time served. However, Judge Edwin M. Kosik would not even consider Hart's appeal based on the specious argument that his court lacked jurisdiction. Like the frame-up of his father for a crime that the government knows he did not commit, Hart's conviction and the denial of his recent petition illustrate the racist nature of the capitalist "justice" system. From the outset, the PDC condemned the prosecution of Jamal Hart as a racist political frame-up. He should never have spent one day in jail. *Free Jamal Hart now!* ■

Honor Mumia Abu-Jamal!

PDC Letter on NYC Street-Naming

The following letter was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee to Christine C. Quinn, Speaker of the New York City Council, on March 8.

We are writing to join the efforts to have a New York City street named after Mumia Abu-Jamal. A fighter for black freedom from the age of 14, Mumia's name should take its place on a street sign beside such champions of black rights as Malcolm X and Frederick Douglass in this center of black culture, with this crucial difference: a street named for Mumia must honor a *living* fighter for the rights of the oppressed and exploited.

A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, later a supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Mumia was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. Sentenced to death based on his political history and beliefs, Mumia has spent over 24 years on death row for a crime that cops and prosecutors know he did not commit. The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and a barbaric outrage; it is the lynch rope made legal.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man. Mumia's case exemplifies the race and class bias of the U.S. justice system against workers, black people, the poor and all the oppressed. The notorious trial judge, Albert Sabo, was overheard promising, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." Racist jury-rigging, false testimony coerced through police threats and prosecutorial cover-up were the basis for Mumia's conviction. Both the Pennsylvania state courts and the federal courts have refused to consider the reams of documented evidence that prove Mumia's innocence. Foremost is the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the police officer, and that Mumia had nothing to do with the shooting.

Millions around the world have seen Mumia's case as a rallying point against the barbaric and racist death penalty in the U.S. Representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and our French sister organization, the Comité de Défense Sociale, participated in the ceremonies last April when a street in the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis was designated Rue Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Recently, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to condemn Saint-Denis for its symbolic act honoring Mumia. As Mumia himself said about an earlier attempt to vilify that French city, "The merchants of death" seek "not only to kill me but to wipe my name from the face of the earth." Mumia Abu-Jamal Street would not only frustrate those efforts but help rally all those opposed not only to Mumia's imprisonment and execution but to all legal lynchings. As part of that effort, we support the naming of a New York City street after Mumia Abu-Jamal. ■

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

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Labor Must Oppose "Canadian Unity" Chauvinism

Trotskyists Say: Independence for Quebec!

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 152 (Spring 2007), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Quebec is a nation, oppressed within a majority English-speaking Canada. For over two centuries, attempts by the English rulers to "solve" the national question through repression, assimilation or, more rarely, accommodation have met with failure each and every time. The latest gambit by Tory [Conservative Party] prime minister Stephen Harper—a November 27 parliamentary motion stating that "the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada"—will eventually meet the same fate.

The motion, introduced by the Tories for crass electoral purposes, has no legal value and will most likely be forgotten in good time. But the hand-wringing in English Canadian ruling circles over the mere idea of acknowledging that there is a Quebec nation says much about this oppressive capitalist country. As far as the Canadian rulers are concerned, Quebec may be a nation, but it has *no national rights*. The Clarity Act, passed in 2000 by the Chrétien Liberal government with support from the Tories and NDP [social-democratic National Democratic Party], effectively outlaws Quebec's democratic right to self-determination, i.e., to independence. Harper, a founding leader of the arch Anglo-chauvinist Reform Party, was the law's ideological father, while Stéphane Dion, now Liberal Party leader, was its chief architect, pushing the law through parliament in the face of widespread opposition in Quebec.

Behind the "we love Quebec" rhetoric currently favoured by the capitalist parties in Ottawa lies the fact of Quebec's forcible subjugation within the Canadian state. During the 1970 "October crisis," the Trudeau Liberal government ordered a military occupation of Quebec, aiming to crush growing national and social struggle there. Seven years later, after the election of the first Parti Québécois [PQ] government, Trudeau again threatened to "use the sword" against Quebec independence. The lead-up to the PQ's 1995 sovereignty referendum saw the federal government launch shadowy military exercises in and around Montreal. The referendum's razor-thin defeat—a "near-death experience" for Canada, said the media—produced both the Clarity Act and the Liberals' notorious sponsorship program, a cynical ploy to push "Canadian unity" in Quebec through bribes and corruption.

no credit

Canapress

Left: Conservative Party prime minister Stephen Harper. Right: 1970 military occupation of Montreal ordered by Liberal premier Pierre Trudeau under War Measures Act.

The latest "unity" gambit began last fall when Liberal leadership candidate Michael Ignatieff endorsed a "Quebec nation" motion introduced by the Liberals' Quebec wing. The sovereignist Bloc Québécois then presented a motion to the same effect in parliament, only to be outflanked by Harper, who added the words "within a united Canada." Harper made no secret of his intent, telling the assembled MPs [members of Parliament]: "Our position is clear. Do the Québécois form a nation within Canada? The answer is yes. Do the Québécois form an independent nation? The answer is no and the answer will always be no" (CBC News, 22 November 2006).

Most Liberals ended up backing the motion, as did the NDP. After some hemming and hawing the Bloc did the same, underlining the fundamental meaninglessness of it all. Bloc leader Gilles Duceppe, joined by the PQ's André Boisclair, argued that the motion will help the recognition of an independent Quebec in the future. Pierre Dubuc, spokesman for the PQ's "left-wing" SPQ-Libre caucus, was more nuanced:

> "...adding the complement 'in a united Canada' constrains us to applaud with only one hand, because the right to self-determination and secession of the Quebec nation is still denied. Prime minister Harper acts like a husband who would recognize the existence of his wife only in the framework of a 'united couple,' simultaneously denying her the right to divorce."
>
> —*l'aut'journal*, December 2006-January 2007

Dubuc noted that Harper was careful to use the term "Québécois" as opposed to "Quebec" in the English version of the motion. By implying that the nation is solely that of old-stock francophones, this leaves the door open to a future partition of Quebec, most specifically, carving up the island of Montreal along linguistic lines. This program, for which Harper was a central proponent during the 1995 referendum, can only be a recipe for chauvinist "ethnic cleansing."

Class Struggle and National Oppression

The whole purpose of the capitalists' "Canadian unity" campaigns is to reinforce the chauvinist binds that tie workers and the oppressed in English Canada to their exploiters. The NDP social democrats and the central trade-union bureaucracy promote this reactionary nationalism in the labour movement. While rarely lifting a finger when workers are under attack from the bosses, the labour tops sell to the multiracial working class of English Canada the lie that this is "the greatest country in the world," as a solace for an increasingly oppressive and economically uncertain existence. In Quebec, symmetrically, the labour tops push the more militant francophone proletariat into the trap of supporting their "own" bourgeois nationalists of the Bloc and PQ. The result is a deeply divided working class, profoundly undermining prospects for the struggle of labour against capital.

A Léger opinion poll last November gave a snapshot of this national divide: 77 percent of respondents outside Quebec rejected the notion of Quebec as a nation, while francophone Québécois supported it by 71 percent. English Canada and Quebec are divided just as two separate countries speaking different languages are divided. Indeed the division is arguably even deeper than that, if one takes into account the mutual animosity generated by never-ending "national unity" crises. The Québécois justifiably resent being treated as a second-class nation. At the same time, the dominant Anglo bourgeoisie has ample trouble defining just what *its* national characteristics are, given how little separates English Canada from the U.S. culturally, linguistically or, increasingly, economically. All this also nicely covers up the truly criminal treatment of Native people, beleaguered immigrants and ethnic minorities, and victims of Canada's "peacekeeping" abroad like the detainees tortured in Afghanistan. It's worth noting how the Bloc and PQ, "responsible" would-be rulers of an independent capitalist Quebec, support Canada's role in the bloody occupation of Afghanistan.

We Marxists advocate *independence for Quebec*, both to fight the dominant Anglo chauvinism, and as the only evident road to make clear to the workers of both nations that their enemies are their own respective capitalists and not each other. Since our inception, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste has upheld Quebec's right to self-determination, not least within the English Canadian labour movement. We defended the FLQ left-nationalists jailed and persecuted in the 1970s, despite our profound political differences. We denounced the multiple threats against Quebec by Trudeau, Chrétien and others. In 1992, we called for a No vote against [Prime Minister] Brian Mulroney's Charlottetown Accord, another attempt to "solve" the national question within a united Canada—i.e., to put Quebec "back in its place" and reinforce the Canadian state. Before the 1995 sovereignty referendum, we went over to advocacy of independence, recognizing that this is the only way to get the question off the agenda and bring the *class* question to the fore—to highlight the understanding that all nationalisms are ultimately tools of the bosses against the workers, and that, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "The working men have no country."

Pseudo-Socialists in the Camp of Anglo Chauvinism

The Canadian capitalists (and a large proportion of the Québécois ones) will go very far indeed to stop Quebec independence, which they see as a threat to their interests, both financial and political. At the same time, they obviously worry about the constant "constitutional" and parliamentary instability borne of the unresolved Quebec national question. Entrenched support for the sovereignist Bloc—which has won a majority of Quebec seats in all five elections since its founding in 1990—all but guarantees this will continue. Since 2004, minority governments, both Liberal and Tory, have followed one another. The next federal election, possibly this spring, isn't likely to change this. Columnist John Ibbitson expressed the rulers' concerns in the *Globe and Mail* (30 January):

> "If, as expected, the next government is a minority, the cycle will repeat itself, and pre-election preparations will begin again. At some point, this constant state of political crisis will start to exact a toll.

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Mao: The Unknown Story

Reformist Left Buys into Anti-Communist Big Lie

Ten years ago, *The Black Book of Communism* was published as part of a bourgeois propaganda barrage proclaiming the "death of communism" in the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Written mainly by French ex-leftists, the *Black Book* was a focus internationally for a renewed campaign of hysterical slanders against Communism and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. We denounced this tract at the time as "846 pages of lies and amalgams aimed at justifying repression against organizations and individuals who might still look to communism, and at contributing to counterrevolutionary efforts to destroy the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states" ("*Black Book*: Anti-Communist Big Lie," *WV* No. 692, 5 June 1998).

Now comes a paperback edition of a stepchild of the *Black Book* titled *Mao: The Unknown Story* by Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, also former leftists. Chang, author of the best seller *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (a useful book to read), was part of a privileged family of Communist Party (CCP) bureaucrats and served as a Red Guard during Mao's Cultural Revolution. Halliday is a former member of the *New Left Review* editorial board who once admired "Mao Zedong Thought" and edited an English translation of Albanian Stalinist Enver Hoxha's works.

Chang and Halliday do their *Black Book* forebears one better. Where the *Black Book* conjured up the fantastical figure of "close to 100 million deaths" supposedly caused by Communism, which it lyingly equated with fascist barbarism, *Mao: The Unknown Story* opens with the statement that Mao was himself "responsible for well over 70 million deaths in peacetime, more than any other twentieth-century leader." U.S. imperialist chief George W. Bush has spoken glowingly of the book, which he seems to have actually read.

This crude, 814-page anti-Communist screed is no doubt intended as a contribution to the drive to overthrow the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Since translated into Chinese, it has been promoted internationally, including in Taiwan, refuge of the bloodsoaked bourgeoisie that was driven off the mainland by the 1949 Revolution. With all the "accuracy" of supermarket tabloid trash, the book regurgitates hysterical lies long promulgated by the revolution's losers—Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang—and then some.

What Chang and Halliday present as "basic facts" ranges from the absurd to the outrageous. Millions of peasants who fought desperately against the Japanese imperialist occupiers and Chinese landlords for their liberation are presented as mere violent thugs egged on by power-mad Communists, while "the warlords had always made sure that the social structure was preserved, and life went on as usual for civilians." They claim that Mao wanted an "Earth Control Committee" (shades of James Bond) and present Generalissimo Chiang—butcher of Communists, workers and peasants—as, if anything, too kindhearted. The book whitewashes the horrendous massacres carried out by Chiang's forces after the workers in Shanghai insurrected in April 1927; among the tens of thousands killed in 1927 alone were some 25,000 CCP members.

Camera Press

On way to victory over Chiang Kai-shek, People's Liberation Army attacks Guomindang forces in northeast China in late 1940s. Peasant denounces landlord at People's Tribunal following 1949 Revolution.

Riboud/Magnum

The defeat of Chiang's corrupt and feeble Nationalist army by Mao's peasant-guerrilla forces in the civil war following World War II is chalked up to such fantasies as Chiang's supposed loving nature and the Reds using the Japanese occupiers for their benefit—the same occupation forces that carried out such horrors as the 1937 Nanjing massacre. During World War II, when China's struggle against the occupation became subordinated to U.S. imperialism, Chiang's American overlords bitterly complained that he had no appetite to fight the Japanese. Mao's forces were independent from the imperialists and deserved the military support of proletarian revolutionaries.

A wide range of serious scholars and China specialists has criticized the Chang/Halliday book as bad history and worse methodology. Even a rather favorable review by Columbia University academic Andrew Nathan in the *London Review of Books* (17 November 2005) states that "many of their discoveries come from sources that cannot be checked, others are openly speculative or are based on circumstantial evidence, and some are untrue." In one of a series of critical articles in the *China Journal* (January 2006), leftist historian Gregor Benton and Steve Tsang conclude that the authors "misread sources, use them selectively, use them out of context, or otherwise trim or bend them to cast Mao in an unrelentingly bad light."

For many of its academic critics, the problem with the book is that it does not serve its counterrevolutionary purpose. Thus Tsang wrote in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (8 October 2005): "Mao was a monster," but the book's "distortion of history to make their case will in the end make it more difficult to reveal how horrible Mao and the Chinese Communist Party system were, and how much damage they really did to the Chinese people."

Revoltingly, ostensible leftists have trumpeted the book with far fewer reservations. An article by Phil Hearse in *International Viewpoint* online (July-August 2005), publication of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), states: "If even 20% of the facts about the modus operandi of the CCP and Mao presented in this book are true (and that's an absolute minimum) it is going to force many leftists—even those who were always critical of Mao and Maoism—to re-evaluate their views."

Charlie Hore writes in *International Socialism* (April 2006), published by the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain, that "this is for the most part a serious and densely-researched book" whose main fault seems to be that it doesn't recognize that "the Chinese Revolution was in no way a socialist revolution." Hore's comrade Chris Harman opines in *Socialist Worker* online (18 June 2005) that the book's "weakest point" is its claim that Mao was responsible for more mass death "than either Hitler or Stalin." Not that Harman disputes the authors' grotesque equation of Soviet Russia and Red China with the Nazi regime. The problem, according to Harman, is that "all rulers in this barbaric capitalist world are prepared to see people die if it is necessary to achieve their goals of accumulating wealth or armaments."

Regurgitating anti-Communist lies is nothing new for the USec and Cliffites, who openly championed the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. Today they join in the imperialist-sponsored drive for "democratic" counterrevolution in China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining countries where capitalist rule has been overthrown.

"Leftist" Cheerleaders for Counterrevolution

You don't have to be a Maoist to revile the "history" presented by Chang and Halliday. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League unconditionally defend the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, just as we fought to the last in defense of the East European and Soviet deformed and degenerated workers states. The ICL defends as well the other remaining deformed workers states: North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. The 1949 Chinese Revolution ended the rule of the rapacious capitalists and landlords and liberated the most populous nation on earth from imperialist subjugation. Although deformed from its inception by the rule of the parasitic CCP bureaucracy, the workers state accomplished tremendous gains for the workers, peasants and, particularly, women.

At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, which from Mao's time on has undermined the gains of the revolution. The repression of capitalist/landlord forces was necessary to carry out and consolidate social revolution. However, the CCP regime also repressed the proletariat, excluding the workers from political power and imprisoning or executing Trotskyists. Our program—for a regime of workers, soldiers and peasants councils committed to defending and extending the gains of 1949 through the struggle for international proletarian revolution—is crucial to defeating the threat of counterrevolution in China. Only through the extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries will the basis be laid for the development of socialist society in China and internationally.

Our revolutionary internationalist perspective, born of the proletarian October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, is counterposed to the reactionary Stalinist-Maoist dogma of "socialism in one country" and its corollary, "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. This nationalist schema expressed the material interests of the bureaucratic caste led by J. V. Stalin that usurped political power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24. During the second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the degenerating Communist International under Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin ordered the CCP, which had already liquidated into the Guomindang, to utterly prostrate itself before Chiang's forces, paving the way to the counterrevolutionary bloodbath (see "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Lies, for a purpose.

Der Spiegel photos

Left: Solidarność leader Lech Walesa, praying in Gdansk Shipyard, 1980. Right: Russian Orthodox priest on Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution, August 1991.

Our political opposition to the Chinese Stalinist regime has nothing in common with those who call for lighting Stalinism through the agency of imperialist "democracy," which pretty much defines the tendency founded by Tony Cliff and led by the British SWP. Cliff cravenly broke from the Trotskyist Fourth International at the onset of the Korean War when he refused to defend the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states against U.S. and British imperialism. More than three million Koreans were slaughtered by the imperialist forces, who fought under the auspices of the United Nations. Under the pressure of the Cold War, Cliff developed the "theory" that the USSR was a "state capitalist" society, an accommodation to bourgeois anti-Sovietism.

Chang/Halliday decry the Korean War as the product of "the global ambitions of the two Communist tyrants, Stalin and Mao." They go on to denounce the military buildup of Mao's China as part of a "secret superpower programme" and grotesquely assert that "Mao's Bomb caused 100 times as many deaths as both of the Bombs the Americans dropped on Japan." Whereas the USec's Hearse finds the dire picture of economic hardships painted by Chang and Halliday "utterly convincing," the SWP's Harman chimes in that China's "capitalist" rulers aimed to "build up modern industries and produce modern armaments, just like their equivalents everywhere else in the world." Harman continues by pointing to Mao's successors, who opened China to foreign investment as part of a program of "market reforms": "The goal of catching up with the West and increasing China's military power did not die with Mao. But now it was to be done through participation in the world markets."

These Stalinophobes write ***not one word*** about the repeated threats by the U.S. rulers to use their immense nuclear arsenal against China! The U.S. and other imperialist powers pursue both military and economic means in pursuit of capitalist counterrevolution in China. We say it's a damn good thing that China has been able to defend itself militarily against these forces, starting with the Korean War. Just as the development of the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal served to deter the war-crazed imperialists, China's successful test of a nuclear weapon in 1964 provided Beijing with a deterrent against imperialist attack and bought time for the cause of international proletarian revolution.

In a review of the Chang/Halliday book titled "Mao—The Story Is Known," Peter Taaffe, leader of the Committee for a Workers' International (CWI), noted that U.S. president Kennedy "contemplated a pre-emptive nuclear strike" on China's nuclear weapons sites (*The Socialist*, 14 July 2005). The article nevertheless lashes out at "Mao's attempt to establish superpower status through the acquisition of nuclear weapons" for supposedly compounding the disaster wrought by the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s. The article goes on to declare that Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping, "initiated the first steps which have resulted in the re-emergence of Chinese capitalism, the dominant trend in China today."

We have repeatedly refuted the anti-Marxist view that capitalism has returned, or is inevitably returning, to China (see, for example, "China's 'Market Reforms': A Trotskyist Analysis," *WV* Nos. 874 and 875, 4 August and 1 September 2006). But whatever the CWI's theoretical gloss, its position in the fight against capitalist counterrevolution is on ***the other side of the barricades***. Along with the Cliffites and the USec, the Taaffeites, when they were part of the tendency led by the late Ted Grant, avidly supported Vatican-backed, CIA-funded Solidarność. And when Boris Yeltsin staged his August 1991 countercoup with the support of

Xinhua

Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 cease-fire ending Korean War.

George Bush Sr.'s White House, an event that began the final undoing of the Soviet workers state, the CWI's Russian affiliate crowed in *Rabochaya Demokratiya* (October 1991) about sabotaging workers' efforts to mobilize against Yeltsin's "democrats."

The CWI would like nothing better than to help the emergence of a similar "democratic" force for counterrevolution in China. In this they are al one with the USec, which has helped foster such movements through, to give one example, support to pro-capitalist Chinese "dissidents." The USec's deceased leader Ernest Mandel sang a different tune in the early 1950s, when he alibied Mao's persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists. He was then serving as a lieutenant to Michel Pablo at the head of a revisionist current that destroyed the Fourth International from within, ordering the Trotskyist organizations to bury their program on the grounds that the mass Stalinist Communist parties were, in Pablo's words, capable "in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation." Mandel would three decades later chase a different political fad, leading the USec into embracing "anti-Stalinist" capitalist restorationists. The one consistency in Mandel and the USec's policies was their abandonment of the Trotskyist program.

The Maoists United Will Never Be Repeated

The Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) have had angry things to say about the Chang/Halliday book, many of them correct. The RCP even conducted a speaking tour to refute its lies. But the RCP condemns the book's demonizing of Mao only to refurbish the credentials of his nationalist, anti-proletarian regime and to falsely label China today as capitalist.

The RCP points out in *Revolution* (6 November 2005):

> "You would not learn from this book that pre-revolutionary China was a society where arranged marriages and footbinding were widespread social practices. Or that four million people died each year of infectious and parasitic diseases. Or that in a city like Shanghai, young women workers were locked in textile factories at night, and one out of five persons was an opium addict. You wouldn't know that the revolution in power rapidly transformed these social conditions."

That's all true. But you would not know from this article that Mao's Stalinist regime struck a criminal alliance with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. Here was one of the genuine crimes committed by Mao, sealed by his 1972 meeting with U.S. war criminal Richard Nixon in Beijing while American warplanes rained death and destruction on Vietnam. The RCP was only too happy to salute the Great Helmsman and to rail against "Soviet social-imperialism" as "the main enemy." China's toadying to the U.S. led to the rupturing of the Maoist movement, with the RCP undergoing a deep split in January 1978.

Before and after Mao's death in 1976, Beijing provided material support for CIA-backed forces in Angola against their Soviet-backed rivals. In February 1979, China invaded Vietnam on behalf of the U.S., which a few years before had suffered a stinging military defeat at the hands of the North Vietnamese Army and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. The Spartacist League staged protests against the attack, demanding: "China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!" In the 1980s, Beijing supported the CIA-funded Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. We said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!

Mao and his successors made a major contribution to the destruction of the Soviet Union—a world-historic defeat for the world proletariat that has made the remaining workers states only more vulnerable to the forces of counterrevolution. This amply sums up the anti-revolutionary content of "socialism in one country," which has always meant opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally. As we pointed out in "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism": "The Maoist ideology of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state reflected the provincial, anti-internationalist consciousness characteristic of the mass of the peasantry, which was perfectly consonant with the conservative outlook of the Stalin bureaucracy in the Kremlin. The only difference was that the Chinese Stalinists defended 'socialism' in a different 'one country'."

Mao's alliance with U.S. imperialism emerged in the midst of the grossly misnamed "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." *Mao: The Unknown Story* spills much ink in depicting this period as one

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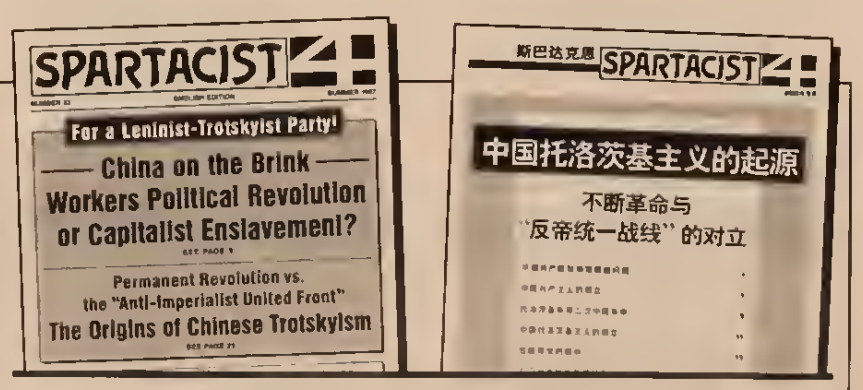

Spartacist

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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

black people in New Orleans were left to die. Hurricane Katrina survivors continue to be abused. As for the Democrats, an article by Mike Davis in *New Left Review* (January-February 2007) notes that "pressure from conservative white Democrats" led the party's strategists "to deliberately delete any mention of New Orleans from 2006 campaign advertising."

In sharp opposition to the reformist left, which seeks to install a "lesser evil" at the head of the murderous capitalist state, the Spartacist League seeks to build a workers party that fights for the overthrow of the capitalist-imperialist order through socialist revolution. Our watchword is the historic Marxist slogan: Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military!

As a speaker for the Spartacus Youth Club said at a February 15 antiwar teach-in at Columbia University: "Opponents of imperialist slaughter must understand that the struggle against imperialist war must be a struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such wars." Noting that "the fundamental difference between the Democrats and the Republicans is how best to wage the 'war on terror'," he continued, "The power of labor must be mobilized against the capitalist rulers at home and students must mobilize behind that power."

Van Bao

Vietnamese militia with captured U.S. Navy pilot, February 1965. U.S. was defeated by North Vietnamese Army/South Vietnamese NLF. Below: October 1967 "March on the Pentagon," part of liberal-pacifist antiwar movement that played to bourgeois defeatism.

Brian Shannon

Reform or Revolution

Military setbacks and outright defeats for the imperialists also weaken the class enemy of the U.S. proletariat on the home front, providing an opening to advance the class struggle. Polemicizing against the opportunist "leftists" of his day, V. I. Lenin described their stance in his *Socialism and War* (1915) as "class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance revolution." It was Lenin's Bolshevik Party that, through principled opposition to the Russian bourgeoisie during the interimperialist First World War, combatted chauvinist prejudices in the proletariat and led the workers to power in the socialist October Revolution of 1917.

As we wrote in "Opponents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Movement" (an appendix to the SL's Programmatic Statement, titled "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!"): "All of our party's activity is directed to organizing, training and steeling the proletarian vanguard party necessary for the seizure of state power. In contrast, the politics of the reformists and centrists consist of oppositional activity completely defined by the framework of bourgeois society."

Such has certainly been the case with all the various antiwar coalitions—United For Peace and Justice (UFPJ); ANSWER, now led by the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL); the Troops Out Now Coalition (TONC) of the Workers World Party (WWP); World Can't Wait, etc. None of these "antiwar" groups called for the military defense of Afghanistan or Iraq during the wars in 2001 and 2003, limiting their slogans to pacifist "No to War" appeals to the imperialist rulers. Inevitably, these liberal coalitions promoted the "Anybody but Bush" politics that helped the Democrats retake Congress in November. Now these same organizations blatantly appeal to the Democratic Congress to "stop Bush's war" by using the "power of the purse."

In our last issue we reported that supporters of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) were among those at a February 11 University of Illinois-Chicago rally for Barack Obama who unfurled a banner demanding: "Obama: Stand Up! Cut the Funding!" The ISO ceaselessly complains that the Democrats are "weak in the knees" and "need a backbone"—to be provided, if one believes *Socialist Worker* (2 March), by "a grassroots antiwar movement that can pressure politicians from outside the established party system." The ISO does not call for breaking with lesser-evil bourgeois politics; it just promotes different vehicles toward that end. That includes promoting Ralph Nader and running ISOers as candidates of the Green Party, a smalltime capitalist party that acts to pressure the Democrats to take a more "progressive" course.

The "World Can't Wait/Drive Out the Bush Regime" project of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) plans school walkouts on March 20 under the call: "Every generation has a mission—Ours is to drive out the Bush regime!" This, of course, also happens to be the "mission" of the Democrats, particularly focused on 2008 presidential elections.

The Democratic Party, promoted directly or indirectly by the reformist left as a more humane and peaceful alternative to the Republicans, has historically been the bourgeoisie's *preferred* party of war—from the interimperialist World Wars I and II to the counterrevolutionary Korean and Vietnam wars to the 1999 war against Serbia. Due to their posture as a "friend" of working people, blacks and the oppressed, the Democrats can more effectively sell U.S. imperialism's wars to the populace in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." In this they are served by the pro-capitalist union misleaders, who uphold the interests of U.S. imperialism and chain labor politically to the class enemy through their support to the Democratic Party. We say: Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party that fights for socialist revolution!

Same Program, Different Vehicles

As happens before every set of antiwar demonstrations, the various coalitions are accusing each other of disrupting the "unity" of the "movement." And, as has been true each time, there is *no* difference in the programs on offer, which all promote the lie that the capitalist profit system can be pressured to be "peaceful" and to meet the needs of the masses. UFPJ may simply be a bit more open about it, for example at its January 27 protest in Washington, D.C., which featured a panoply of Democrats.

The WWP's *Workers World* (1 March) editorializes that "Congress Could Stop the War—But Won't." Seeking to add a wee bit more pressure in that direction, the WWP's TONC plans a weeklong encampment in D.C. to demand of Congress: "Cut Off ALL War Funds! Defund the Pentagon—$$$ for AIDS, Jobs, Healthcare, Housing & Education!" etc., etc. The WWP's former comrades in the PSL, which runs ANSWER, cluck their tongues over TONC's groveling appeals in an article on the PSL Web site titled "Congress and the Anti-War Movement" (23 February). The PSL intones, "Suggesting that Congress can be trusted to end the war is a dangerous illusion." Every bit as dangerous is the illusion that Congress just needs a push from "the people." Such is the message of the PSL/ANSWER March 17 "March on the Pentagon," which pleads: "From Iraq to New Orleans, Fund People's Needs NOT THE WAR MACHINE."

Bowing and scraping to Capitol Hill, the pseudo-socialist PSL embellishes the fraud of bourgeois democracy, which is nothing more than a "democratic" veil over the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Preaching the same gospel, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (8 December 2006) opines: "The long dormant antiwar movement must take to the streets to remind this country's ruling elite that they ultimately must answer to the people they govern."

ANSWER touts the fact that this year marks the 40th anniversary of the "historic" Vietnam antiwar march on the Pentagon, which supposedly "marked a turning point in the development of a countrywide mass movement" (*Socialism and Liberation*, February 2007). As the Spartacist League wrote in a leaflet titled "From Protest to Power" that was distributed at that march, "It is futile to oppose the intervention in Vietnam while supporting the economic system which generates that intervention and the ideology that legitimatizes it." Referring to an earlier antiwar protest, the leaflet commented that Marxist historian "Isaac Deutscher caught the problem exactly when he said that he'd exchange the whole huge April 15th mobilization for just one dock strike."

In an online article, the PSL insists that "what will defeat" the U.S. "as in Vietnam, is a powerful and independent people's movement" ("What Can End the War in Iraq?" 9 March). But it certainly wasn't the peace crawls and Pentagon "levitations" that drove the U.S. out of Vietnam. Indeed, after 1967 there were six more bloody years of military struggle before the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, and another two years before the final taking of Saigon by the North Vietnamese Army (NVA). It was ***the battlefield victory*** of the heroic NVA and South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) that defeated U.S. imperialism. The result was a social revolution in which South Vietnam was united with the North Vietnamese deformed workers state.

"All Indochina Must Go Communist!" was our battle cry, as we called for military victory to the NVA/NLF. Raising the call: "Labor Strikes Against the War," we sought to galvanize the widespread discontent in the U.S. that was being expressed in part through several major strikes. The antiwar movement that ANSWER harks back to was based on an alliance with capitalist politicians representing the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie. The "movement" melted away after the U.S. withdrew troops from Vietnam in 1973 and the draft was ended by Republican president Nixon.

The ISO and Afghanistan

Having refused to call for the defense of Iraq against the U.S. invasion in 2003, a number of reformist groups have fallen over themselves to paint the Iraqi "resistance" as some kind of "anti-imperialist" movement. A typical article in the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (January-February 2007) croons about the "mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers" who make up said "resistance." As we have stressed for the last four years, insofar as the forces on the ground in Afghanistan

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

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For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

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Information and readings: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

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For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!
Nationalize the Private Universities!

University of California, Los Angeles Kerkhoff 152

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University of Toronto, OISE Rm. 2279, 252 Bloor Street West

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138 or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

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Wednesday, March 21, 6 p.m.

Why China Is Not Capitalist: Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 215

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353 or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

and Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we do not paint these forces as "anti-imperialist." As revolutionary Marxists, we are vehement political opponents of the Taliban and, in Iraq, of the Islamic fundamentalists, remnants of the Ba'ath regime and other forces carrying out sectarian carnage in Iraq.

The Iraq war is vastly unpopular, and any embarrassment the "resistance" causes the Bush gang can be more grist for the Democrats' mill. Not so, however, when it comes to the brutal U.S./NATO occupation of Afghanistan, which the Democrats have fully embraced as part of the "war on terror." We noted last issue that an ANSWER statement for the March 17 Washington protest raised no demands against either the Afghanistan occupation or U.S. threats against Iran. While ANSWER has seen fit to squeeze in such demands for its protest in Los Angeles, ANSWER's national statement on its March 17-18 "Global Days of Action" disappears the Afghanistan occupation entirely.

The same issue of *International Socialist Review* that whitewashes the reactionary forces making up the Iraqi "resistance" contains an article by Phil Gasper stating, "The war in Afghanistan is every bit as much an imperial adventure as the war in Iraq." "But," Gasper queries, "does this mean that anti-imperialists should now give support to the Taliban, just as we have called for support for the resistance in Iraq?" While "Afghans have the right to resist," he lectures, "the Taliban may ultimately do more to weaken that resistance than to help it." The Taliban, he informs us, has "reactionary politics."

AP

Man in eastern Afghanistan denounces U.S. troops' slaughter of civilians, March 4.

No fooling. Gasper writes that the Taliban "has repeatedly threatened, attacked, and killed women and girls who attend school, work outside the home, or fail to comply with its strict dress code. Most recently its leadership has issued rules calling for teachers to be killed." Strict dress code?! Most recently?! Atrocities were the stock in trade of the Taliban's *mujahedin* predecessors when, with money and arms provided by the CIA, they fought the Soviet Army after its 1979 intervention in Afghanistan, at the request of a modernizing nationalist regime. With imperialist-backed forces threatening the southern flank of the Soviet Union—homeland of the 1917 October Revolution—the war posed an acid test for revolutionaries. We said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples.

Against the forces fighting for women's liberation and social progress, the ISO, like the bulk of the "left," lined up with the Democratic Carter and Republican Reagan administrations by denouncing the Red Army intervention. This betrayal came as second nature to the ISO, which from its inception has been defined by virulent hatred of the Soviet Union. In the name of "democracy," these social democrats hailed every force arrayed against the USSR. When the Kremlin bureaucrats treacherously began withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan, *Socialist Worker* (May 1988) cheered, "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." The withdrawal from Afghanistan prepared the ground for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a historic defeat for the international proletariat that was hailed by the ISO anti-Communists.

Counterposed to all the various class-collaborationist "antiwar" coalitions, we seek to mobilize the U.S. proletariat—independent of and in opposition to the capitalist political parties—against all the imperialist depredations carried out by the U.S. ruling class. As Lenin's Bolsheviks showed, promoting class-struggle opposition to one's "own" bourgeoisie is crucial to forging a workers party that can lead the proletariat in sweeping away the murderous, decaying capitalist system. ***For new October Revolutions!***■

JetBlue...

(continued from page 3)

By reinforcing craft divisions as well as divisions among workers at different companies, the union tops feed into the endless attempts by the airline bosses to pit workers against each other. What's needed is a single industrial union of workers—from cleaners to pilots—at all airlines, prepared by united strike action to defend working conditions and extend hard-fought gains. There must be a fight inside the unions to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital," who are tied to the capitalist Democratic—and sometimes Republican—parties. Labor needs a new, class-struggle leadership, one that stands for building a workers party committed to the fight for a workers government.

Airline workers have fared no better under Democratic administrations than under the Republicans. Bill Clinton invoked the Railway Labor Act 14 times against potential rail and aviation strikes. Jimmy Carter deregulated the airline industry in 1978, paving the way for more than two decades of union-busting attacks, deteriorating passenger service and an explosion in non-union, cut-rate carriers like JetBlue. The Carter administration also drew up the plans carried out by Ronald Reagan to smash the PATCO air traffic controllers union when it went on strike in 1981. At the time, the AFL-CIO misleaders conducted an impotent consumer boycott instead of the effective solidarity strike action needed to beat back the union-busting.

Today, the air traffic control system is short of at least 1,000 controllers, with an antiquated, crumbling infrastructure. Last August, a Comair flight crashed in Lexington, Kentucky, killing 49 people, after the FAA assigned only one overworked, sleep-deprived controller to the shift (see "Kentucky Air Disaster: Bitter Fruit of Union Busting," *WV* No. 876, 15 September 2006). Only a few days after the crash, the FAA imposed a new contract slashing salaries for new controllers by more than 30 percent and eliminating mandatory break time and forcing controllers to work even if exhausted.

The JetBlue debacle points to the danger and inefficiency of the airline industry under capitalism. A system that puts profits above all else cannot provide safe, pleasant travel for passengers and decent working conditions for its employees. The chaos in air transport is an example of the anarchy and decay reigning in capitalist production generally. The situation cries out for the expropriation of the airline corporations and the capitalist class as a whole by a workers government and the construction of a centralized, planned economy.■

Big Lie...

(continued from page 7)

continual horror. But back in the day, a broad section of radical youth embraced this campaign as revolutionary. We took no side in the Cultural Revolution and denounced it for what it was: essentially an intra-bureaucratic power play by Mao designed to regain his authority after the ruinous Great Leap Forward—an insane adventure in economic autarky that ended in total collapse and widespread starvation. We also warned at the time that "the danger of an imperialist alliance with China against the Russians cannot be dismissed" ("Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April-May 1970).

The RCP answers Chang/Halliday by upholding the Cultural Revolution as a "revolution within the revolution": "It was a broad movement and upheaval aimed at preventing a new privileged class from taking power and turning China into what it has become since Mao died in 1976: a sweatshop paradise riddled with corruption and inequality. China is no longer socialist." The reality is that the Cultural Revolution wreaked havoc on the Chinese mainland for the better part of a decade. Its *anti*-proletarian nature was made clear when Mao's forces smashed a railway workers strike in Shanghai in 1967. Capturing the perverse nature of the "revolutionary" rhetoric of the time, a CCP leader named Lu Dingyi, who would soon be purged as head of the Propaganda Department, quipped, "So you say that it was Mao Zedong Thought that taught you to win at table tennis! How are you going to explain losing?" (Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* [2006]).

With their time-warp double-talk, the RCP obscures the fact that Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism provided the groundwork for the market-oriented reforms carried out by his successors. These measures, which the RCP falsely portrays as a restoration of capitalism, were an attempt to address within the framework of Stalinist bonapartism the inefficiencies of the bureaucratic commandism that defined the management of the planned economy under Mao.

Exposing the reactionary ravings of Chang/Halliday is not difficult. But in the RCP's hands, this becomes a means to trumpet the Mao regime as a supposedly egalitarian alternative to today's China. "Market reforms" have sharpened contradictions in China. On the one hand, the country is marked by increasing social inequality, economic penetration by offshore Chinese and imperialist interests and the emergence of a class of bourgeois bloodsuckers on the mainland. On the other hand, with the huge expansion of China's industrial capacity, half of the population is now employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector, and 40 percent is urbanized—a historically *progressive* development from a Marxist standpoint.

AFP

Flags of capitalist Guomindang carried in July 2004 Hong Kong march for "democracy," rallying cry for capitalist counterrevolution.

Magnum

Beijing, 1972: Chairman Mao shakes hands with imperialist chief Richard Nixon as U.S. bombs rain on Vietnam.

The Mao years were simply a different variant of bureaucratic rule, predicated on the notion of building socialism—a society of material abundance—in backward China while the world is dominated by capitalist imperialism. This reactionary-utopian perspective has always been accompanied by a profoundly class-collaborationist program for the imperialist countries. This is exemplified by the RCP, which lauded Al Gore in the pages of *Revolution* (29 January 2006) and, through its "World Can't Wait" project, campaigned last fall for the Bush regime to "step down," thus doing their bit to boost the electoral fortunes of the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism.

We say that defense of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba requires class struggle at home, in the belly of the imperialist beast! As we wrote in "China's 'Market Reforms': A Trotskyist Analysis":

> "A proletarian political revolution in China raising the banner of socialist internationalism would truly shake the world. It would shatter the 'death of communism' ideological climate propagated by the imperialist ruling classes since the destruction of the Soviet Union... Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centers of North America, West Europe and Japan, can the all-round modernization of China be achieved as part of a socialist Asia. It is to provide the necessary leadership for the proletarian in these struggles that the International Communist League seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International—the world party of socialist revolution."■

Quebec...

(continued from page 5)

> "It will show up in desertions from the public service, in lost investment caused by the uncertain political climate, in an international reputation for instability."

Instability of bourgeois rule, even if only at the level of parliament, can be a good thing for the working class—*if* it learns to mobilize independently of the bosses for its own interests and not, as the grovelling social-democratic NDP has done, by waving the Maple Leaf flag and supporting one capitalist party against another. A fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions is inseparable from a fight to defend Quebec's national rights. Such a fight will pose pointblank the question of a new, revolutionary party of the working class opposed to the pro-capitalist NDP and to the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec.

This is certainly not the perspective of the rest of the Canadian "left," who push support to the NDP in English Canada, or to the Quebec nationalists, or, impossibly squaring the circle, to both at once. The most blatant Canadian chauvinists are the misnamed Communist Party of Canada (CPC). Their program, "Canada's Future Is Socialism!" (2002), calls to "struggle against U.S. domination and for genuine Canadian independence," while railing vis-à-vis Quebec that "The separatist solution would bring severe additional economic hardship to the working people of both nations and would weaken their political unity against the common enemy." In the acid test of the 1995 referendum, the CPC lined up with the Canadian bourgeoisie in calling on the Québécois to vote No to independence.

The same stance was taken by the "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT), a dubious group founded by ex-members of our organization who spend much of their energy slandering us. So blatant was the BT's capitulation to the Canadian powers-that-be that they were officially welcomed to join a massive "Canadian unity" rally in Montreal organized by top business leaders on the eve of the referendum. When the BT's only Quebec member quit, he protested their "de facto bloc with the Canadian bourgeoisie" (see "Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham," *SC* No. 141, Summer 2004 [see also *WV* No. 827, 28 May 2004]).

While noting the cynicism behind Harper's motion, the International Socialists (I.S.) saluted the "nation" vote in parliament as "a significant victory for the Québécois in their decades old struggle for recognition" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 December 2006). From the Meech Lake Accord of the late 1980s to the Charlottetown referendum and more, the I.S. has consistently hacked the Canadian rulers' attempts to shore up their rule via token, overwhelmingly meaningless "concessions" to Quebec. Far from advocating Quebec independence, their aim throughout has been to act as a pressure group on the NDP, who they support in every election (including in Quebec, where the Anglo-chauvinist New Democrats have zero roots in the labour movement).

Sygma

Canadian troops assault Mohawks seeking to defend their historic burial ground at Oka, Quebec, 1990.

Today the I.S. begs the New Democrats to "finally get things right on Quebec" by backing the right to self-determination and opposing the Clarity Act. "That," they claim, "is a road that would allow the NDP to galvanize a class-based, principled pole." The idea that the NDP could provide a "class-based, principled pole" over Quebec (or any other issue) is the sheerest illusion-mongering. The role of social democrats, even on occasions when they are forced to posture more to the left, is to ***defend the capitalists' state power against the working class***. They do that by seeking to divert class struggle, when it does occur, into channels that do not threaten bourgeois rule or, failing that, by directly helping the capitalists to suppress the workers. A general struggle against the capitalist system requires breaking the working class from the NDP—a process in which defense of Quebec's national rights against both the Anglo ruling class and the chauvinist NDP tops is likely to play a central role.

Québec Solidaire: A Populist Trap

While pleading in English Canada for the NDP to clean up its act, in Quebec the I.S. enthusiastically hacks the new Québec Solidaire (QS) party. When QS was formed last year, the I.S. French-language paper *Résistance* (February 2006) gushed: "It seems that the Quebec left has finally found its path, after 38 years of struggle, outside of the suffocating shadow of the PQ. It is this feeling of liberation which electrified the crowd when the name Québec Solidaire was adopted." Forgive us for not sharing this "feeling of liberation"! As we noted at the time, QS "isn't even a half-step on the road to anti-capitalist struggle: it is a populist roadblock that fosters terrible illusions in a 'reformed' bourgeois rule" (*SC* No. 148, Spring 2006).

QS aims to attract those opposed to the attacks of the right-wing provincial Liberal government but disenchanted with the PQ, particularly under Boisclair, a colourless technocrat who has alienated much of the party's putative left wing. Heavily staffed by housebroken ex-"Marxists," and backed by just about every present-day reformist left group in Quebec, QS eschews even the rhetoric of socialism and the class struggle in favour of environmental/feminist-tinged petty-bourgeois politics.

This is seen clearly in QS's platform for the next Quebec election (now called for March 26) adopted at a November convention. While containing detailed proposals for nationalizing wind energy, reorganizing the forestry sector and increasing taxes on dividends, it does not even rhetorically oppose capitalism (a word that appears nowhere in the lengthy document). Even minimal proposals for free drug care for all low-income Québécois and an immediate increase in the minimum wage to $10 an hour were defeated after party leaders argued they would be too expensive. QS doesn't even call to unconditionally withdraw Canadian troops from Afghanistan, demanding instead Canadian participation in a military force under United Nations auspices.

The I.S.'s *Résistance* (January 2007) salutes QS's sub-reformist platform as "a clear rupture with neoliberalism" and calls to enthusiastically back it in the provincial elections. From Europe to Latin America and Quebec, "opposition to neoliberalism" has become a code phrase for unity with those supporters of capitalism who aim to co-opt the workers with chatter about "solidarity." The Stalinists used to dress this up as the "popular front" (against monopolies, fascism, etc.). While the jargon has changed, the idea is the same: subordinating the workers' interests to a wing of the enemy class. We Trotskyists say: QS is not a genuine left alternative to the PQ, but another trap for Quebec's workers and oppressed. No vote to the petty-bourgeois QS, any more than to the openly capitalist PQ and Liberals! Workers in Quebec and throughout Canada need a party based on proletarian class struggle, not another class-collaborationist obstacle.

In approaching the national question in the Canadian state today, we take inspiration from the Bolshevik-led Russian Revolution of 1917, the only successful workers revolution so far in history. The Tsarist Empire was a cauldron of Great Russian chauvinism and national antagonisms directed against myriad oppressed nations. The Bolsheviks fought as a "tribune of the people," opposing all manifestations of great-nation chauvinism, while calling on workers and peasants of the oppressed nationalities to join with their Russian class brothers and sisters in a common struggle against capitalism. Only socialist revolution and the inauguration of proletarian power laid a basis to liberate all the oppressed from the tsarist "prison house of peoples."

Today we advocate Quebec independence as a means of breaking the proletariat in both nations from deadly illusions in their "own" respective exploiters. The oppression of Quebec within "united Canada" has for too long poisoned relations among the workers and undermined prospects for anti-capitalist struggle. We fight for the advanced elements of the working class and radical youth to take up the struggle to construct a Marxist workers party, one that can unite the many victims of this exploitative system—women, immigrants, Native people, the Québécois—behind the social power of the proletariat in the fight for socialist revolution. ■

Harvard College Library

Delegates at 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan. Bolshevik Revolution was beacon to oppressed nationalities worldwide.

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Spitzer...

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have since been released from commitment—in a number of cases because of terminal illness or old age.

To push through this major escalation in the state's repressive powers, capitalist politicians and the major media willfully conflate such horrible crimes as the 2005 rape and murder of a Florida girl with consensual sexual activity. Genarlow Wilson, a 20-year-old black man, languishes in a Georgia prison on a mandatory ten-year sentence with no hope of parole simply for engaging in consensual oral sex three years ago with a younger schoolmate, a case exemplifying racist and anti-sex bigotry in the U.S. (see "Free Genarlow Wilson!" *WV* No. 887, 2 March).

We are uncompromisingly opposed to the criminalization of consensual sex. As we wrote in "The Uses of Abuse" (*Women and Revolution* No. 29, Spring 1985): "The violent abuse and rape of children is a terrible crime. The problem is that once the question of 'child abuse' has become a political football, the state willfully will not tell the difference between Jack the Ripper and Lewis Carroll. A stranger who lurks in school yards, offers candy to a little girl then rapes and maims her and a father who takes showers with his prepubescent daughter are both telescoped into a common juridical scheme."

from the very real evils of this decaying capitalist system. It is grotesque that the capitalist rulers posture as defenders of the country's youth. In the U.S., 37 percent of all children—58 percent of black children, and 62 percent of Latino children—live at or below the official poverty line. In New York City, fewer than 35 percent of 16- to 24-year-old youth have any kind of job. Last month, the number of homeless families in New York City reached a record high.

"Civil commitment" laws are only one part of an escalating wave of repression against so-called "sex crimes." Fully 22 states now impose restrictions on where "sex offenders" can live after their release from prison. These regulations are so extensive that a number of prisoners have had their release delayed for years simply because there was nowhere they could live. California's Proposition 83, which passed in November, requires, among other measures, that "sex offenders" wear an electronic ankle bracelet for the rest of their lives, providing for Global Positioning System monitoring of their every movement, a measure already the law in Massachusetts. Every state has "sex offender" registries, and about half post them on the Internet. This includes Maine, where William Elliott was gunned down last year after being put on the list because he had had sex with his girlfriend before she turned 16. Now, in a blatant invitation to more such vigilante violence, Ohio plans to issue fluorescent green "sex offender" automobile license plates.

TWU Local 100 president Roger Toussaint (right) at September 2006 NYC West Indian Day Parade with then Attorney General Spitzer. Spitzer won union's endorsement despite jailing Toussaint, fining union members for 2005 transit strike.

Boston Globe

Litherland/NY Times

Left: Massachusetts governor Romney announces electronic tracking of "sex offenders," 2004. After completing sentences, over 500 men are being held in former prison in Arcadia, Florida.

The nightmarish sweep of the new measures was illustrated by the 1997 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Kansas v. Hendricks* that upheld the constitutionality of "civil commitment" of those having a "mental abnormality." This standard threatens anyone the bourgeoisie deems as deviating from the reactionary moral straitjacket of the monogamous family. In February, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal by Morton Berger, an Arizona high school teacher, who was sentenced to ***200 years in prison***, with no possibility of parole, for child pornography—ten years for each of 20 images in his possession. Even an Arizona state Supreme Court judge noted that the sentence was "longer than the presumed sentence for rape or aggravated assault" and that "Berger would serve no more time for actually molesting a child" (*Arizona Daily Star*, 10 May 2006).

What is truly perverse is to equate looking at pornography with committing violent crimes. Child pornography, like all porn, is simply words and images designed for pleasure. We call for abolishing all laws against "crimes without victims" such as prostitution, drug use and pornography. We also oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws; our guiding principle is simply that of effective consent. Government out of the bedrooms!

The crazed morality drives whipped up by the bourgeoisie, the churches and the media serve to regiment the population and to distract the working people

In racist capitalist America, repressive measures come down especially hard on blacks and other minorities, and repression of "sexual predators" is no exception. In a tradition going back to the Jim Crow South and lynch mob "justice," black men today are disproportionately convicted of rape. Pointing to the racist underpinnings of those convictions, black men account for fully 65 percent of those whose convictions have been overturned by DNA and other evidence. In half of those exonerations, the black men were falsely accused of raping white women. Not coincidentally, the only New York state senators who voted against Spitzer's "civil commitment" law were from heavily black and Hispanic New York City. Senator Kevin Parker of Brooklyn made the self-evident point that the racist cops would use the law to target minorities.

The shadow of the lynch mob is also apparent in the barbaric notion that the way to deal with male "sexual predators" is to castrate them. According to the *Washington Post* (5 July 2006), "Eight states allow the use of drugs to castrate sex offenders, including California, Florida and Texas, where surgical castration is also an option." The article noted that in Florida, "judges are required to order castration for certain repeat offenders." This is a throwback to the early 20th century, when the racist eugenics movement, which dominated the U.S. scientific establishment at the time, endorsed castration and sterilization of the "feeble-minded" and "habitual criminals." Today, as the *Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* (Vol. 33, No. 1, 2005) remarked, many prisoners "may view surgical castration as their only realistic option for release into the community." Several years ago a Virginia inmate named James Jenkins castrated himself with a razor blade the night before a judge was to consider committing him to a prison for high-risk "sex offenders."

In New York, Eliot Spitzer has used his landslide electoral victory in November to not only push through the draconian "civil commitment" law but to take the ax to public schools and to try to impose devastating health care cuts amounting to $1.2 billion, aimed mostly at hospitals and nursing homes. The state Health Department has directed nine hospitals to start shutting down and dozens of other facilities to carry out cutbacks. Democrat Spitzer's budget-slashing fits right in with multibillion-dollar cuts in Medicare and Medicaid announced by Republican president Bush.

Complicit in Spitzer's attacks on working people is the pro-capitalist New York labor officialdom, which pulled out all the stops to see him elected. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Roger Toussaint energetically campaigned for Spitzer despite the fact that Spitzer, then the state attorney general, threw Toussaint in jail as punishment for the December 2005 NYC transit strike, which defied the state's Taylor Law ban on public employee strikes. TWU members and the union as a whole suffered massive fines as part of Spitzer's anti-strike injunctions. Spitzer was also supported by Dennis Rivera, outgoing president of the 1199 SEIU health care workers union, who abjectly declared before the elections that he would not oppose the planned hospital closings.

New laws against "sex offenders" are only one component of the growth in the capitalist state's repressive reach. More than one generation of black and Latino youth have been subject to mass incarceration, mainly as a result of the "war on drugs." More recently, repressive laws enacted as part of the reactionary "war on terror" initially singled out Near Eastern and other Muslim immigrants. But as we warned from the outset of this bogus "war," such measures would eventually extend to black people, the working class and the citizenry as a whole. A broad range of public opinion now recognizes that the USA Patriot Act has opened the door to restricting the rights of the entire population. The same point must be hammered home in regard to repression of "pedophiles" and anyone else considered to be deviant or a "threat" by the government. The Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense defended a black former convict, Cary Verse—who underwent chemical castration in a state mental hospital after serving his prison sentence—and Father Donald Weeks, who sheltered him, against vigilante harassment in 2004 (see "Labor Black League Protests 'Sex Offender' Witchhunt," *WV* No. 824, 14 April 2004).

As revolutionary opponents of the capitalist system, the Spartacist League seeks to build a workers party in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the proletariat to victory in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Such a party, as Lenin pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), must act as "***the tribune of the people***...able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects." Only in this way can the most conscious layers of the working class be won to the understanding of the proletariat's historic mission—to sweep away the decaying capitalist order through proletarian revolution.■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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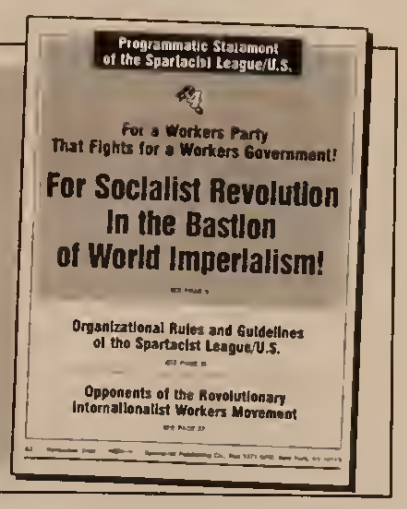


WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With Spitzer's Sinister "Sex Offender" Law!

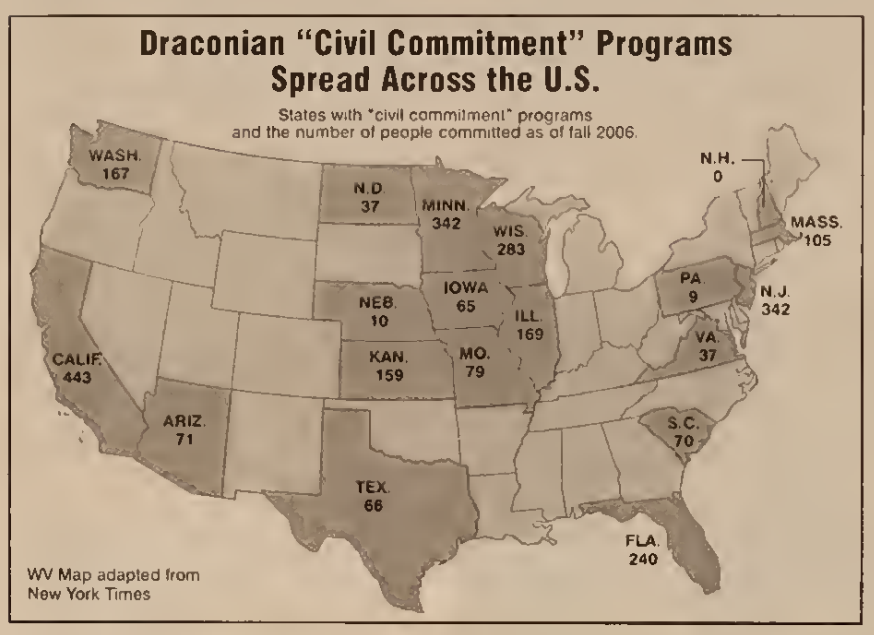
New York

The New York State legislature recently enacted by an overwhelming vote a sweeping law under which "sex offenders" can be locked up for indefinite periods after they have completed their prison sentences. This reactionary law was pushed by Democratic governor Eliot Spitzer, who was elected in November with the enthusiastic support of the state's labor officialdom. Similar "civil commitment" laws already exist in 19 other states, as capitalist politicians whip up a frenzy in the population against "sexual predators." President Bush has signed a law offering money to states that commit sex offenders beyond their prison term, and the Justice Department is creating a federal civil commitment program.

Make no mistake: these measures represent an attack on the fundamental rights of the entire population. The New York law in effect means a life sentence that would ensnare many who have done nothing more than engage in consensual sex, which is no crime in the eyes of revolutionary Marxists or by the lights of any rational society. The law throws the fundamental Constitutional protection against double jeopardy out the window, with "offenders" effectively charged twice for the same crime, and allows retroactive prosecution for "crimes" committed before the law was passed. Even if not convicted, a person merely *accused* of a "sex crime" can be indefinitely "committed" if that person pleaded guilty to another offense.

Most ominously, people are being locked up not because they have committed a specific crime but because a court decides that there is a high *probability* that they might commit one in the future. According to the *New York Times* (4 March): "Actuarial formulas—akin to the tables used for life insurance—play a central role in deciding who is dangerous enough to be committed. They calculate someone's risk of offending again by looking at factors such as the number of prior sex offenses and the sex of the victims.... Politics and emotion also factor heavily into who gets committed." Nearly 3,000 "sex offenders" have been committed nationally since the first such law was passed in 1990. A mere 8 percent

continued on page 11



Office of New York State Governor

Democratic NY governor Eliot Spitzer

Pascagoula, Mississippi

Victory to Northrop Grumman Shipyard Strike!

MARCH 12—In a key battle for labor in the open shop South, over 7,000 workers at Northrop Grumman's Ingalls shipyard in Pascagoula, Mississippi, walked off the job on March 8 and set up picket lines. The strikers are taking on the world's largest naval shipbuilder—and the biggest private employer in Mississippi. Production has been shut down at Ingalls, where Navy destroyers and Coast Guard cutters are built. Today, some 1,000 marchers, members of all the unions at the shipyard, demonstrated their determination along the six-mile route from the shipyard to downtown Pascagoula. Fourteen unions are on strike, including eleven grouped in the Pascagoula Metal Trades Council.

Workers are demanding greater wage increases and no increase in health care premiums. They walked out after having *twice* decisively voted down contract proposals from the company. The last offer shortened the term of the contract from four to three years but still would have raised wages only a meager $2.50 an hour by 2009 and would raise health care premiums by 50 percent when workers don't even have dental or vision coverage.

While the company is rolling in money—it did over $30 billion in business last year alone—many of the workers are still struggling to recover from the devastation wrought by Hurricane Katrina, which exposed the lethal incompetence and racist contempt displayed at all levels of government for the Gulf's residents. As *The Mississippi Press* (11 March) reported, "Many workers said that cost-of-living, spikes in gas prices, rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina and other factors led to the 90 percent opposition from union members who voted on the contract."

AP

March 9: Union members man picket line at Ingalls shipyard.

Government mediators are pressing the unions to settle, but workers are saying that they are prepared to hold out on the picket lines. Workers have cheered when tractor-trailers approaching the shipyard with supplies for the plant make a U-turn. Every trade unionist should honor the picket line—*picket lines mean don't cross!*

This strike follows other walkouts against military contractors, including at Boeing in 2005-06 and Sikorsky Aircraft in 2006, during the U.S. imperialists' murderous wars and occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq. The U.S. capitalist drive for profits and world domination is behind the war and occupation of Iraq and is reflected at home in a war on workers, black people and immigrants. But the labor bureaucracy pushes the lie that there is a partnership between labor and the filthy rich capitalists who run the country, that American workers share a common "national interest" with their exploiters. Ron Ault, head of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, expresses this view when he complains that the U.S. is losing its "status as the last super power."

A victorious strike at this large shipyard would be a boon to union organizing throughout the South. Central to this task is the need to combat racist discrimination on and off the job. About half of the shipyard workers are black. Throughout the South, including Mississippi, whose state flag incorporates the flag of the slave-owning Confederacy, black workers and a growing number of immigrants form a major component of the working class.

The big-business media have reported that workers at other Northrop Grumman shipyards along the Gulf Coast—in Avondale, Gulfport and Tallulah—accepted the same contract that the Ingalls workers rejected. What they don't say is that the workers at the other yards won their first contract in 2001 and only now reached the pay and benefit levels won at Ingalls. A major impetus for organizing these shipyards came from the union stronghold in Pascagoula, exemplified by powerful strikes in 1974 and 1999. Pascagoula Metal Trades Council president Mike Crowley told *Workers Vanguard* that due to a "me too" contract clause, gains at Ingalls would be passed on to workers at the other three yards. *Victory to the Northrop Grumman shipyard workers strike!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 889 C-701 30 March 2007

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Factory Raids, Deportations Sweep U.S.

Labor: Fight Anti-Immigrant Attacks!

In cities and towns from coast to coast and for hundreds of miles along the U.S.-Mexican border, the government has been escalating its racist, anti-immigrant campaign. Workers are seized on the job, while scores of Latino residents are arrested by Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents in neighborhood sweeps. Thousands of National Guard troops have been deployed along the border, supplemented by fascistic Minutemen vigilantes. Some 190,000 people were deported last year, while 100,000 are currently held in federal, state and county jails for supposedly violating immigration law.

The viciousness of the government's crackdown was on full display in New Bedford, Massachusetts, on March 6 when 300 federal agents backed up by helicopters raided a textile sweatshop and detained 361 mainly Guatemalan and Salvadoran women workers. Many were sent to a detention center in Harlingen, Texas, some 2,000 miles away. Young children, many of them U.S. citizens, were suddenly without their mothers. As public outrage mounted, immigration authorities released dozens of the workers, who still, however, await deportation hearings.

On March 12, when imperialist chief George Bush reached Guatemala on his recent tour of Latin America more than 5,000 soldiers and police surrounded the National Palace in Guatemala City to keep away protesters outraged particularly by the New Bedford raid. Even Guatemalan president Oscar Berger, an American toady, felt compelled to lecture Bush about immigration policy. Bush was met with mass protests throughout his tour, including its final stop in Mexico, where even right-wing Mexican president Felipe Calderón called U.S. border policies "absurd."

Calderón is well aware that he sits atop roiling social discontent, as was seen when some 100,000 people marched in downtown Mexico City in January to protest massive increases in prices of tortillas (see "Mexico: Tortilla Price Hike Condemns Poor to Starvation," *WV* No. 886, 16 February). About 10 percent of both the Guatemalan and Mexican population lives in the United States. Money sent back to Mexico by immigrants in the U.S. exceeds $20 billion, second only to oil as a source of foreign revenue. The massive migration is largely a result of the economic ruin wrought by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which we have always denounced as U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico, and the more recent Central American Free Trade Agreement.

It is in the vital interest of the U.S. labor movement to mobilize in defense of immigrants, who form a key and vibrant component of the U.S. working class and a living bridge to the struggles of working people in Mexico and elsewhere. One key labor battle is the years-long effort by the United Food and Commercial Workers to organize the Smithfield pork processing plant—the largest such plant in the world—in Tar Heel, North Carolina. In a "right to work" state where the racist color bar has historically been wielded by the bosses to keep unions out, pro-union Smithfield workers have long faced company violence. More recently, management has collaborated with ICE to target militant immigrant workers, who along with black workers make up the bulk of the workforce. In January, 21 workers were arrested and then deported. At Smithfield and other plants, the Feds have issued "no match letters," setting up workers whose Social Security numbers do not match government records to be fired—an open invitation to get rid of union activists.

As Marxist opponents of racist American capitalism, we seek to mobilize the labor movement to fight deportations and ICE raids through class-struggle means. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants! We call on the unions to organize immigrant workers with full rights and protections. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism in the working class, while the immigrant-derived proletariat and all workers must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in this country. What is urgently needed is the forging of a workers party to lead all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle for a workers government that will seize the productive wealth of this society from the capitalists and create a planned, socialized economy. For socialist revolution from the Yukon to the Yucatán!

New Bedford: Distraught worker outside leather goods plant where hundreds of immigrants were rounded up by federal agents, March 6.

Pereira/Standard-Times

Terry/Rocky Mountain News

Angry family members and supporters confront immigration agents after raid at Swift meatpacking plant in Greeley, Colorado, in December.

This perspective requires battling the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and its American chauvinism. The labor tops' opposition to NAFTA and similar "free trade" pacts is based on protectionism and economic nationalism. In a blatant expression of this poisonous chauvinism, the Teamsters bureaucracy brags in a March 23 statement that it pressured a Senate committee into blocking plans to open the border to Mexican trucks, declaring: "The Teamsters Union has successfully led the battle to keep our border closed for the past 12 years, and we will not let up in our fight."

The Change to Win federation, which includes the Teamsters, as well as the SEIU service workers and other heavily immigrant unions, has pushed immigration "reform" bills with provisions to expand so-called "guest worker" programs. Congress last year reached an impasse. On the one side were those who wanted to virtually seal the border and criminalize masses of immigrants. On the other were politicians who, speaking for employers reliant on exploiting desperate immigrants, sought to increase the number of "guest workers" while offering some a (protracted) "path to citizenship." Democratic

continued on page 9

Oct. 22 Coalition Meeting on Cop Brutality

LBL vs. "Anybody but Bush" Maoists

NEW YORK CITY—In the months following the police killing of Sean Bell, the 23-year-old black man gunned down in a storm of 50 cop bullets on his wedding day last November 25, various leftist organizations have joined protests against cop terror, raising such reform schemes as "community control" of the police. The widespread anger over the Sean Bell killing was seen when tens of thousands of people, predominantly black, marched down Manhattan's Fifth Avenue on December 16. On March 16, with the city poised on edge, a Queens grand jury handed down indictments against three of the five cops involved in the killing, two charged with manslaughter and one with reckless endangerment.

On March 3, a meeting held by the October 22 Coalition, a group initiated by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), afforded an unusual opportunity for counterposing our revolutionary socialist program to the reformist program put forward by the RCP and others. The meeting was addressed by several parents of victims of cop terror, who spoke movingly about the tribulations, abuse and persecution they experienced while vainly seeking justice for their children's deaths. Juanita Young spoke of her son, Malcolm Ferguson, who was shot dead by the cops in March 2000. Young herself was evicted from her apartment and arrested for "criminal trespass" in retaliation for her activism following her son's death. Nicholas Heyward Sr., whose 13-year-old son Nicholas had been playing cops-and-robbers with a toy pistol when shot dead by the cops in September 1994, also spoke.

Speaking on behalf of the RCP and as cofounder of the October 22 Coalition, Carl Dix repeated an earlier speaker's call for "revolution" and said that police brutality is "built into the fabric of the racist white supremacist capitalist system." While Dix appealed for unity with the ghetto and barrio population and for "seeking allies throughout society," the RCP's coalition made clear what kind of "allies" Dix meant by giving Democratic Party city councilman Charles Barron star billing for the event. (Barron didn't show.)

Barron has some "street cred" due to his former membership in the Black Panther Party and his occasional radical rhetoric. But he showed his true colors when, along with Al Sharpton and other bourgeois politicians as well as preachers, he appeared at Mayor Bloomberg's side as City Hall appealed for "dialogue" following the Sean Bell killing. Barron has mainly been demanding the firing of Police Commissioner Ray Kelly. As capitalist politicians, Barron and Sharpton's aim is to get ahead of any social explosion in order to contain it.

A representative of the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, which is allied with the Spartacist League, intervened during the discussion period to counterpose a strategy based on mobilizing the social power of the working class. The LBL spokesman, who is a member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, emphasized that police brutality was not an aberration, and that the cops, courts and prison system are the core of capitalists' repressive state apparatus. He pointed out that racial oppression is a pillar of U.S. capitalist society, whether the government is led by Democrats or Republicans.

The LBL speaker called for labor-led, integrated mass protest against police killings. He cited the December 2005 transit strike as an example of labor's potential power, in contrast to photo ops for Charles Barron. The cops executed Sean Bell on the street because he was black, and the same state power seeks to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, because they see in him the spectre of black revolution. The transit strike, he remarked, demonstrated the social power that must be mobilized to free Mumia.

The RCP has demonstrated its lack of a proletarian perspective by even dropping the word "worker" from its newspaper's masthead (formerly *Revolutionary Worker*, now *Revolution*). The LBLer stated that World Can't Wait, one of the pro-Democratic Party outfits created by the RCP, is part of the "Anybody but Bush" crowd (see "Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Class Struggle at Home!" *WV* No. 888, 16 March). In response to those who spoke of "revolution," he said that the question is how to fight for it. As against the RCP's class collaborationism, we fight to build a proletarian party, independent of and in opposition to the capitalist political parties, to lead the struggle for socialist revolution.■

WV Photo

NEW YORK CITY—Spartacist banner at March 18 antiwar demo, part of nationwide protests that weekend called by the ANSWER, United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), World Can't Wait (WCW) and Troops Out Now (TONC) coalitions. From UFPJ and TONC's appeals that Congress stop war funding to WCW's call to "drive out the Bush regime" and ANSWER's plea that Washington "fund people's needs, not the war machine," the reformist left allies with the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism and preaches that the blood-soaked capitalist system can be pressured to be more "humane." The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs intervened into the protests with our Marxist propaganda, combatting illusions in the reformability of the "democratic" capitalist state and raising the call for a workers party that fights "in the belly of the beast" for the overthrow of the imperialist order through socialist revolution.

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Class-Struggle Defense!

In advancing a class-struggle strategy in the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, we follow in the tradition of the early International Labor Defense (ILD) led by James P. Cannon, a founder of the Communist Party and later of American Trotskyism. In an article written just days before the execution of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, the ILD emphasized the need to combat illusions sown by liberals in the "justice" of the capitalist frame-up system. Today, as Mumia's fight enters a new critical stage on the legal front, it is all the more urgent that his supporters around the world mobilize in mass protest centered on the power of the labor movement.

In the many years of struggle for the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti, tens of thousands of workers have learned this: that there is one power that is irresistible, one upon which they can rely for base, militancy and strength—the organized might of the working masses.

They have learned that the liberals, with their counsels for moderation and exclusive reliance upon the essentially just nature of the courts and the machinery of the law, with their faith in the efficacy of wire-pulling, interviews, ***have accomplished nothing but the weakening of the movement for Sacco and Vanzetti.*** The liberals, inside and outside the labor movement, have only spread illusions in the ranks of the workers, and kept them acquiescent and in leash until the last moment when the executioners reach out to turn the electric switch of death....

We do not ask for mercy for Saeco and Vanzetti from the corrupt reactionaries of Massachusetts. We call upon the workers to exert their invincible power to obtain their release so that they can rejoin actively the ranks from which they were seized.

—"'Friends' of Sacco and Vanzetti," *Labor Defender*, September 1927

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Byulleten' Spartakovtsev
Supplement
No. 20, March 2007

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Pascagoula Strike

Key Battle for Labor in the Open Shop South

"It's Most All About Katrina"

WV Photo

March 19: Strikers man picket line at Northrop Grumman's Ingalls shipyard.

MARCH 26—Some 7,000 Ingalls shipyard workers in Pascagoula, Mississippi, are standing firm as they enter their fourth week on strike against Northrop Grumman, the world's largest naval shiphuilder. At a company where skilled workers make less than $20 per hour, workers walked out after the company offered to raise wages a measly $2.50 by 2009 and demanded that workers' contributions to their health plan he hiked 50 percent. This was a direct provocation against the workers, who were among the hundreds of thousands of victims of Hurricane Katrina. Federal mediators intervened last week to put pressure on the 14 striking unions, most of which belong to the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Council, to settle. Picketers told a *Workers Vanguard* reporting team about rumors that the Navy was getting ready to intervene to force an end to the strike, which has idled one of U.S. imperialism's key military contractors.

We stressed last issue (*WV* No. 888, 16 March) that this strike is a crucial battle for labor throughout the open shop South. It's also a chance to fight back against the capitalist rulers who viciously abandoned Gulf Coast residents, especially black people and the poor, to their fate following Katrina. "We didn't have enough time to get our houses fixed up before they wanted to write people up and fire them," one worker told us. "We felt that the company should give the people enough time to do what they had to do. When they didn't, that had a lot of impact on it." He continued, "Katrina dealt us a blow and our insurance wasn't paying—still not paying. It's most all about Katrina."

Workers described staying in the shipyard during the hurricane in order to save the facility, risking life and limb while sunk into water up to their necks. Then they started cleaning up muck in an area reeking of human feces and dead snakes, alligators and birds. The company gave them a pathetic two weeks off with pay. Only a few weeks later, management threatened to fire those who could not immediately get back to work. One striker told *WV*: "We had workers who had that dilemma, coming back to work and keeping their jobs right after Katrina, while trying to find a place to stay for their families."

Some workers had to live in cars and tents outside the plant gates—and many still live in FEMA trailers today. Workers are faced with skyrocketing costs for everything from milk to rent. The workers' hardships are compounded by the loss of cost-of-living raises in their last contract. And none of the production workers get sick leave. But the same company that squeezes its workers received billions of dollars in handouts from the Navy and FEMA after Katrina hit. Last year alone it did over $30 billion in business. Workers revile the company's nepotism and its grossly overpaid managers, who collect huge bonuses when ships are commissioned while the workers only get told to work faster.

The company's war profiteering and wage-gouging give the lie to the notion pushed by the pro-capitalist labor misleaders that American workers have common "national interests" with their bosses. The U.S. proletariat must oppose the imperialist pillage carried out by "its own" government, from the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan to the mounting military provocations against Iran, and fight tooth and nail against the attacks on democratic rights at home carried out in the name of the "war on terror." The military, police, courts and prisons form the core of the bourgeois state, whose role is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists against the working class at home and against their rivals and challengers abroad.

The racist malice and class contempt displayed during Katrina by the capitalist rulers—represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties—continue apace. Earlier this month, FEMA agents ordered everyone living at the Yorkshire Mobile Home Park in Hammond, Louisiana, to pack up and go within 48 hours. "It was like shock and awe," one tenant told the *Washington Post* (12 March). "We called it Hurricane FEMA." But the Ingalls workers are not just victims. This unionized workforce is showing that labor has power to *fight back* by shutting down production and the flow of profits. This social weight exercises a powerful pull in the surrounding community, as evident in the widespread sympathy for and identification with the strikers.

Although this is about as deep as you can get in the Deep South, the industrial concentration and the presence of strong, integrated unions make the area feel much less like an oppressive backwater. The current strike has the potential to spur unionization in the "right to work" South, just as earlier strikes at Ingalls helped to organize other Gulf Coast shipyards. Due to a "me too" contract clause, gains at Ingalls would be passed on to workers at other Northrup Grumman Gulf Coast yards in Avondale and Tallulah, Louisiana, and Gulfport, Mississippi.

Particularly in the South, where the racist color bar has historically been used to drive out unions, the labor movement must actively champion the fight for black rights. Mississippi put a "right to work" amendment in its state constitution in 1960. As University of Mississippi journalism professor Joe Atkins wrote in the *Hattiesburg American* (25 March), Dixiecrat governor Ross Barnett "pushed it with the same fervor" he gave to fomenting a racist frenzy against attempts to integrate the University of Mississippi in 1962. Mississippi's state flag still incorporates the battle flag of the slaveowning Confederacy.

The Ingalls shipyard is notorious for vicious harassment of black workers. One striker showed us a 2001 lawsuit by black workers against the company that documented racist graffiti blanketing restrooms, hangman's nooses left in black workers' areas and even mock lynchings. In 2000, Ingalls worker Earlean Bell, two of whose relatives had been lynched in the 1930s, sued the company after a white supervisor placed a noose around her neck and pulled on it. The union tops did nothing to mobilize the workforce in her defense. Such capitulation to the racist status quo can only cripple the cause of labor.

Strikers told *WV* about a column on the shipyard by New York City's Jimmy Breslin in *Newsday* (27 December 2002), titled "Shipping Out Name of NY." "They fly the rebel flag in our faces," Breslin quoted the head of the area NAACP saying. "At the shipyard? Oh, they fly it all around there.... They still got the rebel flag to let us know who they think we are."

Several workers said that there is more unity and cohesion in this strike than the one in 1999. A white pipefitter credited this to the black trade unionists and remarked that too many white workers were still hanging back, to the detriment of the union. It is through united class struggle that workers can overcome the racial divisions sown by the capitalists to weaken labor. In the first week of the strike, at least 2,000 workers, black and white, marched from the shipyard to downtown Pascagoula in a powerful show of their determination. In fact, the *WV* team found out that the march was twice the size we reported last issue. Before the strike, the workforce had voted twice, by as much as 90 percent, to reject the contract proposed by the union tops.

One former head of the Ingalls shipyard has brought management's plantation mentality to nearby non-union Signal International, a major marine fabricator servicing and repairing oil rigs. Some 300 workers from India were enticed to Signal, each paying recruiters as much as $15,000, only to find themselves jammed into cramped bunkhouses on company property, denied the residency they had been promised and getting far lower wages than they had been told they would get. "We were like pigs in a cage," an Indian pipefitter told the *Los Angeles Times* (14 March). A number of workers who complained were fired without notice. Under the H-2 work program, some 100,000 such "guest workers" are effectively trapped in indentured servitude. And a new bill being proposed mainly by Democrats like Senator Ted Kennedy as an immigration "reform" would expand this

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Devastation in Pascagoula after Hurricane Katrina. Below: FEMA trailer park near Ingalls shipyard.

WV Photo

CORRECTION

In the article headlined "Trotskyists Say: Independence for Quebec!" in *WV* No. 888 (16 March), which was reprinted from *Spartacist Canada*, *WV* incorrectly added that the initials NDP stood for the "social-democratic National Democratic Party." The party's name is the New Democratic Party.

Down With the Racist Purge of the Universities!

Young Spartacus

15 November 2006: SYC contingent at UCLA march for affirmative action.

The following article is based on a February 24 Los Angeles Spartacist League Black History Month forum given by Mike Gaston.

As Marxists, we in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs understand that the system of capitalism in America, built on the backs of black slaves, will always be premised on the oppression and segregation of black people at the bottom of society. The racist atrocity in New Orleans, where the capitalist rulers left blacks and the poor to die in the face of Hurricane Katrina, showed the naked reality of exploitation and oppression in the U.S. Full political, social and economic equality for black people requires that the multiracial working class rip the economy out of the hands of the capitalists and reorganize it on a socialist basis, where production is for human need, not profit.

A fundamental expression of black oppression in America is the racist rulers' conscious and systematic denial of quality education to the mass of the black population. Once a source of surplus labor to be minimally maintained, the black ghetto poor are increasingly seen by the racist rulers as an expendable population not worth "wasting" money on even to keep alive, much less educate. Since the capitalists have taken the wrecking ball to the auto factories, gutted the steel mills and closed many of the mines, there are fewer jobs left for which to educate the children of working people and the poor. By 1999 there were more people imprisoned in California than there were University of California undergraduates and graduates combined.

Half a century after the outbreak of the mass struggles of the civil rights movement, the conditions of black life in this country have worsened in many respects, from unemployment and the lack of decent education and housing to rampant police terror and the massive imprisonment of blacks as well as Latinos carried out in the name of the "war on drugs." The public school system has been so starved for funds by the capitalist rulers that many inner-city schools are grossly overcrowded, with buildings falling apart and no money for new books or supplies. This decline was exacerbated in California by Proposition 13—the 1978 "tax revolt" by largely white middle- and upper-class homeowners to cut the property taxes that fund schools and other social programs seen as largely benefiting the black ghetto poor. Today a predominantly black and Latino school with about 1,000 kids typically receives $1 million less every year than a white school of the same size.

Tiernan/Newsday

NYC high school students forced to eat while standing due to overcrowding.

Jonathan Kozol's books, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools* (1991) and *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America* (2005), powerfully document the grotesque segregation and inequality of U.S. public schools. In an interview with *Catalyst* magazine (November 2005), Kozol, a former Boston schoolteacher, described how, five decades after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling formally ended Jim Crow segregation in the public schools, Northern schools are more segregated than schools in the Deep South, with blacks and Latinos attending inner-city schools that are more like holding pens. Busing and other programs to desegregate the schools have faced continual assault, and massive "white flight" to private schools and the suburbs has reinforced segregation. During the 1990s, the proportion of black students in majority white schools decreased to a level lower than in any year since 1968; now almost three-fourths of black and Latino students attend schools that are predominantly minority. More than two million black and Latino students attend what Kozol calls "apartheid schools," in which 99 to 100 percent of students are non-white.

The ruling class also pushes union-busting charter schools as part of its attack on public education (see "How L.A. Charter School 'Celebrated' Black History Month," page 7). As we wrote in "Charter Schools: An Attack on Public Education" (*WV* No. 825, 30 April 2004):

> "Charter schools have *increased* racial segregation and class inequality, *increased* the gap between the education available to inner-city black youth and that available to white suburban youth, and have gone a long way in destroying the separation of church and state. In fact, in 2003, three-quarters of black charter school students were enrolled in 27 percent of charter schools, and these schools were, on average, 80 percent black, as opposed to 54 percent black for public schools."

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The special oppression of black people as a race-color caste in American society is a legacy of chattel slavery. It took a bloody Civil War to smash the slave system, under which teaching slaves to read was a crime punishable by death. Most of the first Southern free public schools were established following the Civil War during Radical Reconstruction, the turbulent decade of Southern interracial bourgeois democracy carried out by the freedmen and their white allies and protected by federal troops, many of them black. However, the Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of black equality in favor of an alliance with the former slaveowners. The Compromise of 1877 sealed this betrayal with the withdrawal of the last of the federal troops from the South, leaving black people at the mercy of the former slaveowners. As symbols of black equality, schools became targets of racist terror. Funding for black education was slashed and Jim Crow segregation became law in the South. Nonetheless, black teachers continued to struggle against enormous hardship to operate schools for black children.

The struggle for quality, integrated education was an important part of the fight against the Jim Crow system in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. The eyes of the world were riveted on the American South in 1957 as mobs of howling racists, backed up by local cops and the National Guard, mobilized to stop the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. In the USSR, the newspaper *Pravda* stated: "The reports and pictures from Little Rock show graphically that [Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles' precious

morals are in fact bespattered with innocent blood."

The mass of black and white activists who were the foot soldiers of the civil rights movement wrote a heroic chapter in the fight for black equality. Jim Crow did not die easily. Protesters faced vicious police repression and a campaign of Klan terror. Federal troops were dispatched to Little Rock ostensibly to defend school integration, but in reality to suppress a potential mass black movement against segregation that could challenge the racist status quo. The issue was posed point-blank—reliance on the capitalist state or independent proletarian-centered struggle by the black masses.

While the civil rights movement shattered the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the South and won formal legal equality for black people, it was from its inception dominated by Democratic Party liberalism. The entire strategy of the leadership of the civil rights movement was based on appealing to Northern Democrats and the federal government. By the late 1960s, the bourgeoisie acquiesced to the demand for legal equality in the South, not least because Jim Crow was an embarrassment overseas for U.S. imperialism as it postured as the champion of "democracy" in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. However, as the movement went North, it ran into a brick wall—it could not address the desperate conditions of the Northern black ghettos, which were not the product of legal segregation but of the very functioning of American capitalism.

UPI

Little Rock, 1957: Elizabeth Eckford passes through cordon of National Guardsmen and jeering racists to enter Central High School.

No victory for blacks, immigrants or working people was ever granted by the good graces of Congress or the courts—these gains were won through hard class and social struggle against the racist rulers and their profit system. The integration of black workers into the working class as its most oppressed but also most conscious section means that black workers will play an exceptional role in the socialist revolution in the U.S. Black workers form a strategic component of unionized labor, such as in longshore, mass transit and auto, and can play a leading role in the struggle against the capitalist rulers. Crucially, black workers can be the bridge linking the power of the multiracial labor movement to the anger of the oppressed ghettos.

Our program for black liberation is revolutionary integrationism. It is premised upon mobilizing the working class to take up the fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. It is counterposed to both liberal integrationism, which pushes the illusion that racial integration and black equality can be achieved through reforms within capitalism, and to all forms of black separatism, which, at bottom, are expressions of despair over the prospects for integrated class struggle and labor taking up the fight for black rights. In America, separate can never be equal. The elimination of the material basis for black oppression requires the full integration of black people into an egalitarian, socialist society that provides jobs, housing and education for all. At the same time, the fight for black liberation is the strategic task in the struggle for workers revolution in America:

> "Any organization which claims a revolutionary perspective for the United States must confront the *special oppression* of black people—the forced segregation of blacks at the bottom of capitalist society and the poisonous racism which divides the working class and cripples its struggles. There will be no social revolution in this country without the united struggle of black and white workers led by their multiracial vanguard party. Moreover, there is no other road to eliminating the special oppression of black people than the victorious conquest of power by the U.S. proletariat."
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> —Preface, *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 (Revised), "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism" (September 1978)

Library of Congress

Southern school for freed slaves during Radical Reconstruction.

Education U.S.A.: Segregated and Unequal

The racist rulers will always try to take back concessions won by working people and the oppressed. The plans to integrate Boston's public schools through busing were defeated in 1974 by an alliance of liberals in Congress and howling mobs of racists in the streets, opening the floodgates to a nationwide assault on school desegregation. Reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) helped set up busing for the kill, channeling the fight to defend busing into dead-end appeals to the Democrats and for federal intervention. In fact, busing of black students was purposely limited to neighborhoods like South Boston, one of the poorest white areas in the U.S. outside of Appalachia, in order to pit poor and working-class whites against blacks.

While recognizing that busing was an inadequate solution to school segregation, we intervened into the struggles to defend busing as a minimal application of the elementary democratic right of black people to equality in education. We recognized that busing had become a symbol in the struggle against black oppression in general, and its defeat would encourage the forces of racist reaction at every level. We called on the labor movement to organize labor/black defense of black children being bused, and fought to extend busing to the suburbs, so that poor kids, black and white, could have access to quality education.

In contrast, the SWP called for "federal troops to Boston," peddling the criminal lie that the same capitalist state which gunned down Black Panther activists could be relied on to defend black rights (see "Not Federal Troops, But Labor-Black Defense!" *Young Spartacus* No. 27, December 1974). Disgustingly, some supposed "leftists" like the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, then known as the Revolutionary Union) rallied behind the racist mobs! Their newspaper *Revolution* (October 1974) carried the obscene headline, "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan." The International Socialists, predecessor to the International Socialist Organization (ISO), sought to carve out a nonexistent "third camp" with the line that "socialists oppose both the 'pro'-busing and 'anti'-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends" (*Workers Power*, 10 Novemher 1972).

Barely four years after busing was smashed on the streets of Boston came the first of many blows against affirmative action, the 1978 Bakke decision, in which the Supreme Court outlawed quotas for black and other minority students at the University of California. Bakke quickly became the leading edge of racist reaction aimed at rolling back every gain made by blacks during the civil rights struggles. The bourgeoisie's attempts to destroy affirmative action intensified in the 1990s. The University of California Regents voted in 1995 to end affirmative action. In 1996, the grotesquely misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (Proposition 209) passed, eliminating affirmative action in public education and in government contracting and hiring. Prop. 209 also slashed financial aid and special programs for minorities and women, including remedial and counseling programs.

The racist backlash in education has spread nationwide. In 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the University of Michigan point system for minority applicants. Measures have passed in Texas, Florida, Washington and Michigan banning affirmative action. Similar initiatives are on the agenda in at least ten other states. One of the main forces behind these anti-affirmative action measures is Ward Connerly, the former UC Regent who acts as the black front man for ruling-class reaction. Emboldened, the campus right-wingers have held racist, anti-affirmative action protests on campuses across the country to whine about fictitious "reverse discrimination" and send the message to minority students that they don't belong.

This spring the U.S. Supreme Court, which now includes Bush's two reactionary appointees, John Roberts and Samuel Alito, is set to decide a series of cases filed against the few remaining affirmative action and public school desegregation programs. The racist forces behind these lawsuits cynically cloak themselves in the rhetoric of a "color-blind" society. This matches perfectly the ideology of Roberts and Alito, whose legal philosophy of "originalism" aims to overturn the gains of the civil rights movement, especially *Brown v. Board of Education* (see "Racial Oppression and the Supreme Court Hearings," *WV* No. 864, 17 February 2006).

Meanwhile, the impact of the ruling-class assault on affirmative action has been devastating to black and minority enrollment. The admission of black undergraduates to UCLA has plummeted 65 percent over the last decade, while admission of Latinos and Native Americans has also declined. Only 96 (just 2 percent!) of all students admitted to UCLA last fall were black, the lowest number in over 30 years. At UC Berkeley in the five years preceding the passage of Prop. 209, skyrocketing tuition costs had led black undergraduate enrollment to drop by nearly a third. It fell an

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Saturday, March 31, 3 p.m.

U.S. Out of the Near East!
Defend the Palestinian People!
For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

1634 Telegraph Ave., 3rd floor, Oakland
(near 19th St. BART)

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, April 12, 6 p.m.

Down With the Racist Purge of Higher Education!
For Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!
Nationalize the Private Universities!

UCLA, Kerkhoff 152

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Tuesday, April 3, 7 p.m.

Basic Marxism: The Fight for Socialist Revolution

University of Chicago, Bartlett Lounge
5640 S. University Ave.

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, April 12, 7:30 p.m.

Lessons from the Russian Revolution and the Fight for New Octobers!

Columbia University, Kent Hall, Rm. 511
(take #1 train to 116th St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, April 4, 6 p.m.

Break with the Pro-Imperialist NDP!
For a Revolutionary Multiracial Workers Party!

UBC, Student Union Building, Rm. 215

Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site:
www.icl-fi.org

Universities ...

(continued from page 5)

additional 33 percent in the first five years after Prop. 209. At the same time, the California State University system and the California Community Colleges, which are more heavily black, Latino and working-class, have all seen state funding cutbacks and hikes in tuition and fees which have led to the intended outcome: large decreases in enrollment. These ruling-class attacks amount to nothing less than a conscious racist purge of the universities to exclude blacks, minorities and working-class students from higher education.

In the context of the destruction of many of the gains of the civil rights movement, many liberal activists today have abandoned even talk of black equality in favor of the rhetoric of "diversity." Ten years after Prop. 209, the situation is so desperate that student activists aren't even fighting for affirmative action, but for some watered-down version where a student's "life challenges" are given consideration in the admissions process, known as the "holistic" method. UC Berkeley, which uses a "holistic" method, has only admitted 44 more black students than UCLA.

As part of our fight for full equality for black people and other minorities, we oppose the reactionary assault on affirmative action. However, unlike liberals and reformists who uncritically hailed these programs, we understand that there is no way to overcome entrenched racial oppression within the framework of capitalism, in the universities or elsewhere. Even at its peak in the '70s, affirmative action only barely addressed racial inequality. While supportable as minimal reforms, affirmative action programs were set up in the 1960s in order to *defuse* social struggle and co-opt a small layer of black middle-class professionals. But these paltry efforts never made a dent in the deep-seated oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose condition has continued to deteriorate.

At best, affirmative action in education represented token measures which accepted racial discrimination as a given. To provide real access to higher education, we call for nationalizing the private universities and for open admissions and free tuition with a state-paid living stipend for students. We demand the reinstatement and expansion of remedial programs so that students in inner-city schools can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling.

Quotas have also been used to restrict the admissions of certain minorities, as is the case for Asian Americans today and Jewish people before them. Asian students are often told that affirmative action doesn't apply to them because they allegedly do not experience racial discrimination. This is a particularly obscene assertion in California where, beginning in the 1880s, Chinese and other Asian immigrants were subject to vicious exclusionist laws and during World War II Japanese Americans were thrown into concentration camps. The racist opponents of affirmative action particularly try to use the Asian population to go after blacks and Latinos in a cynical game of "divide and rule." However, many Asian students have been involved in protesting the attacks on affirmative action, recognizing that the bigots will necessarily target them as well.

While defending affirmative action against racist attacks, we are opposed to the use of affirmative action schemes to bust unions. These schemes have been used by the capitalists to pit black, minority and women workers against each other and against white workers in a struggle over jobs. Most of the significant early affirmative action programs were set up in the 1960s and '70s under the Nixon administration to attack hard-won union gains like seniority and to pave the way for state intervention in the unions. We emphasized from the beginning that those who looked to the American capitalist state to eliminate racial and sexual discrimination were living in a fool's paradise. In opposition to the capitalists' union-busting schemes, we seek to mobilize the working class in a fight for jobs for all and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We call for special union recruitment and training programs to reach out to the masses of unemployed minority youth and women.

WV Photo

May 1983: ILA longshore workers in Norfolk, Virginia, march at 10,000-strong protest against school board attempt to eliminate busing.

Dead End of Reformism

In joining the recent campus protests at UCLA, we have warned against the losing strategy of promoting the Regents or campus administrations as the agency for providing access to higher education for black and minority youth. The millionaire-dominated UC Regents are the capitalist class's watchdogs whose job is to ensure that the universities serve the needs of the rulers. Most are themselves capitalists or executives of corporations, banks, investment houses and the like: Wachovia Bank, Blum Capital Partners, Paramount Pictures, etc. We say: Abolish the Board of Regents! Abolish the administration! Those who work, study and teach at the universities should run them—for worker/student/teacher control!

The liberal leadership of the campus pro-affirmative action demonstrations looks to the wing of capitalist rulers that wants to retain at least a few "black faces in high places." They push electoral pressure politics while trying to corral votes for the Democratic Party, the other party of racism and war. This is the same losing strategy that led protests against the attacks on affirmative action in the mid '90s, and those before them around Bakke and busing in the mid 1970s, to defeat. The UCLA African Student Union has set up voter registration tables at the protests. Its leaders worry that the scarcity of black students will mean that there won't be future black "leaders" like Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters, the same capitalist politician who is now ramming through cuts in vital services at King/Drew hospital in Watts and scapegoating hospital workers as "incompetent."

The Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary (BAMN), whose main call is to build a "new civil rights movement," has done its part over the years to derail student protest by pushing illusions in Jesse Jackson, the Democratic Party and university administrations. During the protests against the UC Board of Regents' 1995 decision to ban affirmative action, BAMN put out a leaflet demanding, "1. Regents rescind the vote to destroy affirmative action. 2. Chancellors, administrators, and faculty, maintain current affirmative action policies." Around the same time, BAMN's partner group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), gushed that it "supports Jesse Jackson joining this critical fight to save affirmative action."

As a Democrat, Jackson's job is to win back to the fold blacks and Latinos who become discontented with the Democratic Party. Jackson in past years has egged on the racist "war on drugs." He also acts as the bourgeoisie's all-purpose fireman to douse the flames of class struggle. He played a key role in defusing the L.A. transit strike in 2000 and helped to demobilize black workers in the ILA longshore union who were marching in defense of busing in the early '80s in Norfolk, Virginia.

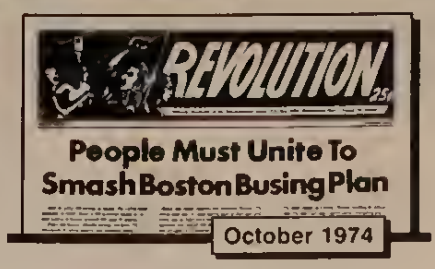
With the Democrats winning control of Congress, many student protesters think they now have friends in high places. Don't believe it. The Democrats ran as more effective military strategists for U.S. imperialism and better prosecutors of the "war on terror." The "war on terror" means imperialist wars and occupations from Afghanistan to Iraq and a reactionary war at home on blacks, immigrants and labor that has shredded the rights of us all. The Democratic and Republican parties are both parties of the capitalists, whose class rule is based on the exploitation of labor and the oppression of blacks, immigrants and other minorities. The Democrats posture as the "friends of labor and blacks," making them all the more dangerous because of the illusions working people have in them.

Racist reaction didn't just begin with the Republican Bush. The attacks on affirmative action started during the Democratic Carter administration and continued through Prop. 209 enacted during the Clinton years. Under Clinton, the gap between rich and poor increased massively as did the wealth gap between blacks and whites. Clinton ended "welfare as we know it," presided over the gutting of affirmative action and the huge incarceration of black and Latino youth in the 1990s, and accelerated the racist death penalty with his 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act that gutted *habeas corpus* appeals for death row inmates.

Reading, Writing and Revolution

Students need to realize that there is only one class in society that has the social power and objective interest to fight this capitalist system: the multiracial working class. Workers have their hands on the means of production, which also means that they have the power to stop the flow of profit by shutting down production through strike action. By the same token, they have the potential power to seize the means of production through social revolution and put the enormous resources of society to use not for the profit of a handful of capitalists, but for the needs of society. We seek to mobilize students behind the power of the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie's maintenance of the universities as elite bastions for the privileged few.

Whipping up racial and ethnic hatred has long served the U.S. ruling class in furthering the exploitation of all workers. In L.A., for example, the capitalist rulers have worked overtime to pit blacks and Latinos against each other, particularly since the 1992 multiracial upheaval following the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King. Against the capitalist rulers' attempts to pit white workers against black workers and native-born against immigrant, we fight for the unity and integrity of the whole of the working class. We call on the unions to organize the unorganized, including the masses of



Spartacists fought to defend and extend Boston busing plan. Predecessor of Revolutionary Communist Party sided with racist backlash against school integration.

Reuters

Democratic president Clinton signing 1996 bill to "end welfare as we know it."

How L.A. Charter School "Celebrated" Black History Month

Teachers Fired for Honoring Emmett Till

LOS ANGELES—Last month, administrators at the overwhelmingly black Celerity Nascent Charter School in L.A.'s Jefferson Park district prohibited pupils from reciting a memorial poem and laying a wreath for Emmett Till, 14-year-old victim of an infamous 1955 Mississippi lynching, as part of Black History Month. Intoning that the presentation was "unsuitable" for the elementary- and middle-school children and that it lacked "positive images," the school administration then fired Latina seventh-grade teacher Marisol Alba, organizer of the reading, and Sean Strauss, a white math teacher, for signing one of several letters from pupils protesting the ban.

We demand that the teachers be reinstated immediately, with no disciplinary action against them. Also calling for their reinstatement is renowned black poet and University of Connecticut professor Marilyn Nelson, author of "A Wreath for Emmett Till," the poem on which the presentation was based. In a stinging rebuke to the school's censorship, Nelson asked: "Do you allow the students of Celerity Nascent Charter School to know that slavery existed?"

Emmett Till is a symbol of the long history of racist lynching in America. The young Emmett had left his home in Chicago on a trip to stay with relatives in Mississippi. Within days of his arrival, he was kidnapped, tortured and murdered for allegedly whistling at a white woman. The two white men who boasted of the crime were never convicted. Till's mother wanted everyone to see firsthand the stark reality of race-terror, displaying her son's mutilated body openly at his Chicago funeral and undertaking a speaking tour of the country. Emmett Till's gruesome murder and his mother's courageous campaign helped galvanize thousands to join the burgeoning civil rights movement. Mass rallies against lynching were held nationwide, including in Los Angeles (see "The Lynching of Emmett Till and the Fight for Black Liberation," *WV* No. 852, 5 August 2005).

Alba and her students heard the school principal, Grace Canada, stating that Till's actions could be viewed as "sexual harassment." Sexual harassment?! Till's racist murderers would have said that he had violated white womanhood. The black executive director of Celerity, Vielka McFarlane, explained how the presentation was not compatible with the school's "educational mission," saying, "We don't want to focus on how the history of the country has been checkered but on how do we dress for success, walk proud and celebrate all the accomplishments we've made." Spoken like a latter-day Booker T. Washington, who over a century ago preached accommodation to the racist status quo by telling impoverished blacks to pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

Erin Auhry Kaplan wrote in the *L.A. Times* (23 March): "Black people excising, or glossing over parts of our history for the sake of uplift, commit the same crime of denial as whites excising those same parts because they'd rather not think about black history at all." But a number of black liberal spokesmen have supported the Celerity administration. At a press conference held at the school on March 20, the day after the *L.A. Times* broke the story, Reverend Eric Lee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference railed that the newspaper had "engaged in irresponsible reporting" based on the "disgruntled" teachers' complaints. While pro-Democratic Party commentator Earl Ofari Hutchinson initially called for reinstating the teachers, he dropped this demand after meeting with the school administration, stating that he had been reassured that the fired teachers' "rights" to a hearing and appeal had been protected. In fact, the teachers had no rights: their work contract stated that they could be fired without cause.

AP photos

Up to a quarter million people turned out in Chicago for 1955 funeral of Mississippi lynching victim Emmett Till, shown in inset photo with his mother, Mamie.

This outrageous incident highlights the reactionary nature of charter schools, which are publicly financed but independently run, mostly by union-busting, for-profit corporations. As we wrote in a *Young Spartacus* article titled "Charter Schools: An Attack on Public Education" (*WV* No. 825, 30 April 2004): "We oppose charter schools because they are an attack on the democratic right of public education and the separation of church and state; they increase racial segregation and class inequality in education and are utilized as a tool to smash the teachers unions."

According to a July 2002 study by the Civil Rights Project, 70 percent of all black charter school students attend intensely segregated schools, compared with 34 percent of black public school students. Celerity Nascent in Los Angeles is itself 80 percent black and 19 percent Latino. As for the status of charter school employees, according to the California Teachers Association (CTA), unions represent staffs at fewer than 10 percent of the state's charter schools. The CTA leaders talk about the importance of organizing these teachers. But their program of reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party is an obstacle to the hard labor struggle that is necessary to organize unions.

Honor the memory of Emmett Till! Celerity Nascent: Reinstate Marisol Alba and Sean Strauss!■

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immigrant workers, and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Black rights, immigrant rights and union rights will either go forward together or fall back separately. Remember the anti-immigrant Prop. 187, which sought to deny basic social services to undocumented immigrants. That was immediately followed by Prop. 209 banning affirmative action, the three-strikes law, which imposes draconian sentences on "repeat offenders," and the racist "English only" overturn of bilingual education with Prop. 227.

As Marxists, we direct all of our activity toward organizing, training and steeling the workers party necessary to lead the struggle to sweep away the capitalist order through socialist revolution. In our interventions into the protests for affirmative action at UCLA, we have argued sharply against the reformist "politics of the possible" which counsel reliance on the class enemy represented by the Democratic Party. The politics of our reformist opponents consist of oppositional activity defined by the framework of the bourgeois system, and represent an obstacle to making the working class conscious of the need for independent, revolutionary struggle. The call raised by reformist "socialists" including the ISO and Workers World Party, "money for jobs and education, not for war," is an appeal to the capitalist rulers to reform their system to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed. But so long as capitalism exists, exploitation, racial oppression and imperialist war will exist.

Our model is the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led the October 1917 Russian Revolution, the world's only victorious workers revolution. Despite its subsequent degeneration under Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the Soviet Union remained a workers state until its destruction through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. The overturn of capitalism made possible enormous economic and social gains for working people in the USSR, including in education. For example, the literacy rate, which was 44 percent in 1920, climbed to 87 percent by 1939 and to 99.7 percent by 1970. The USSR was at the cutting edge of world science in mathematics and in several branches of physical science, notably theoretical and nuclear physics, chemistry and astronomy. In fact, one of the biggest spurs to math and science education in the U.S. was the 1957 Soviet launch of the Sputnik satellite, after which U.S. imperialism felt it had some catching up to do.

We Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fought for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and institute a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Today we apply the same Trotskyist program to the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

In contrast, the ISO, RCP and SWP all stood with their "own" bourgeoisie and hailed the destruction of the Soviet Union. Capitalist counterrevolution was a world-historic defeat for working people internationally. The bloody U.S. invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, the increased attacks on living standards of working people, blacks and minorities, the intensified gutting of education—all these take place in a post-Soviet world where the U.S. imperialists feel emboldened to ride roughshod over the planet. The reactionary impact of "death of communism" ideology has meant an increase in attacks on the teaching of basic science such as evolution and a general rise in religiosity in society and the schools.

To unleash the social power of the working class requires a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy and for the political independence of the labor movement from all capitalist political parties and the capitalist state. This is a key task on the road to building a Leninist vanguard party to lead the third, socialist, American revolution that will finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War, achieve complete freedom and equality for black people in this country and establish the right to quality education for everyone. Join us in this fight!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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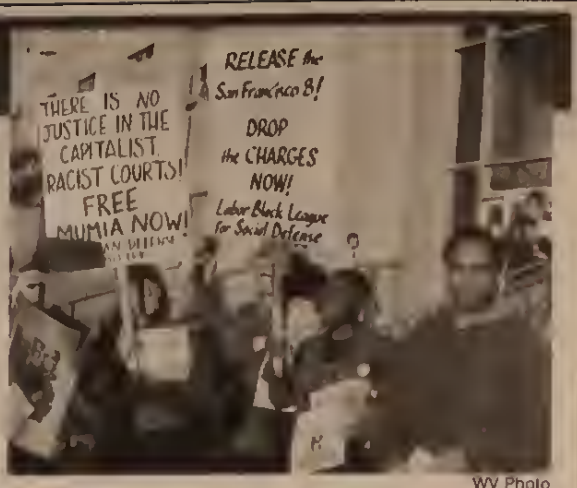
Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and the oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

Since they were brought to this country in chains and enslaved, black people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom. It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Labor Black Leagues raise the call: Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! It bases its perspectives on the realization that it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally liberate black people.



WV Photo

LBL at March 13 S.F. courthouse demonstration in defense of former Black Liberation Army/ Black Panther members arrested in January government roundup.

If You Stand For —

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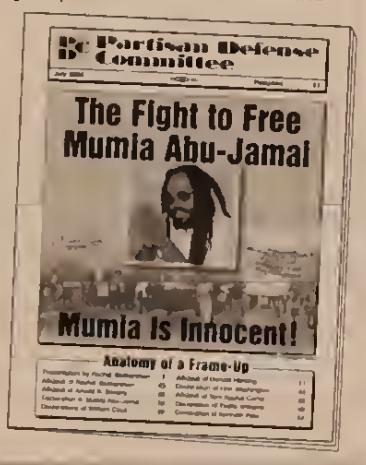
Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

the racist death penalty! As Mumia faced a death warrant in 1995, an outpouring of international protest, crucially involving trade unions internationally, helped stay the executioner's hand. But that movement was politically demobilized by liberals and reformist left organizations that for years subordinated the demand for Mumia's freedom to the call for a new trial, peddling illusions in the 'justice' of the capitalist courts."

Herson continued, "With Mumia's case in its final legal stages, the need for mass, labor-centered protest is more urgent than ever." PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999 and led the investigation that turned up the Beverly confession and other evidence of Mumia's innocence, remarked, "It is good that the court is having oral argument and hearing these claims. But we cannot rely on the courts that have railroaded Mumia to give him justice. We must redouble efforts to stop the state from executing Mumia or keeping him entombed for life in prison." Wolkenstein continued, "There is no way that Mumia can be freed short of a mobilization that recognizes the depth of the hatred the state has for him."

Wolkenstein resigned from the legal team when Mumia's then-lead attorney Leonard Weinglass suppressed the Beverly confession. In an affidavit printed in the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*, Beverly states that he was hired to kill Faulkner, who was reportedly interfering with prostitution, gambling, drugs and police payoffs. The Beverly evidence demonstrates that the injustice done to Mumia was not the work of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the workings of a legal system whose purpose is to repress the working class, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. As Wolkenstein stated, "the case against Mumia was a transparent fake from start to finish: faked evidence, perjured witnesses, prejudiced judges, newspaper lies and misrepresentations."

Wolkenstein continued, "The capitalist rulers *know* Mumia is innocent of the killing of Officer Faulkner. And they know that from the age of 15, he has been a voice of defiant opposition to the system of racist oppression that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. That is a capital crime in their eyes. That is what they will not forgive." The forces of racist "law and order" make no secret of their determination to push through Mumia's legal lynching. This was seen in the decision of the Fraternal Order of Police to boycott the St. Patrick's Day parade in Newark, New Jersey, which honored black Democratic Congressman Donald Payne. Payne was one of only 31 Congressmen to vote against a December House resolution condemning the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street after Mumia.

The potential to mobilize mass protest on the basis that Mumia is innocent and that he is the victim of a racist and political frame-up is seen in the broad range of signatories to a PDC statement, titled "We Demand the Immediate Freedom

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

Senator Ted Kennedy has lately been reworking a "guest worker" bill, as have House Democrat Luis Gutierrez and Republican Jeff Flake.

"Guest worker" programs are the modern equivalent of indentured servitude, tying immigrants' visas to their employers and depriving them of any rights. Some 300 such workers from India at a Mississippi shipyard have been engaged in a desperate protest against their brutal exploitation (see article, page 3). While the Change to Win leaders' rivals in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy oppose expanding "guest worker" programs, they refuse to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants or to condemn plans to further militarize the border. As the SL/U.S. and the Grupo Espartaquista de México declared in a joint statement printed in *WV* No. 867 (31 March 2006):

> "Instead of mobilizing union power in defense of immigrants, the union tops embrace one or another of the capitalists' anti-immigrant 'reforms,' particularly favoring their so-called 'friends' in the capitalist Democratic Party. This policy of class collaboration, sacrificing labor's interests on the altar of capitalist profitability, flows from the labor bureaucracy's support for the capitalist system and its identification with the 'national interests' of U.S. imperialism. This program has led to defeat after defeat, leaving the U.S. labor movement weaker today than at any time since the early 1900s."

Anti-immigrant repression has been the leading edge of the bourgeoisie's evisceration of democratic rights as part of the "war on terror." In this never-ending "war," the imperialists have pounded the peoples of Afghanistan, devastated Iraq and are now engaged in military provocations against Iran. On the home front, the government is massively expanding its spying on the population, building huge databases ostensibly to track "terrorist suspects." And a sinister 2006 law allows the Feds to take DNA samples from not only any detained "illegal" immigrant but *anybody* under criminal arrest by federal authorities.

Washington is also giving local police agencies broader repressive powers. A program launched by ICE a year ago gives county sheriffs the authority to initiate deportation proceedings and carry out the deportations—powers that had previously been reserved for the Feds. In Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, local authorities have started deportation proceedings against 1,530 people. Counties can be reimbursed for each immigrant imprisoned, adding another incentive for local cops to hunt down "illegals."

Other measures against immigrants are also bearing down on the rest of the population. The government's exclusion of "illegal" immigrants from Medicaid benefits has "shut out tens of thousands of United States citizens who have had difficulty complying with requirements to show birth certificates and other documents proving their citizenship" (*New York Times*, 12 March). Such measures hit particularly hard at black people, the elderly and the poor.

Last year's huge protests and job actions against anti-immigrant legislation showed that immigrants were not willing to passively accept the rulers' attempts to criminalize them. At the same time, the bourgeois politicians, church officials and labor bureaucrats who led the protests consciously directed them into Democratic Party electoralism. A common chant went, "Today we march, tomorrow we vote." At the time, the International Socialist Organization pointed in *Socialist Worker* (31 March 2006) to the potential to "break the logjam of U.S. politics, in which the Republicans launch attack after attack with little or no response from the Democrats." This sentiment aptly expresses the reformist left's program of pressuring the "lesser evil" party of U.S. imperialism.

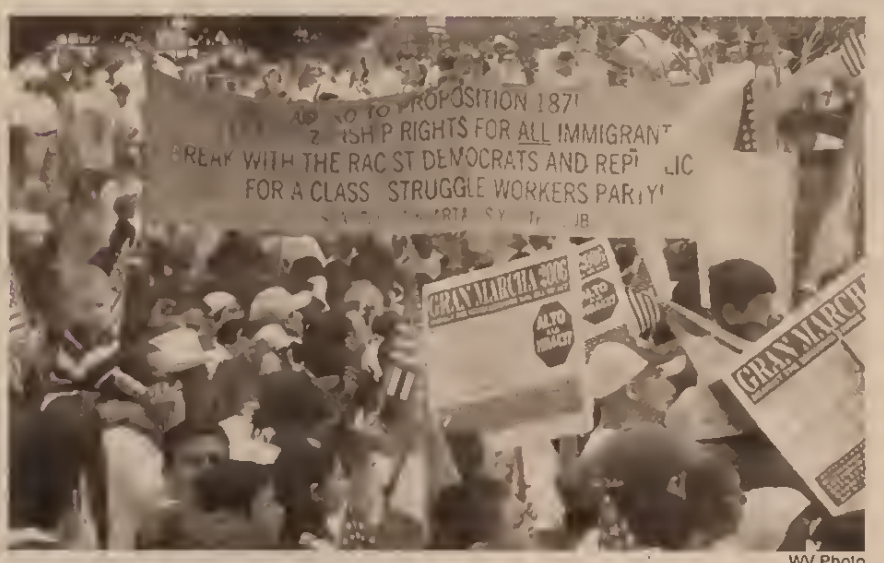
Luce/Washington Post

Some 2,000 immigrants are incarcerated in Raymondville, Texas, detention center awaiting deportation.

Now, as Congress is again wrangling over which anti-immigrant "reform" to push through, *Socialist Worker* (16 March) demands "true immigration reform." And a statement by the National May Day Movement for Worker and Immigrant Rights, which is endorsed by the Revolutionary Communist Party's "World Can't Wait" group and Workers World Party's International Action Center, declares: "May 1 is the next necessary step towards a comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill."

Following last year's wave of protests, we wrote in "How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats" (*WV* No. 873, 7 July 2006) that "the reformists laid claim to the call for 'amnesty,' which right-wing Republicans wrongly attributed to the (overwhelmingly) Democratic Party-sponsored legislation." The article continued:

> "Should anything like genuine amnesty for undocumented immigrants be proposed, we Marxists would be in *favor* of it, as an elementary democratic gain for immigrant workers and the proletariat as a whole, while explaining that it falls short of our demand for full citizenship rights. However, *nothing resembling amnesty has been proposed from any bourgeois quarter*...
>
> "We do not seek to tinker with the system, looking for an alternative immigration policy. We will support such reforms as are offered. But, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat under revolutionary leadership runs it. We are not responsible for, nor do we seek to advise, the bourgeoisie on its immigration or other policies. We seek to organize the social power of the proletariat to smash this system and establish proletarian rule."■



WV Photo

Los Angeles: Spartacist banner at massive March 2006 demonstration for immigrant rights.

of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man," that highlights the Beverly confession and other evidence. The statement appeared last fall in the *Nation*, NYC's *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender* and the *San Francisco Bay View* and was subsequently printed in the French Communist Party newspaper *l'Humanité*, the *Morning Star* in Britain and other papers in Germany and Canada.

Labor organizations in Italy, Canada, Britain, Germany, Mexico, South Africa and Australia have signed the statement, as have Nobel Prize winners Nadine Gordimer of South Africa and Dario Fo of Italy and Subcomandante Marcos, leader of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Mexico. In the U.S., the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, various Amalgamated Transit Union and International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) locals and NYC's 1199 SEIU East have signed on. Recent additional signatories include former Georgia Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, prominent black academic Cornel West, South African poet Dennis Brutus and hip-hop artist Chuck D. In a statement received today by the PDC, Darryl "Mike D." Payne, vice president and business agent of ILA Local 1526 in Fort Lauderdale, noted that "Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man and should never have spent a single day in jail." Payne declared, "We must all stand in SOLIDARITY and fight to free him now!"

If successful, a labor-centered fight for Mumia's freedom would strike a blow against the U.S. rulers' wholesale attacks on our rights and give labor a sense of its enormous potential social power. The fight for Mumia is a crucial part of the fight for black liberation, which will be achieved only through a proletarian socialist revolution that destroys the entire machinery of racist capitalist injustice. *Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!*■

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Pascagoula...

(continued from page 3)

brutal exploitation (see article, page 1).

The plight of the workers at Signal puts a sharp focus on the need for the unions to champion the cause of immigrant and foreign workers. Subcontractors at Ingalls employ Mexican immigrants and others in non-union jobs. Labor must oppose all racist anti-immigrant measures and actively organize immigrant workers, legal and "illegal," into the unions. We demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Union-run recruitment and skills programs for blacks, women and immigrants would be a powerful way to break down the divisions in the workforce. Such divisions are reinforced by the separation of the shipyard into more than a dozen craft unions. Unity in struggle can open the road to industrial unionism. We say: one shipyard, one union.

Although the strike has shut down shipbuilding, large numbers of office workers organized in OPEIU and some other workers are scabbing by going into the plant along with management, and owner-operated tractor trailers are entering the yard. Meanwhile, there is some "fraternization" between strikers and the cops. IBEW Local 733, which represents electrical workers at Ingalls, also includes Pascagoula County deputy sheriffs, while plant security guards are represented in the Metal Trades Council. Let's be clear: The role of the police and security guards is to protect capitalist property and profits and to enforce racist repression against black people and other minorities. In the struggle between labor and capital, the cops are on the side of the bosses. Cops and security guards, out of the unions!

The *WV* team heard a number of pointed comments about Mississippi Republican Senator Trent Lott, who a few years ago openly praised Strom Thurmond, the late arch-segregationist Senator from South Carolina. The Republican Party does not pretend to be friends of labor or of black people. But that does not mean that the Democrats are.

Quoting leftist writer Mike Davis, we wrote last issue in "Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Class Struggle at Home!": "'Pressure from conservative white Democrats' led the party's strategists 'to deliberately delete any mention of New Orleans from 2006 campaign advertising'." We left out that Davis had also noted that the Congressional Black Caucus "has been surprisingly listless in its response to an unending series of Bush administration provocations," such as ending housing aid to Katrina survivors and tearing down public housing in New Orleans. The labor movement needs a leadership that will mobilize workers independently of, and in opposition to, the capitalist government and its Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to build a workers party that can lead the struggle for a workers government.

The labor movement can win only by relying on the workers' own strength, drawing on the support of the impoverished and oppressed. The strike at Ingalls is an important battle for labor in the South and for the rights of the dispossessed. *Victory to the Pascagoula shipyard strike!*■

Airbus...

(continued from page 12)

workers were not mobilized in their own class interests. Instead, union tops in Germany, France and elsewhere pushed class collaboration with their "own" capitalist government and employer. In Hamburg, this was highlighted by the fact that IG Metall union head Jürgen Peters stood on the platform with regional presidents belonging to the right-wing Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The CDU is a party of the bosses, and together with the Social Democrats—a reformist workers party with a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership—it carries out daily attacks on workers in the public sector and more broadly. Lower Saxony's CDU president Christian Wulff stressed that the politicians would do anything to save the high technology plants in Germany (*Hamburger Morgenpost*, 17 March). This was echoed by Peters, who called for a "national industrial policy" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17 March).

The workers were furious with management, but many still identified with the company. While workers exhibited illusions that working together with the German bosses would get them out of the crisis, there were also many expressions of solidarity with their colleagues in the other European plants. Workers told *Spartakist* salesmen that they would stand against any attempts to divide them and play them off against each other. Many workers were open to our internationalist class-struggle perspective and criticized the union tops for not having organized a single mass protest bringing together workers from across Europe. On the other hand, they also raised the bosses' arguments, for example that Airbus should not be weakened so that it could still compete with Boeing. As Trotskyists, we are for the unity in struggle of workers not only in Europe but extending to the U.S. and elsewhere.

While the Airbus crisis threatened mass layoffs of its workforce, some 500 workers at a major Peugeot-Citroën factory in the Paris suburb of Aulnay began a strike on February 28, demanding higher wages, permanent jobs for temporary workers and a retirement age of 55. Inspired by a successful work action in another part of the plant, the strikers stalled the assembly of thousands of cars. Our comrades in the LTF have been raising with strikers, who are largely of North African origin, that their union leaders' policy of seeking support for the strike from the courts and local bourgeois state authorities sows illusions in the racist capitalist state and undermines the workers' fighting capacity.

Ironically, as the bosses are enmeshed in the Airbus crisis, European leaders are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome that led to the foundation of the European Union (EU)—an imperialist consortium. As our European comrades' joint statement explained, we fight for workers revolutions to establish a Socialist United States of Europe. We print the statement below.

* * *

The Airbus bosses' "Power 8" restructuring plan, announced at the end of February, would mean eliminating 10,000 jobs at Airbus factories throughout Europe. Factories would be sold and the remaining workforce would face speedup. Airbus, the "daughter company" of the joint German-French military aeronautics concern EADS, has been rocked by crises over the past year, with delivery delays and cost overruns on the prestigious A380 jumbo jet. Orders have dropped off sharply in comparison with American competitor Boeing. The essence of "Power 8" is that the Airbus bosses—French and German—are seizing the opportunity provided by the company's difficulties and using them as a club against the workers throughout Europe, ramming through layoffs and "streamlining" of all kinds to secure their fabulous profits at the expense of the workers. This attack, and the whole crisis shaking the supposedly "European" firm Airbus, show the irrationality of this capitalist system and the need for the workers to struggle against the capitalists in defense of every gain. Airbus workers should beware of the trap of nationalist protectionism set by the trade-union misleaders and the bourgeoisie, which pits them against each other in the interests of the respective national capitalist classes. Be guided by the words of the *Communist Manifesto*: "Workers of the world, unite!"

The situation at Airbus cries out for solid, coordinated class struggle by the workers in Britain, France, Germany and Spain to hit the Airbus bosses where it hurts them, by stopping production and the flow of profit. The Airbus bosses, whose order books remain full despite their difficulties of the past year, are "highly vulnerable" to strikes, as the German co-chief executive Thomas Enders himself said in a comment to the German magazine *Focus*: "Longer strikes would hit us very hard and set us back even further." With vile cynicism, this capitalist, who had just announced a "restructuring" plan condemning thousands to unemployment, adds: "That can't be in the interests of the employees."

The trade-union bureaucracies agree with Enders on this. Their whole perspective in the Airbus crisis is defined by class collaboration and protectionism—the policy of allying themselves with their "own" bourgeoisies and their governments to intervene against foreign capitalist competitors and "save" national industry. They have been working overtime to divert Airbus workers' anger and opposition into protectionist appeals to their respective capitalist governments in order to maintain the influence of their own national bourgeoisie in Airbus and its parent company EADS. The IG Metall [metal workers union], for example, mobilized some 24,000 workers in all German Airbus plants for protests on February 2, which were dominated by chauvinist protectionism. At the protest in Hamburg, EADS *Gesamtbetriebsrat* [plant council] head Rüdiger Lütjen ranted: "My impression is that England and Spain are getting extra work, and we Germans have to foot the bill" (quoted in *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 3 February). The union tops in France and Britain have responded with similar chauvinist poison. After "Power 8" was made public, a representative in Toulouse of the Force Ouvrière union blustered: "Hamburg alone would profit from an increase in production of up to 45 planes from the A320 family. That's unacceptable."

With the union bureaucrats engaged in a treacherous nationalist tug-of-war over which production site will be sacrificed, actual protest against the Airbus bosses' plans has been sabotaged. While tens of thousands protested in Germany on February 2, there were only 100 in Toulouse. Later, when protests were called in France for March 6, the German bureaucrats responded by persuading workers at Airbus factories in Varel, Nordenham and Laupheim—where there had been spontaneous work stoppages following the company's announcement that these plants were to be sold off under the "Power 8" plan—to go ***back to work!*** A "Europe-Wide Airbus Day of Action" on March 16, originally planned to be held in Brussels, was abandoned in favor of separate, national demonstrations. Despite occasional lip service by the bureaucrats and their left water boys about "not letting the workers be played off against each other," this is nothing but ass-covering. The clear political thrust of these demonstrations in the different countries remains simply to build "national unity" with their "own" capitalists and their government *against* the workers in other countries. For example, the speakers list for the IG Metall protest in Hamburg is filled with mostly CDU heads of the capitalist governments of German Länder [states] where Airbus sites are located. The demonstration call, "We're fighting for our future," explicitly refers only to *German* Airbus factories.

This nationalist protectionism is 100 percent counterposed to the international class struggle which is urgently needed against "Power 8" and the capitalists' many other attacks. Nationalism is inherent to the capitalist system, which operates by setting one national capitalist class against another, constantly creating unevenness and crises. The international character of the working class, on the other hand, gives it a potentially enormous superiority over the bourgeoisie if mobilized across national and other divisions to coordinate its interdependent struggles. This is exactly what the union bureaucrats refuse to do out of loyalty to the capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of one class—the proletariat—by a tiny, fabulously rich ruling class—the bourgeoisie. A class-struggle strategy, in stark contrast, means mobilizing the unions' social power to fight for the burning needs of the working and poor masses *independently* of and *against* the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

While the French and German bosses of EADS/Airbus are divided over where to cut costs on investment and development, they are united in the desire to squeeze as much profit out of the workers of all countries as they can. The unions need to present a unified front. The losses for Airbus—whether caused by the screw-ups with the A380 delivery or other problems—are the problem of the capitalists, and could come out of their enormous profits. A class-struggle union leadership would demand that the Airbus capitalists open the books, exposing their enormous profits and demonstrating just how they are trying to pass off their current crisis onto the workers. Such a lead-

Pierre Pytkowitcz

March 6: Striking auto workers from Peugeot-Citroën plant in Aulnay demonstrate at company plant in Saint-Ouen near Paris.

Bengt van Beuningen

Chinese container ship docked at Hamburg port.

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trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

ership would also fight for the principle of equal pay and working conditions for equal work—whether it is done by temporary workers, employees of German- or French-owned Airbus/EADS subcontractors, or workers in plants owned by capitalists from Russia, India or the United Arab Emirates. This would be an important step, not least in restoring the power of the unions, which have been undermined by years of sellout deals by the union bureaucrats, who have introduced two-tier contracts and split the workforce, with the justification of "maintaining the production site." *Organize the unorganized!*

If the Airbus factories are all producing at capacity, then that is a good argument for union-controlled hiring and training programs in all plants to fill the demand. More broadly, the unions have a vital interest in taking up a fight against unemployment, for jobs for all with decent pay through a shortened workweek with wages adjusted to prices. That this basic need runs beyond the limits of what the capitalists and their governments can offer shows that this system has long become a fetter on developing the productive forces in the interests of humanity. The burning needs of international working-class struggle against capitalist attacks lead inexorably to the need to overthrow this irrational system of exploitation and replace it with a socialist planned economy based on workers power. Unleashing the massive potential power of the trade unions in Europe is thus integrally linked with fighting for revolutionary socialist leadership of the working class, which is our perspective. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky posed it in *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* (1940), either the unions will become organs for subordinating the working class to the capitalists and their state, or they will be transformed into weapons in the revolutionary class struggle.

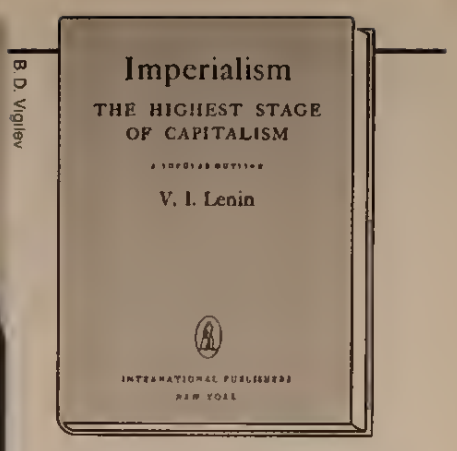
The current conflicts within Airbus and EADS, which was founded as a counterweight to Boeing to give the European imperialists more military independence, highlight the nature and contradictions of the European Union. The EU is a reactionary capitalist alliance of the European imperialists and smaller capitalist countries, founded to support NATO's anti-Soviet war drive during the Cold War and later extended and restructured for the purpose of attacking the working class and immigrants at home and for competing with the European imperialists' rivals, the U.S. and Japan. Within this coalition, the imperialist powers—France and Germany of "Core Europe," as well as the historic U.S. ally Britain—also jostle for influence. These conflicting interests lie behind the wrangling about influence over strategy decisions and access to key technology in EADS. As revolutionary, proletarian internationalists, the ICL and its European sections are opposed on principle to the capitalist EU and racist Fortress Europe. We counterpose the fight for workers revolution and the Socialist United States of Europe.

All wings of the union bureaucracy and the social democracy that dominates it—the PS [Socialist Party] and PCF [Communist Party] in France, SPD and Linkspartei/WASG [Left Party/Electoral Alternative for Work and Social Justice] in Germany, the Labour Party in Britain, the PSOE [Socialist Workers Party] in Spain—utterly oppose this perspective, subordinating the interests of their working-class base to those of their "own" imperialists. While opposing certain aspects of the EU, they fundamentally support this capitalist coalition, demanding at most a "social" gloss for this instrument of capitalist oppression and imperialist exploitation. As for the WASG, in opposition to "neo-liberalism" and to preserve, in some form, the status quo of the capitalist "welfare state," it supports a protectionist alternative for the capitalists, with intensified state intervention and a coalition of French and German imperialism. Thus, WASG speaker Herbert Schui appealed to the CDU/SPD government on February 20 to stop "looking on as Airbus Germany is left behind," and instead, as a partner, "to get involved in Airbus and drive forward technological development in civilian airplane production."

A joint statement by WASG chief Lafontaine with PCF leader Buffet, cited in *l'Humanité* (7 February), makes the same basic point: "The states should have a direct influence on the corporate strategy of EADS." If they appeal against splitting French and German workers, it is only because they support closer cooperation between the French and German governments against Boeing, thus playing Airbus workers against their American colleagues. As opposed to the social-chauvinism of the PCF and Lafontaine, we fight for workers revolution in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast. Key is winning the workers to a revolutionary, internationalist perspective and combatting protectionist chauvinism. As our comrades in the SL/U.S. wrote in an article on a strike by Boeing workers in 2005: "The labor bureaucracy's response is to try to set workers in the U.S. against their brothers and sisters overseas through protectionist campaigns to keep 'our jobs' in the U.S. What's needed instead is to unite workers across national lines in struggle against their common enemy, the capitalists" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005).

The trade-union bureaucrats' protectionist chauvinism is aimed today for the most part against "cheap wage competition" from East Europe and Asia (especially China). For example, an article in *Welt Online* (26 October 2006) reports: "Following the agreement on a final assembly plant for Airbus in China, the French CGT union, which is closely associated with the Communists, fears the elimination of jobs in Europe. 'The union is especially worried about the production sites in Germany, as well as in Nantes and Méaulte,' said a union spokesman in Toulouse." While a German BR [plant council representative] in Stade disagreed that there was an immediate threat to German jobs, he echoed the German bourgeoisie's complaints about China's "stealing know-how": "But he warned against transferring too much technical know-how to China. 'Then positions in Germany could also be threatened'."

Just like the chauvinist protectionism aimed against other Airbus sites within Europe, this is aimed at rallying the workers in Europe behind the particular interests of their "own" imperialists. It is doubly treacherous, because it serves to advance the German and other European imperialists' aim of undermining the Chinese deformed workers state and fomenting capitalist counterrevolution. We oppose the labor bureaucracy's efforts to deny China the elementary right of any state to engage in commerce, to buy and sell on the world market. The protectionism against China goes hand in hand with the anti-Communist agitation of bourgeois commentators like Gabor Steingart from *Spiegel*, who advocates an imperialist alliance against China under the pretext



Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin wrote classic Marxist analysis of imperialism amid slaughter of World War I.

of defending workers' living standards. He cries: "Protectionism! The West must defend itself."

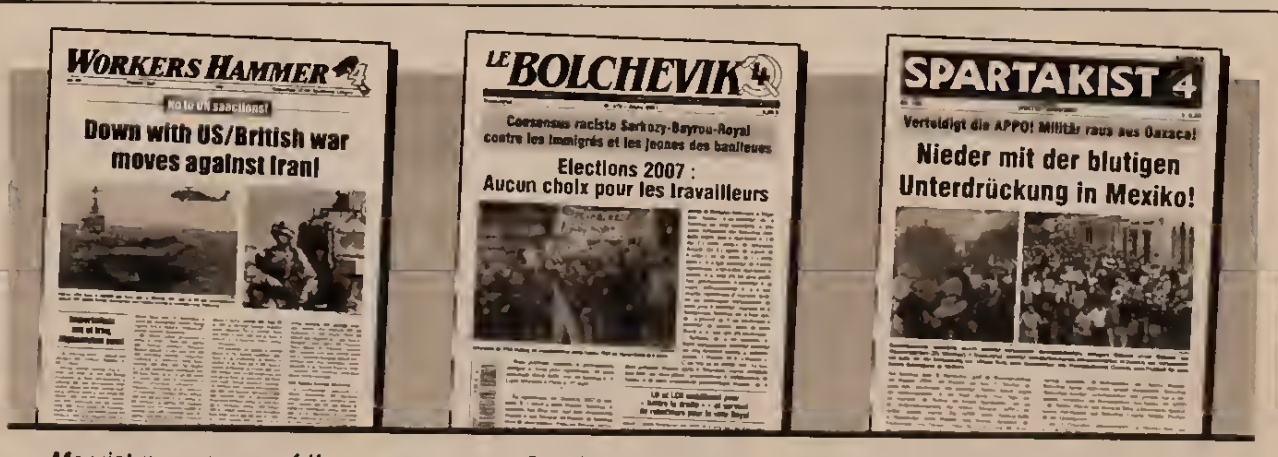
European workers roped in by this need only look at the effects of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The capitalists have used this to ride roughshod over the workers and oppressed worldwide, slashing social gains including in West Europe, increasing racist terror and launching a string of imperialist wars and colonial occupations. This world-historic defeat for the international working class would be multiplied many times if the imperialists were to succeed in restoring untrammeled capitalist exploitation in China. That is why we Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of workers and peasants councils.

The "far left" tails of the social democracy echo the union bureaucracy's protectionism with reformist appeals to the capitalist governments to save Airbus. Thus, the Pabloite LCR [French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] wrote: "Not one more cent for the big shareholders. We propose that the state take on its responsibilities. What is necessary is to 'renationalize' Airbus, under the control of the workforce and their trade-union organizations, as part of a public, European aeronautical company" (*Rouge*, 8 March). The "left" capitalist governments which the LCR voted for, like the [PS's] Jospin-led popular front [voted out in 2002] that included the PCF, have carried out massive attacks on the working class. Today, the PCF and a coterie of left groups are working to prepare the next betrayal, supporting [PS presidential candidate] Royal's campaign for top cop of the French state.

The WASG has the same aim, as Lafontaine recently confirmed by announcing his desire to govern in coalition with the SPD (which the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] already does at the regional level). The "left" tails of these parties, such as the SAV [Socialist Alternative] in Germany (section of Peter Taaffe's CWI [Committee for a Workers' International]), have no problem with entering a bourgeois government, as long as it gives lip service to not worsening (!) the workers conditions, while the LCR makes clear that it is ready to take "its responsibilities" in a government today, as long as it is "anti-capitalist."

Counterposed to the reformist program of taking responsibility for the bourgeois state, what's really needed is a struggle to prepare the working class to take society's fate into its own hands. The repressive organs of the capitalist state must be replaced by organs of workers rule. Opposing this revolutionary perspective, the "radical left" reformists barely even mention the chauvinist protectionism of the union bureaucrats, much less offer a programmatic alternative to it. They see in the bourgeois state a means of controlling the excesses of capitalism and not an instrument of bourgeois class rule. Against this, Lenin, leader of the 1917 October Revolution, explained in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917): "We see plainly here how private and state monopolies are interwoven in the epoch of finance capital; how both are but separate links in the imperialist struggle between the big monopolists for the division of the world."

At bottom the question is, which class will rule. Competition and rivalry between the "great" imperialist powers over spheres of influence and exploitation lead inevitably to trade wars and then to shooting wars, which are the ultimate means for the bourgeoisie to defend its interests against rivals. For the bourgeoisie, protectionism and "free trade" are options to be discussed. For the proletariat, protectionism means renouncing internationalism, pledging support in advance for the capitalist rulers' interimperialist slaughters and giving up on socialist revolution, which is the only way out for humanity. Against this, we of the ICL fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, to prepare the working class for this solution.■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Joint Statement by ICL British, French and German Sections

For United International Class Struggle Against Airbus Bosses!

Pascal Pavani

DPA

March 16: Airbus workers near Toulouse, France (left) and in Hamburg, Germany, protest threat of massive layoffs.

Against National Protectionism, Chauvinist Poison for the Working Class! For the Socialist United States of Europe!

BERLIN—35,000 Airbus workers and supporters took part in a Europe-wide day of action on March 16 against the mass layoffs and plant closures planned as part of the company's restructuring plan, known as "Power 8." The Spartakist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, section of the International Communist League, joined the 25,000-strong rally in Hamburg and distributed a statement signed jointly with our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Spartacist League/Britain. Airbus workers walked off the job and protested in France as well, where some 7,500 came out in Toulouse and another 4,000 total in Nantes, Saint-Nazaire and Méaulte. Mass demonstrations and walkouts also took place at seven locations in Spain, while hundreds rallied in North Wales.

Profits at the Airbus parent company, European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company (EADS), reportedly fell significantly last year after management blunders caused a two-year production holdup of the Airbus A380 "superjumbo" jet. The "Power 8" plan, which includes eliminating 10,000 of the 55,000 jobs in Europe, is aimed at squeezing the workers in order to recoup some of the billions of dollars that Airbus lost last year. After details of the cutbacks began to leak out, thousands of workers in Germany and France downed tools in spontaneous protest earlier this month.

At the March 16 Hamburg demonstration, workers protested the projected sale of plants in Varel and Nordenham, two of the Airbus plants on the chopping block. The fear of unemployment and poverty was on every face. Recalling the four Hartz Laws enacted by former Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder to shred social programs, and specifically the fourth law attacking unemployment benefits, workers carried a placard that read: "Today Power 8 and Tomorrow Hartz IV."

While the demonstrations were impressive, the

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Appeals Court Hearing Set for May 17

Join the Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on March 26.

The United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit has informed attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal that it will hear oral argument on Mumia's *habeas corpus* appeal on May 17 in Philadelphia. In a letter to supporters announcing the hearing, Mumia's attorney Robert Bryan pointed out that Mumia "remains in great danger. If all is lost, he will be executed." Mumia's case has reached a critical juncture. Any decision by the Third Circuit will likely be appealed to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court.

Both Mumia's defense team and prosecutors are appealing decisions made in 2001 by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn, who overturned Mumia's death sentence but upheld every aspect of his 1982 frame-up conviction. A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth and later a MOVE supporter and renowned journalist, Mumia has been on death row for over 24 years, falsely convicted of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death specifically for political views he expressed as a Black Panther. There are mountains of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Beverly's confession was submitted to the courts in 2001. But to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of Mumia, a fighter for the oppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle legal and social defense organization that champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. As PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson said, "We have long fought to mobilize fighters against racist injustice, opponents of U.S. imperialist depredations and, crucially, the labor movement, in the U.S. and internationally, to demand: Free Mumia! Abolish

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Jennifer Beach

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 890 | C-701 | 13 April 2007

Spartacist League/Britain Statement

Imperialist Hands Off Iran!

U.S./British Occupiers Out of Iraq Now!

The following statement was issued by the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), on April 7.

Iran's seizure of 15 British army and naval personnel on 23 March brought forth a barrage of patriotic chauvinism against Iran, a country which has recently been subject to repeated provocations by the imperialists. With consummate hypocrisy, spokesmen for the Blair government shrieked that Iran was lying when it said the marines and sailors were apprehended inside Iranian territorial waters and howled about "coercion" and "humiliation" of the prisoners, some of whom were shown on Iranian television making statements supporting the Iranian government's claim. Almost two weeks after they were captured by Iranian forces, the British sailors and marines were released by the Tehran regime.

We do not know what the British forces were up to at the time of their capture, but we do know that the imperialists are the aggressors and this semi-colonial

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Republicans, Democrats: Shredding Your Rights

"War on Terror": Torture, Spying, Imperialist Butchery

U.S. torture center at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

Franco/NY Times

Free Jose Padilla! Free the Detainees!

The powers the government has arrogated to itself in the name of the "war on terror" represent a massive increase in the repressive powers of the capitalist rulers, with the imprimatur of a pliant judiciary. In February, a Washington, D.C., federal appeals court upheld by a two-to-one decision a provision in the 2006 Military Commissions Act eliminating *habeas corpus* rights for detainees at the U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, even if they were to be held there the rest of their lives. A *Nation* (19 March) article by David Cole captured the intent of such measures by recounting what military intelligence officers reportedly told one Guantánamo detainee: "You are in a place where there is no law—we are the law."

Then there is the case of Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, allegedly Number Three in command of Al Qaeda. Mohammed was the first of hundreds of Guantánamo detainees—charged with absolutely nothing—to be brought before a military "Combatant Status Review" tribunal, before which he confessed last month to being the mastermind of the September 11 attacks. Such prisoners have no right to challenge the charges or purported evidence against them.

Mohammed confessed to 31 terror attacks and plots—from September 11 to plans to assassinate former U.S. presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton as well as the Pope. About the only crime he didn't confess to was the murder of JonBenet Ramsey. Mohammed also said that he and other prisoners had been tortured into making false statements. But all evidence of torture was blacked out of transcripts of Mohammed's testimony, although his interrogators reportedly admired his capacity to have his head submerged in water for over two minutes when most cannot tolerate more than 15 seconds of this simulated death by drowning.

Mohammed's confession to the September 11 attacks was met with widespread derision—and not just by late-night TV comics. This fact speaks volumes about the tattered credibility of the American government and its "war on terror." In the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the ruling capitalist parties—Democratic and Republican—eagerly seized on the opportunity to whip up a climate of fear of brown-skinned "foreigners," particularly those of Near Eastern descent, and clamor for war. Their purpose was to further the vicious exploitation and oppression which is the lifeblood of the capitalist profit system by convincing the working class that it had a stake in preserving "our American way of life."

Thousands of Muslim immigrants were detained; a war was launched against hideously backward and impoverished Afghanistan which remains occupied in the cynical name of "Operation Enduring

continued on page 4

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Why China Is Not Capitalist: An Exchange

18 February 2007

Dear Workers Vanguard

In your article "Anti-China Protectionism: Poison for Workers" (WV no. 885) you claim that the imperialist powers are "aiming to restore capitalist rule in order to turn the Chinese mainland into a gigantic sweatshop".

The reality is that China is already "a gigantic sweatshop". Hundreds of millions of Chinese workers are ruthlessly exploited by local and foreign capital. Extremely long hours, physical punishment, fines and non-payment of wages are amongst the abuses suffered by many Chinese workers. (See the book "China's Workers Under Assault: the Exploitation of Labor in a Globalizing Economy", by Anita Chan.)

China has become the world's biggest recipient of foreign investment. The transnational corporations (and the South Korean and Taiwanese contractors who do much of their dirty work) are attracted by the huge reserve army of labor created by the displacement of peasants from the land, and of workers from state-owned factories that have cut their workforce or closed down altogether. They are also attracted by the total absence of unions in many enterprises, and the tameness of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions where it exists.

Burke/Life

People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, January 1949.

Privatisation has proceeded very rapidly in recent years. The state sector's share of industrial production has declined from 100 percent in 1978 to 31.6 percent in 2004. The private sector has risen from zero to 62.1 percent in the same period.

If you accept that Russia is now capitalist, despite the continued existence of some state-owned enterprises, why do you not recognise that China is now capitalist too?

Is it because the ruling party still calls itself "communist"? If so, you are judging on the basis of words, not social reality. You are also showing illusions in the party of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a defender of the workers state.

Trotsky had no such illusions in the Soviet bureaucracy. He said that if the bureaucracy was not overthrown by the working class it would eventually restore capitalism and convert itself into "a new possessing class" (he meant a newly-created capitalist class, not some hitherto-unknown type of possessing class).

Trotsky has been proven correct, not only by the experience of Russia, but also by that of China.

Chris Slee
Melbourne, Australia

***WV* replies:**

Taken together, Chris Slee's arguments amount to this: workers are mistreated in China, there has been significant privatization of formerly state-owned enterprises, international capital has penetrated the economy and, *voilà*, China is capitalist. Politically bankrupt from a Marxist standpoint, this is a convenient "theory" for those who seek to join their "own" bourgeoisies, the protectionist, anti-Communist labor lieutenants of capital in the trade-union bureaucracy and the leaders of mass reformist parties, such as the Australian Labor Party, in targeting China for internal counterrevolutionary machinations and external military threats.

Slee's letter provides an opportunity to again underline our unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state in opposition to prevailing petty-bourgeois and pseudo-left public opinion. Few are better suited to bashing China while embellishing "democratic" imperialism than the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP—formerly Democratic Socialist Party), of which Slee is a longtime member, a fact he omits in his letter.

Slee fails to even mention the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which overthrew capitalist/landlord rule and ripped China

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TROTSKY

The Deception of Bourgeois Democracy

LENIN

In his classic work, The State and Revolution, *written on the eve of the 1917 October Revolution, Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin explained that capitalist democracy is nothing but a fig leaf for the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Pointing to the lessons drawn by Karl Marx from the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune, when the proletariat briefly held power, Lenin argued that only under the dictatorship of the proletariat would the state serve the interests of the working masses on the road to a classless world communist society.*

In capitalist society, providing it develops under the most favourable conditions, we have a more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in effect, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners. Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, the modern wage slaves are so crushed by want and poverty that "they cannot be bothered with democracy," "cannot be bothered with politics"; in the ordinary, peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participation in public and political life....

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society....

Marx grasped this *essence* of capitalist democracy splendidly when, in analysing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representative of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament!

But from this capitalist democracy—that is inevitably narrow and stealthily pushes aside the poor, and is therefore hypocritical and false through and through—forward development does not proceed simply, directly and smoothly, towards "greater and greater democracy," as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, forward development, i.e., development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the *resistance* of the capitalist exploiters cannot be *broken* by anyone else or in any other way.

—V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is April 10.

No. 890 **13 April 2007**

Communiqué from Wikiality

23 March 2007

Dear Editor

It is wrong and incongruous for a radical publication like *Workers Vanguard* to line up with the media and academic establishment against Wikipedia ('Wikipedia: A Million Monkeys Typing', 16 March 2007). Clearly Wikipedia has no place in scholarship or the courtroom—but neither does any other encyclopedia! (And, no, Jimmy Wales Voltaire!) Wikipedia is, however, a valid source for informal information seeking and sharing. While it has serious quality control problems, it is less biased and more informative than mainstream alternatives. While you scream blue murder over minor Wiki hoaxes, you quote with approval the *New York Times*, which was caught redhanded in the WMD mass deception. You also endorse defamation law, which has always been used to stifle dissent and to protect the rich and fatuous. You don't have to buy the guff about 'digital democracy' to see the Internet's potential for voluntary, non-commercial, co-operative activity. And contrary to your argument about scientific accuracy and authority, reputable scientists do use open websites to bypass the monopoly of academic publishers. The Left should be making use of this opening, not backing big business and intellectual insiders. So much for your socialist and democratic credentials—but then that was summoned up in the headline about a 'million monkeys'!

Niall C.

***WV* replies:**

We knew that our article on Wikipedia, which is available on our Web site, would ruffle some feathers. If Niall C. and others want to use Wikipedia for "informal information" (i.e., information you can't trust), so be it. Unfortunately, Wikipedia does not describe itself with such modesty. We will add that it is absurd to claim that because we quoted the *New York Times*, we're somehow alibiing their role in the government's "weapons of mass destruction" lies. Deceit, manipulation and cynical "spin" are part of the normal workings of the bourgeois system and its media mouthpieces. Nonetheless, what the *Times* wrote about Wikipedia—that there are "dozens of accounts of people editing entries to suit their own business or personal interests, or their biases"—is undeniably true. And the *Times*, unlike Wikipedia, can be held accountable for its reporting, since it has an editorial board made up of actual people with real names.

As for the claim that we endorse defamation law, we note, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels taught long ago, that bourgeois law sanctifies and protects the dictatorship of the capitalist class. And defamation law is no different. On principle, we oppose bringing the bourgeois courts into the disputes of the workers movement. In 1981, we defended the British *Socialist Organiser*, then the newspaper of Labourite leftist Sean Matgamna's Workers Action grouping, against a lawsuit by the political bandit Gerry Healy and his Workers Revolutionary Party outfit, which often resorted to Britain's notorious libel laws to silence political opponents (see "Healyite Libel Suit: An Attack on Workers Movement," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 31-32, Summer 1981). At the same time, we have used and will use such laws as possible to defend our party and the workers movement more broadly against the forces of the class enemy. See, for example, "Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel," in *WV* No. 345, 6 January 1984. We successfully forced a retraction out of the sinister Moonie cult and its *Washington Times*, which charged us with "provoking violence" after a labor/black united-front mobilization we initiated brought out more than 5,000 people to stop the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C., on 27 November 1982. ■

In Honor of Three Women Leaders of the ICL

The Prometheus Research Library is proud to announce the publication of *Prometheus Research Series* No. 6, "Selected Speeches and Writings in Honor of Three Women Leaders of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist): Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, Elizabeth King Robertson." This bulletin in memory of three outstanding comrades is testimony to the highest human endeavor and political purpose: the struggle to forge a revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian vanguard to fight for new October Revolutions, the necessary first step toward liberating humanity through the creation of classless communist society.

The Prometheus Research Library is the central reference archive of the Spartacist League/U.S. Somewhat different in scope from previous publications in the *Prometheus Research Series*, which have focused on key historical documents and writings, this new publication adds dimension to the PRL's purpose to collect, preserve and make available the historical record of the international workers movement. In this purpose, there is an unbroken revolutionary continuity reaching back to Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. The PRL staff and comrades who designed the bulletin were guided by a biographical tribute produced by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee Department for the Study of the History of the October Revolution and the RKP(b), *In Memoriam to the Fighters of the Proletarian Revolution, Who Died in 1917-1921* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1925). A graphical motif from the volume was recovered and reproduced on the dedication page of *Prometheus Research Series* No. 6.

Our 96-page bulletin, including 15 pages of photographs, may be ordered for $7.00 from Spartacist Publishing Company (see ad below).

We reprint below the Introduction to *PRS* No. 6, by the Prometheus Research Library Staff.

* * *

Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, and Elizabeth King Robertson were cherished comrades whose lives were tragically cut short when they were in their prime as revolutionary communist leaders. We remember them in this *Prometheus Research Series* bulletin because there is a great deal to be learned from their purposeful lives. Here, memory is a political act. Too often, eulogies tilt toward hagiographies, smoothing out foibles to elevate mortals to mythological stature. Saints don't lead proletarian socialist revolutions. Exceptional people dedicated to a political purpose do: people like Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, and Elizabeth King Robertson.

This bulletin includes only a selection from the international outpouring of speeches and letters about Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, and Elizabeth Robertson. A guide to further reading about them, and to articles written by them, is included as an appendix.

These three women were top cadre of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), i.e., the ICL. That they awakened to political consciousness through struggles against the American imperialist war in Vietnam, the struggle for black freedom, and for women's rights is not in itself so unusual for women of their generation. What is remarkable and atypical of their generation, however, is that they remained steadfast in their commitment to proletarian revolution, long after most radicals of that era made peace with the capitalist order and wrote off revolutionary politics as indiscretions of youth in heady times.

What Friedrich Engels said at the funeral of his comrade Karl Marx ably describes what animated Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, and Elizabeth Robertson:

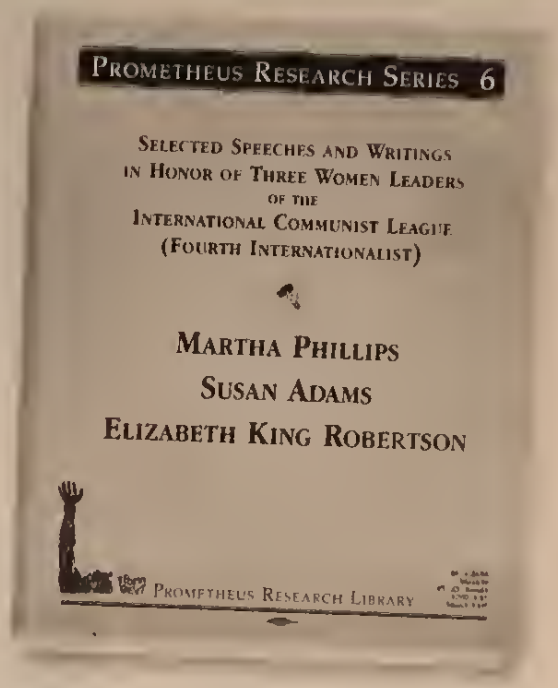
> "For Marx was above all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own positions and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. *Fighting was his element*."

The chronicle presented here of the lives of these women, as told through tributes by their closest comrades, is also a powerful and anecdotal narrative of the political history of the Spartacist League/ICL at crucial turning points in world history. All three women gave their utmost to build the Leninist-Trotskyist party necessary to lead the proletariat to victory. Our party's founding of a youth organization, establishment of trade-union fractions, our international extension, codifying Leninist organizational norms, training new cadre, selecting and testing a leadership were in no small measure the work of these three women.

The interrelation of the individual with objective forces in history is highlighted in the role these women played in the ICL's fight to defend and extend the October Revolution. Martha Phillips was a leader in the ICL's fight to reimplant the authentic history and program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Union. Martha was murdered at her post in Moscow in February 1992. The ICL waged an international campaign to press for an investigation into this heinous crime, but it remains unsolved.

Susan Adams, who played a leading role in the ICL's American section and then the French section, picked up the banner and continued the fight to build the nucleus of a Trotskyist party in Russia, after the capitalist counterrevolution had rolled back the gains of the October 1917 Russian Revolution. Trotsky described the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule as a degenerated workers state—despite the usurpation of political power by a bureaucracy, the economic benefits of collectivization of industry remained. The destruction of the Soviet Union was a huge blow to the international working class. Political consciousness was hurled back, while triumphant capitalist rulers push the lie that "communism is dead." Susan Adams' work is an affirmation that communism lives in the proletarian struggle against racist, capitalist exploitation around the world.

Martha Phillips **Susan Adams** **Elizabeth King Robertson**



Our own party was not immune to the reactionary pressures of the political period. Elizabeth Robertson played a leading role in our struggle to reconstruct a badly damaged party, including through extraordinary, unsparing examination of her own role—a capacity rarely seen in any walk of life. In pushing herself, when she was already very ill, Lizzy set an example for political accountability of every party cadre. Her careful, thoughtful, well-researched work, codified in the ICL's international organizational rules and guidelines, is vital in the continual struggle to build a democratic-centralist international that Lenin and Trotsky would recognize as their own.

An examination of the lives and work of Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, and Elizabeth Robertson is rich in political lessons for all our comrades, and especially the youth, who carry a special responsibility in the party-wide struggle for revolutionary continuity. Trotsky addressed his remarks to the youth when assessing the meaning of the loss of his comrade Kote Tsintsadze:

> "The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it.
>
> "Especially for the Opposition youth, the example of Tsintsadze can and should serve as a lesson. Tsintsadze was the living negation of any kind of political careerism, that is, the inclination to sacrifice principles, ideas, and tasks of the cause for personal ends. This does not in the least rule out justified revolutionary ambition. No, political ambition plays a very important part in the struggle. But the revolutionary begins where personal ambition is fully and wholly subordinated to the service of a great idea, voluntarily submitting to and merging with it. Flirtation with ideas or dilettante dabbling with them for personal advantage is what Tsintsadze pitilessly condemned both through his life and his death. His was the ambition of unshakable revolutionary loyalty. It should serve as a lesson to the proletarian youth."
>
> —"At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze," 7 January 1931

We believe Trotsky would have recognized these three women as comrades of the caliber of Kote Tsintsadze. ■

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Torture...

(continued from page 1)

Freedom"; preparations were made for the one-sided slaughter of Iraq. Today, U.S. forces are bogged down in the murderous Iraq occupation, while the CIA's "rendition" of "terror suspects" to torture chambers around the world and domestic spying operations in the U.S. are widely known. All this combines to further damage the facade of American "democracy," at home and abroad. It is to repair that damage and reinforce the powers of the capitalist state that the Democratic Party, and even some Republicans, are chastising the Bush gang. Thus a *New York Times* (25 March) editorial complained that Guantánamo "has profoundly damaged this nation's credibility as a champion of justice and human rights."

Frame-ups, spying, infiltration, terror and legally sanctioned murder (otherwise known as the death penalty) have long been part of the everyday workings of government in the U.S., whether under Democratic or Republican administrations. The veneer of "democracy" is meant to cover the reality of the capitalist state—with its cops, courts, prisons and army—as an apparatus of violence designed to protect capitalist profits and rule against the exploited and the oppressed. This murderous apparatus has been greatly bolstered by the "war on terror." But as sinister as the new measures are, what the government is actually able to get away with will ultimately be determined by the level of social struggle.

U.S. imperialism's current difficulties should provide an opening to mobilize the proletariat in struggle against the capitalist rulers and their wars at home and abroad. This perspective requires fighting against the political ties, forged by the union tops and reinforced by the reformist left, that bind the working masses to the Democratic Party.

The Case of Jose Padilla

The Kafkaesque web of the "war on terror" is epitomized by the ordeal of Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen who was seized at Chicago's O'Hare airport in May 2002 as an "enemy combatant" and disappeared into a Navy brig in South Carolina. For three years and eight months, Padilla was held in a nine-by-seven-foot cell whose windows were blacked out and denied access to his attorney, much less visits with his family. The extreme sensory deprivation he underwent was punctuated by blasts of harsh light and loud, pounding noise. He could only leave his cell fully shackled and wearing blinkered goggles and headphones.

Charged with no crime, Jose Padilla was trapped in a legal netherworld. Initially, the government invented the tale that he was part of an Al Qaeda plot to set off a "dirty bomb" in the U.S. His lawyers succeeded in challenging his detention in a New York federal court in December 2003. The government's contention that that court had no jurisdiction over someone being held in South Carolina was upheld by the Supreme Court the following year. Padilla's attorneys then successfully challenged Padilla's detention in a South Carolina federal court in February 2005, with the judge ordering that he be charged with a criminal offense or else be released.

The government eventually charged Padilla with vague criminal charges of involvement in a terrorist conspiracy and had him transferred to a Miami jail. The "dirty bomb" plot was dropped like yesterday's "weapons of mass destruction." For one thing, the source for the "dirty bomb" tale was none other than Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, whom the government dared not have testify. Mohammed has since stated that he falsely implicated several people as a result of his being tortured.

Most recently Padilla's attorneys brought psychologists to court to testify that he had been broken under the torture he was subjected to by his interrogators, which included being injected with a "truth serum" that his lawyers believe was either LSD or PCP (a well-documented CIA and military interrogation "technique" as an adjunct to sensory deprivation). When his lawyers argued that Padilla was thus incompetent to stand trial, the prosecution countered that the psychologist's tests were invalid because they had taken place while Padilla had been handcuffed...by his jailers! The incompetence claim was dismissed, and Padilla will stand trial for terrorist conspiracy, a charge so purposely elastic that the government can fill it with whatever content it conjures up.

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in an *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief filed on behalf of Padilla in July 2003:

> "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil. It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity,' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population. The Executive's declaration that its 'war against terrorism' forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents 'for life' from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing."

This has been the fate of hundreds, if not thousands, of foreign "terror suspects" around the world who have been kidnapped and disappeared, kept in CIA secret prisons where they are subject to "enhanced" interrogation—the new Orwellian term for old-fashioned torture. The kidnapping and unlawful detention of Jose Padilla exemplify how measures first enacted against non-citizen "terror suspects" can be expanded to encompass citizens as well. As our *amici* brief warned in recalling the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision in which Supreme Court Justice Taney declared that black people "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect": "If the imperial President is upheld, Padilla's detention threatens to become the Dred Scott case of our time, a declaration that: 'Citizens have no rights that the government is bound to respect'." *Free Jose Padilla!*

Government Terror Network

Last month marked the first time a prisoner at Guantánamo, Australian David Hicks, was brought before a military tribunal, another "innovation" by the Bush administration in an attempt to get around Geneva Convention rules. Hicks has been caged at Guantánamo for more than five years. At the tribunal, no evidence was presented of his involvement in any purported "terror" attacks. Two of Hicks' lawyers were barred from the proceedings. In the end, Hicks copped a plea of guilty to having provided "material support" to a terrorist organization.

The deal included Hicks having to repudiate his own accounts of being "illegally treated"—i.e., tortured—and additionally that he would not file any lawsuits against having been so treated! In exchange, this purported dangerous terrorist was given a nine-month sentence to be served in Australia. It is not difficult to figure out the political arithmetic behind this sentence. Hicks' case had ignited an outpouring of hostility against the Bush regime in Australia, where Prime Minister John Howard, a loyal toady of U.S. imperialism, faces elections in a few months. As Hicks' father put it: "Nine months, a gag order for one year—all overlap the coming elections. I'm very suspicious" (*New York Times*, 1 April). No sooner had the Hicks sentence come down when, back in Washington, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal by the hundreds of other Guantánamo prisoners that they be granted *habeas corpus* rights.

New York Times

December 2006: Jose Padilla in black-out goggles outside his solitary confinement cell. Despite being tortured by sensory deprivation and other methods, Padilla was ruled fit to stand trial.

The Hicks tribunal elicited the usual howls from bourgeois media and political spokesmen in Europe against Bush. But capitalist governments the world over have whipped up homemade terror scares to augment their own state power. In Britain, the Labour government led by Bush loyalist Tony Blair has unleashed murderous terror against dark-skinned people while repeatedly surrounding predominantly Muslim neighborhoods with cops (see Spartacist League/Britain statement, page 1). In Italy under the popular-front government of Romano Prodi, successor to the right-wing Berlusconi regime, an "anti-terrorist" witchhunt codenamed "Operation Sunset" has swept up leftist and trade-union militants, with an accompanying media campaign aimed at demonizing the left and labor movement as a "breeding ground" for terrorism.

An article in *CounterPunch* (March 17/18) titled "The Strange Fruit of Torture—The Confession Backfired" captured the political purpose behind the maintenance of the U.S. terror camp at Guantánamo: "The US government needs 'dangerous suspects' that it can use to keep Americans in a state of supine fearfulness and as a front behind which to undermine constitutional protections and the Bill of Rights." The September 11 attacks gave the U.S. rulers the pretext to put in place repressive measures that they had long sought. A vast state enterprise has been erected with the aim of nothing less than spying on the whole population of the United States.

The government is amassing a huge pool of personal data with which it can conduct a fishing operation to find terrorist "conspirators." The National Security Agency (NSA) continues its collusion with some major telecommunications companies to "data mine" the phone records of tens of millions of people, executing warrantless wiretaps of phone and Internet communications. In the past three years, the FBI has served some 44,000 "national security letters" on libraries, phone companies and other businesses demanding the records of anyone deemed to be "relevant" to an investigation "against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities" (*Wired News*, 16 March). Under the 2005 Real ID Act, plans are being finalized to turn driver's licenses into a national identity card integrated into a central federal database.

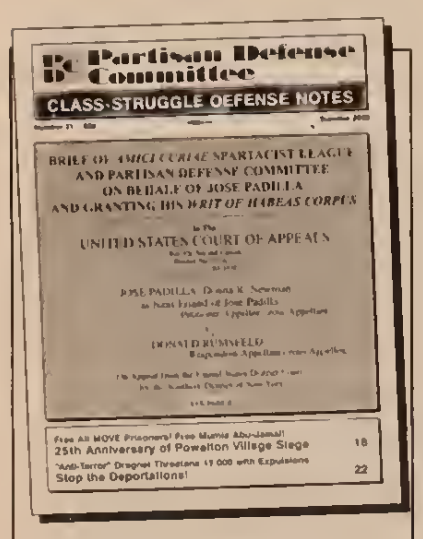
The number of files maintained under the government's "Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment" (TIDE) has quadrupled to 435,000 since 2003, with the names of those on "watch lists" distributed to airlines, cops, border guards and U.S. consulates. Putatively aimed at foreign "terror suspects," TIDE has been described as "a vacuum cleaner for proven and unproven information." Catherine Stevens, the wife of Alaska's Republican Senator Ted Stevens, was caught in this massive web last year when she was delayed from flying by interrogators who wanted to know if she was "Cat Stevens," the British singer and Muslim convert now known as Yusuf Islam who is banned from entering the U.S.

One man on such a list was Maher Arar. A Canadian citizen born in Syria, Arar was detained by U.S. authorities while trying to change planes at JFK. Accused of being a "terrorist" on the basis of bogus information provided by Canadian authorities, Arar was deported to Syria, where he was held in solitary confinement in a coffin-size cell and tortured for nearly a year before being released back to Canada. Arar recently secured an apology and a settlement of $11.5 million from the Canadian government. But he remains on the State Department's "watch list."

In 1969, Black Panther Party (BPP) members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark got a full blast of what it means to be called a "terrorist" when Chicago cops machine-gunned them to death. Thirty-eight years later, the state has not ceased its vendetta against the Panthers. In January, eight former BPP supporters were rounded up on charges of killing a San Francisco policeman in 1971. In 1973, a New Orleans jail was yesterday's Guantánamo or Abu Ghraib. Three Panthers had plastic bags put tightly on their heads while they were beaten with blackjacks, shocked with electric probes on their genitals; an electric cattle prod was shoved up each man's anus. Two of them "confessed." Today these men are smeared in the media as "classic domestic terrorists" while languishing in prison on charges that were thrown out of court in 1975. Meanwhile, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black Panther in his youth and later a supporter of Philadelphia MOVE, remains on death row, falsely convicted of killing a Philly cop in 1981 and sentenced to death specifically for views he expressed as a Panther. Free the San Francisco Eight! Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!

Labor Must Fight "Anti-Terror" Repression

In creating a climate of fear and intimidation, the government has sought to accustom the population to the restriction of democratic rights and to massive surveillance, aiming to quash not only social struggle but even the expression of dissent. New York City cops were sent around the world to spy on groups intending to protest the Republican National Convention in 2004. These protests were hardly the storming of the Bastille, but were expressions of "Anybody but Bush" politics aimed at winning support for Democratic candidate John Kerry. An internal police memo gives a flavor of the kind of "subversives" the state was hunting. Reporting on a performance of "Bands Against Bush," the memo intoned: "The mixing of music and political rhetoric indicates sophisticated organizing skills



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Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed while vastly increasing their own fabulous wealth; having left hundreds of poor people, overwhelmingly black, to die in New Orleans; ripping immigrant mothers brought here to toil for pennies from their children in *la migra* raids on factories; leaving mountains of corpses in Iraq and Afghanistan in their drive for world domination—America's capitalist rulers need their witchhunt as a means to keep those consigned to the bottom of this society in "their place." Above all, they must suppress the social power of the multiracial working class, for in its hands lies the potential to end the barbarism of capitalist exploitation through socialist revolution.

Some of the bosses' "labor lieutenants" in the trade-union bureaucracy have gone along with "war on terror" patriotism and anti-immigrant racism in the name of "saving American jobs." Those union officials who have voiced opposition to the crackdown against immigrants have refused to mobilize the power of labor to fight government repression, working instead to replace Bush's Republicans with the Democrats. Such class collaboration undermines the unions, which have themselves been targeted by government terror scares. When the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) was locked in a showdown with the shipping bosses in 2002, then-Homeland Security chief Tom Ridge intervened to warn that any strike action would be considered a threat to "national security."

Now the government is bringing its anti-terror laws directly to the unions. Plans are being finalized for a Transportation Worker Identification Credential (TWIC) program under which 750,000 longshoremen, truckers and other port workers must submit to an immigration status review and extensive criminal background check in order to obtain a biometric ID card necessary to maintain their jobs. In a country where millions of minorities have been rounded up and thrown behind bars in the "war on drugs," this is a particular threat to further devastate the black population. TWIC is also a prescription for an anti-immigrant dragnet, which will be particularly felt on the docks by the overwhelmingly immigrant, non-unionized port truckers.

In January 2002, the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League put out the call for a united-front mobilization against the anti-terror laws and in defense of immigrants. On February 9 of that year, some 300 unionists, immigrants, socialists and youth marched in downtown Oakland behind a banner reading: "Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labor—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!" At the core of the demonstration was a contingent of 30 mainly black ILWU longshore workers. Although modest, this mobilization was an example of the kind of class-struggle fight that is needed to turn the tide in the government's anti-terror assault.

WV Photo

Macor/SF Chronicle

Above: February 2002 labor-centered Oakland demonstration against "anti-terror" laws and in defense of immigrants, initiated by Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League. Left: Port trucker harassed by customs cops at Port of Oakland, October 2001.

Democrats: The Other Party of U.S. Imperialism

A growing section of the ruling class is alarmed by the demented character of the "faith-based" denizens of the White House. Among those bourgeois ideologues clamoring for a more rational imperialist policy is Zbigniew Brzezinski, the anti-Communist Dr. Strangelove who served as National Security Advisor to Democratic president Jimmy Carter. In a *Washington Post* (25 March) opinion piece titled "Terrorized by 'War on Terror'—How a Three-Word Mantra Has Undermined America," Brzezinski bemoans the "pernicious impact" this "war" has had "on American democracy, on America's psyche and on U.S. standing in the world." He continued: "The damage these three words have done—a classic self-inflicted wound—is infinitely greater than any wild dreams entertained by the fanatical perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks when they were plotting against us in distant Afghan caves."

Brzezinski should know. He was the godfather of those very fanatics when they were killing Red Army troops in Afghanistan. The Soviets intervened in 1979 at the request of a modernizing nationalist government whose efforts to bring such progress as literacy and a lowering of the bride price met with an uprising of mullahs, tribal chiefs and warlords. The Soviet troops were fighting an eminently just war against the U.S.-armed *mujahedin* in which the freedom of Afghan women from conditions of pre-feudal slavery was directly posed, as was the defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state's southern border. We said at the time: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

When former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev sold out to the West and ordered the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1988-89, the U.S. stopped funneling billions to their Islamic "freedom fighters"—whose number included Osama bin Laden. These reactionary cutthroats would shortly turn on their "infidel" former patrons, enraged in no small part by the maintenance of U.S. military bases in Saudi Arabia.

The real concern of Brzezinski and the Democrats is that the Bush regime is damaging the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in the Near East and Central Asia. In pushing the Democrats' plan to get out of Iraq sometime in the sweet by-and-by, Nancy Pelosi declared: "Our bill calls for the redeployment of U.S. troops out of Iraq so that we can focus more fully on the real war on terror, which is in Afghanistan." This is the line of all the Democratic presidential candidates, from Hillary Clinton to Barack Obama. We say: U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan now! Hands off Iran! U.S. hands off the world!

The Democrats have also expressed some dismay over the NSA's warrantless wiretapping and the FBI's national security letters, with all the credibility of the corrupt cop in *Casablanca* who announces that he is "shocked" that there is gambling going on in Rick's café. Government spying is standard fare, carried out under Democrats and Republicans alike. As Gore Vidal noted in the London *Guardian* (27 April 2002): "Though Bush's predecessors have generally had rather higher IQs than his, they, too, assiduously serve the 1% that owns the country while allowing everyone else to drift. Particularly culpable was Bill Clinton." Vidal noted that it was Clinton who "set in place the trigger for a police state which his successor is now happily squeezing." For example, Clinton's 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act gutted *habeas corpus* rights for death row prisoners, setting the stage for further erosion of this fundamental democratic right.

The difference between the Democrats and Republicans is not what they do but how they do it. The Republicans make no bones about being the party of "big business" and grinding the working people, blacks, immigrants and the poor into the ground. The Democrats lie and do the same thing. But these lies are an important facade for the rule of U.S. imperialism. Indeed, with their posture as friends of labor and minorities, the Democrats have generally been the bourgeoisie's preferred party of war, better equipped than the Republicans to sell imperialist military adventures as exercises in "human rights" and "democracy."

The Democrats are currently in high dudgeon over the firings of eight U.S. attorneys by Attorney General Alberto Gonzales for not being, in the words of one Justice Department official, "loyal Bushies." The Senate has overturned the president's power under the USA-Patriot Act to appoint "interim" federal prosecutors to indefinite terms without Senate approval. This is the *only* part of that draconian "anti-terror" law that the Democrats have reversed. This is for a reason: the Democrats want the powers of the imperial presidency in ***their*** hands.

If one is to believe the grossly misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), the Bush government is a "fascist" regime, today's incarnation of Hitler's Nazis. The fact is that the administration's assault on democratic rights and its "war without end" against "terrorism" have been carried out within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Fascism is a mobilization—not in the offices of government but on the streets—of the crazed petty-bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat whipped into a frenzy to physically destroy the mass organizations of the working class. To defeat the fascist gangs requires the independent mobilization of labor at the head of all the fascists' intended victims. Invoking fascism to describe Bush is the RCP's ticket to selling an alliance with the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie—i.e., the Democrats. That the RCP itself doesn't believe its own panicked bleatings is demonstrated by the means it puts forward to fight this "fascist" regime: calling for Bush to be impeached!

At protests organized to this end by the RCP's "World Can't Wait" front group, a central chant has been the insipid call, "Bush step down." The RCP's call to "drive out Bush"—echoed in one form or another by the entire reformist left—coincides with the electoral interests of the Democratic Party. Last year, the RCP was promoting none other than Clinton's former vice president Al Gore. In an article titled "Al Gore's Warning" (*Revolution*, 29 January 2006), the RCP proclaimed that a speech by Gore issued some "very sobering warnings about where this country is headed." Although allowing that Gore was "speaking from within the US imperialist ruling class," the article ends by declaring that his speech "should serve as a wake up call to all about just how extreme things have gotten." To paraphrase the old New Left saying, you don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind of this "fight the right" message blows.

Our brief on behalf of Jose Padilla was rooted in the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of the working class and the oppressed. At the same time, as the brief noted, we are tenacious defenders of "our own legality and of those democratic rights won through bourgeois revolutions and revolutionary wars—the parliamentary partisans in the English Civil War, the U.S. Revolutionary War, the French Revolution and the American Civil War." Those rights, and others gained through social and class struggle, are eminently reversible under capitalist rule.

While we use every legal means at hand to defend such rights, we put all of our faith in the class struggle of the proletariat mobilized in its own class interests and in opposition to the partner parties of capital. We fight for the revolutionary transformation of this country, a proletarian socialist revolution that will end the savage exploitation and brutal racial oppression of capitalist class rule and the barbarism through which it is enforced. Our purpose is to build the workers party necessary to lead the proletariat in that struggle. ■

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France...

(continued from page 12)

component of such an alliance is to support the bourgeoisie and obscure the class line. If the PCF or the SP, which are reformist workers parties, were running independently of all bourgeois parties—which is difficult to imagine today, given how class collaboration is second nature to them—they would be more exposed to pressure from their ranks. PCF members still tell us today that, ten years ago, PCF ministers in Jospin's government, including Buffet, did everything they could but were constrained by Chevènement or by the other parties. Thus, the popular-front alliance provides a means for the reformist workers parties to conceal their own betrayals.

Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and the LCR avoid saying outright who they will vote for on the second round of the election. But the LCR declares that it is necessary to "get rid of the right in 2007" (*Rouge*, 16 November 2006). As for LO, at their last conference they adopted a document, with 97 percent of the votes, which states in particular: "The masses must not be able to blame our campaign for making the left lose." Speaking of the "left candidate," they explicitly consider, among other possibilities, "that we will call for voting for him (or her)" (*Lutte de Classe*, December 2006).

They can deny it all they want, but LO and the LCR serve in this way to channel votes for Royal. Yet the popular front in this country is the chief instrument of class collaboration, chaining the workers to the maintenance of capitalist exploitation. And LO and the LCR disappear the fact that Royal is running on the claim that her racist law-and-order politics are more effective than those of Sarkozy. Already in 2002 Jospin played that game, thus opening the road for [fascist Jean-Marie] Le Pen to reach the second round in the presidential election.

The appetite of reformist workers parties, like the SP and PCF, to form alliances with the bourgeois parties flows from their perspective of managing capitalism. But it is impossible to administer capitalism on behalf of the working class—the workers have already gone through the bitter experience of this with Mitterrand and Jospin. In order to satisfy the essential needs of the working class, workers revolution is necessary to smash the capitalist state and put workers in power through the "dictatorship of the proletariat" against the bourgeoisie's resistance. The key for victory is forging a Bolshevik party, like the party of Lenin which led the Russian workers to the seizure of power in 1917—a party independent of all wings of the bourgeoisie and dedicated to overthrowing capitalism, not administering it. This is the task we commit ourselves to.

AFP photos

Three main French presidential candidates, from left to right: Nicolas Sarkozy, François Bayrou, Ségolène Royal.

Marxists and Elections

In his writings on the 1871 Paris Commune, Marx described capitalist parliamentary elections in the following terms: "deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to misrepresent the people in Parliament" (*The Civil War in France*). Lenin wrote in his fundamental 1918 work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*:

> "Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the *more highly* democracy is developed, the *more* the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliament (the Bolsheviks made better use of it than probably any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we won the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the people, *in order to prepare* them for revolution!"

Further on, Lenin continues to hammer this point home:

> "The working people are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (they *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy, which are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles."

Democratic forms of government are a particularly efficient way to conceal the nature of the state as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the exploited and oppressed masses. This holds particularly true in the most advanced, the most "democratic" capitalist countries like France, where parliamentary traditions exist mainly to give a democratic veneer to decisions made, as underlined by Lenin, in the stock exchanges, clubs and dinner parties of the big bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, we have, in the past, presented a candidate in a parliamentary election. In 1988, we ran a worker from Renault-Cléon [auto plant] against [the SP's] Laurent Fabius. Communists seek to have deputies in parliament in order to use this as a platform for revolutionary opposition to capitalism, its state, its government, its parties and its social-democratic lackeys.

However, this is different from a presidential election, in which one is running to become the chief of French imperialism. The president is the head of the army and has enormous powers, in particular in France. He can declare martial law, dissolve parliament, etc. The positions of president, and of mayor on the local level, are not parliamentary offices that can be used as platforms to oppose the system. They are executive offices of the bourgeois state—the mayor and the president execute the decisions taken by the bourgeoisie.

The Bourgeois State: Special Bodies of Armed Men to Maintain Capitalism

At bottom, the bourgeois state consists of special bodies of armed men like the police, prison guards and the army itself, which have a monopoly on legal violence. They exist to maintain capitalist domination over the working class and the oppressed. This means suppressing strikes, as when the riot police break up a picket line, or "restoring order" against spontaneous rebellions such as the *banlieue* youth revolt in October-November 2005, or suppressing uprisings in Central Africa or Chad, which threaten French imperialism's local client dictators. We fight for the ***withdrawal of all French troops from Africa, as well as from Lebanon, Afghanistan and the Balkans.***

The police, prison guards and officer corps are volunteer forces. They sign up to administer repression and are thus deeply dedicated to defending their bourgeois order. They cannot be co-opted to serve the working class in the course of a socialist revolution. We are against cops in the trade unions because the unions are workers organizations, in spite of their pro-capitalist leadership. The Bolshevik Revolution smashed the armed bodies of the bourgeoisie, and workers power rested on new armed bodies of men, the workers militias in the factories. These were subordinate to the soviets [workers councils] and to the Red Army built by Trotsky in 1918.

Under capitalism, executive power, such as the office of president, means assuming responsibility for commanding these armed bodies on behalf of the bourgeoisie. It is the same with the mayor at the municipal level. He has police powers under the control of the prefect. Lenin, in reaffirming the lessons drawn by Marx and Engels from the 1848 revolutions and, above all, from the Paris Commune, explained how the bourgeois state cannot be used by the working class; it must be destroyed and replaced by proletarian power, by workers councils based upon the armed proletariat. In other words, one cannot become mayor or president and use this office to serve the oppressed. One either becomes hostage to the office and does the bourgeoisie's dirty work or is promptly fired by the bourgeoisie.

Since we refuse to administer the bourgeois state, we have always rejected assuming executive office, whether that of president or mayor. Consequently, we do not run for election to such posts. We formally adopted the latter position at our recent international conference.

This is new inasmuch as Trotskyists did not object to running in such elections—including at the time of Trotsky and [James P.] Cannon, Trotsky's collaborator in the U.S., who led the American Trotskyist party until the 1950s. This was also the position we previously stated in 2004 in our journal *Spartacist*, while underlining then that it is principled "as long as our candidates explain beforehand that they have no intention of assuming such offices if elected and make clear why it is necessary to forge a workers government to expropriate the capitalists and sweep away their machinery of class oppression."

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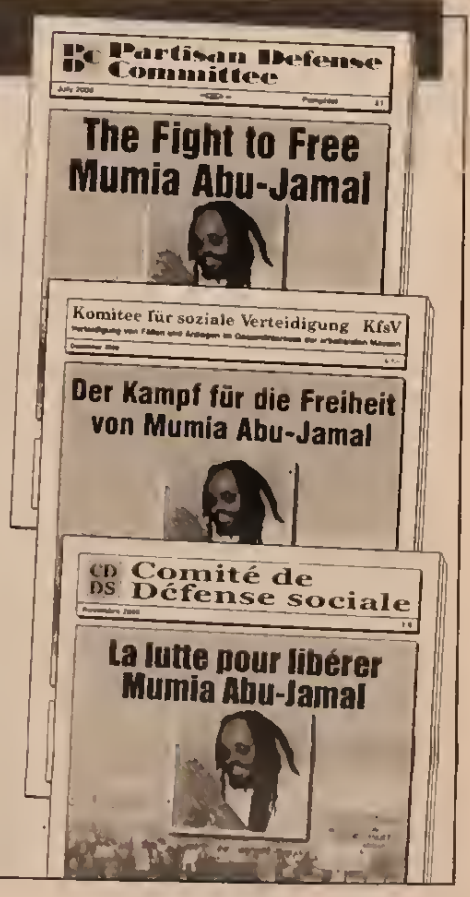


However, after further examining this question we have reconsidered our position. As our recent conference document states: "The problem with running for executive offices is that it lends legitimacy to prevailing and reformist conceptions of the state." Our entire purpose is to bring to workers the understanding that in any socialist revolution the bourgeois state must be destroyed and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin taught this, and all history has proven it. To run in elections for executive office thus represents an obstacle to our strategic goal.

Our reformist opponents, like their forebears in the Second International a century ago, seek only to reform capitalism, not to lead a socialist revolution. Thus, they have no qualms about their organizations being financed by the capitalist state. LO and the LCR feast at the trough provided by the government. As recently as January 25, the *Journal Officiel de la République Française* [the official publication of French state documents] declared that state contributions to LO for 2005 totaled nearly half a million euros—more than one-fifth of LO's total income. LO was thus able to afford a recent poster publicity campaign at a cost of around one million euros, which is more than their members' entire annual dues payments. LO boasted that not only was the expense covered by bourgeois

March 10: Protest in Brittany against French government's deportation of immigrant workers from Mali.

state funds but that, in addition, it was not that expensive for the "taxpayers" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 15 December 2006). The same applies to the LCR, which got a little more than half a million euros in 2005. As the saying goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

And the LCR and their comrades internationally do not even have a problem volunteering to directly administer the bourgeois state. Already in November 1990, Hanspeter Uster, a leader of the LCR's sister section in Switzerland, was elected minister of justice and the police in the canton of Zug. Five years ago, Miguel Rossetto, a Brazilian comrade of the LCR, entered Lula's capitalist government.

Today [LCR candidate Olivier] Besancenot is quite willing to participate in a government provided that it is "anti-capitalist." The LCR states in its special election manifesto: "The LCR will assume its responsibilities in such a government." But since they think that proletarian revolution is today utopian and *passé*—just good for "far leftists" like us—and since in 2003 they even officially renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat, their government can only be "anti-capitalist" in name. Besancenot fights for a "democratic revolution" and a "social and democratic break." In other words, he wants to give social democracy a new coat of paint. Before 1981, Mitterrand used similar verbiage about "breaking with capitalism"—before getting elected to run French imperialism and reinforce capitalist austerity and in that capacity sending 25,000 French soldiers to participate in the war against Iraq in 1991.

Like the LCR, Lutte Ouvrière officially renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat in 2003. At their congress that year, they unanimously adopted the formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Lutte de Classe*, December 2003-January 2004). Turn on your TV these days and you are bound to see [LO candidate Arlette] Laguiller or Besancenot answering questions about what they will do if elected president—ban layoffs, build schools and housing, reduce capitalist profits—their "radical reforms," as the LCR manifesto terms them. Their campaign simply feeds the illusion that capitalism can be administered in the interests of the oppressed, provided that the right person is elected to executive office.

We refuse to run in presidential elections, but this does not mean that we are indifferent to such elections and the democratic rights associated with them. Militants from the Third World, where the right to vote is often trampled upon, exhort us at times to use this right out of fear of losing it. In Mexico, where the right-wing government wanted to prevent the bourgeois populist López Obrador from running by removing his immunity to make him ineligible, we opposed this measure and defended the right of the Mexican people to vote for López Obrador, while at the same time arguing against voting for this "left" bourgeois.

Likewise, we do not reject in principle the idea of giving critical support to another workers organization in particular circumstances, including in a presidential election when it draws a crude class line—that is, for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie. However, in the particular case of this year's election, there is no one to whom we can offer critical support.

The LCR itself is totally popular-frontist—it is mired in all kinds of political blocs with bourgeois elements, like the social forums financed by Chirac, the Brazilian capitalist government and NGOs such as the Ford Foundation, which is linked to the CIA. The LCR's electoral manifesto glorifies these social forums: "Resistance to liberal counter-reforms and anti-globalization movements have laid the basis for a new internationalism." This has certainly nothing to do with proletarian internationalism.

Neither the LCR nor LO is running as a class alternative to the popular front, but rather as a vote to pressure the popular front a bit to the left. Thus, Laguiller stated (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 9 February):

> "So, on the first round of the presidential election next April, workers must reject this right wing which is carrying out policies openly in the interest of the wealthiest. But at the same time they must assert that they do not trust Ségolène Royal to carry out different policies and that [my emphasis] ***she must take into account the discontent which has for years been growing among the working masses***."

The Left and the *Banlieues*

In this electoral campaign, the PCF has a few words to offer concerning racism against *banlieue* youth. Indeed, they still retain a base in many working-class neighborhoods, which they run or aspire to run at the municipal level. The PCF hopes to win the votes of some minority workers and of some of those minority youth who, fearing a Sarkozy victory, registered to vote last year. However, the very nature of municipalism is that it must manage capitalist scarcity which, including in the PCF municipalities, inevitably

AFP

August 2006: French imperialist forces in UN patrol in Lebanon.

breeds racist discrimination, "clean up" operations against Roma [Gypsy] camps, racist allocation of public housing in the name of "social diversity," etc.

At the time of the *banlieue* revolt in the fall of 2005, the PCF called for re-establishing order. They criticized Sarkozy for being unable to maintain social order and for having instead stoked the unrest with his incendiary speeches. Yet during this period, the LCR spent most of its time in the PCF's tow, trying to consolidate an "anti-liberal" popular-front bloc for the 2007 elections.

Besancenot's solidarity with *banlieue* youth has its limits. In front of millions of TV viewers on February 8 on the program "*A Vous de Juger*," Besancenot was asked if he was for "neighborhood police." He answered, "Why not?" He only objected to them having Tasers, American electric-shock stun guns that have caused hundreds of deaths in the U.S. Besancenot has just signed the "Social and Citizens Contract," which is based on the list of grievances established by the ACLEFEU group in Clichy-sous-Bois. This list says that "the police must be exemplary," and it demands neighborhood police as well as police who are more representative of "French diversity," etc., etc.

In the 32-page LCR manifesto (adopted "almost unanimously"), the *banlieues* are mentioned on only one occasion, and this is what they have to say about them:

> "In response to increased violence in some neglected neighborhoods, which hits the poorest hardest, and in response to social insecurity, increased repression is the proposed solution. This has never solved problems or even led to improving the situation."

This is formulated in such a way as to leave open just who is responsible for the "increased violence." Sarkozy says those responsible are youth who attack impoverished French people. We say the main source of the violence is racist capitalism, with its attendant poverty, unemployment and discrimination, as well as the bourgeois state with its daily harassment and roundups of youth.

Lutte Ouvrière does not have much to say on this question right now. They attack Royal on how high the minimum wage should be or warn that she will not carry out her promises. We, on the contrary, think that if Royal is elected, she *will* implement her law-and-order proposals. Fundamentally, LO shares the same vision as Royal and ACLEFEU on how to deal with the "problem" of *banlieue* youth: repression with one hand and prevention with the other, neighborhood police on the one hand and increased spending on education with the other.

This is the way LO collaborates with its own bourgeoisie, even if, unlike the LCR, Lutte Ouvrière generally abstains from seeking electoral blocs with petty-bourgeois partners. This is also why, during the *banlieue* revolt, LO signed a declaration distributed by the League of the Rights of Man that called for re-establishing order. LO then issued a wishy-washy retraction, saying that their signature had been "a blunder of course, but a minor one." This betrayal went hand in hand with LO's leading role in the expulsions of young veiled women from schools, which culminated in the racist Chirac-Ferry law against the Islamic headscarf.

The "Welfare State" and the Soviet Union

Besancenot says that "it is simply necessary to do exactly what the bosses have done for the past 30 years—but in reverse" (*Rouge*, 15 February). Except that one cannot simply turn back the clock 30 years. At that time, the Soviet Union existed, and many advanced workers saw in it proof that it is possible to set up a society where the capitalist class is expropriated. It was, in large part, fear of the Soviet Union—which had its tanks 500 kilometers from Strasbourg and a strong Communist Party in the French *banlieues* and factories—that explained the concessions made by the bourgeoisie in the face of workers' struggles. The bourgeoisie was prepared to accept a lower rate of profit out of fear of losing everything. That was the basis for the "welfare state."

The reformists are nostalgic for the welfare state. Restoring the welfare state constitutes their entire political perspective. However, they rejoiced 15 years ago when the Soviet Union, on which this welfare state was indirectly based, was destroyed. The LCR itself directly supported capitalist counterrevolutionary forces in Poland and in the Soviet Union. Today they want to go back 30 years, but that would mean jumping over their own role in the 1980s Cold War against the Soviet Union. Their anti-communism appears throughout their manifesto:

> "After the disillusionment of the 20th century, after the collapse of the caricatures of socialism which the Stalinist dictatorships represented, we must continue working toward the future. From the negative experiences of yesterday, we have lessons to draw. But, having learned what must not be done, we have also won the right to create the future that we want and to begin to build it."

They simply disappear the Russian Revolution by making an implicit amalgam between October 1917 and its Stalinist degeneration. While a bureaucratic caste represented by Stalin usurped political power in the Soviet Union starting in 1924, this was not the result of an inherent flaw in Bolshevism. On the contrary, the parasitic bureaucracy was consolidated as a result of the failure of the 1923 German Revolution and the fact that the working class in power was isolated in a country where the backward peasantry was numerically dominant and which was encircled by hostile capitalist powers. With "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Stalin provided the bureaucracy with a program. It resulted in the betrayal of revolutions elsewhere and ultimately brought about the restoration of capitalist rule in Russia by Yeltsin in 1991-92.

Unlike LO and the LCR, our program for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries goes hand in hand with our defense of the workers states, which are based on the liquidation of the capitalist profit system, whatever the deformations of these states and whatever the politics of the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy. We defended the Soviet Union up to the very end. In East Germany in 1989,

continued on page 8

France...

(continued from page 7)

when the hureaucracy disintegrated, we threw all our forces into the fight for proletarian political revolution, for a red Germany of workers councils and against capitalist reunification of Germany. On 3 January 1990, 250,000 people took part in a demonstration, which we initiated, against the desecration of a monument to the Red Army in Treptow Park in East Berlin. We lost a battle in East Europe, hut we continue today to be for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialism and counterrevolution. In this framework, we struggle for proletarian political revolution in these countries to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

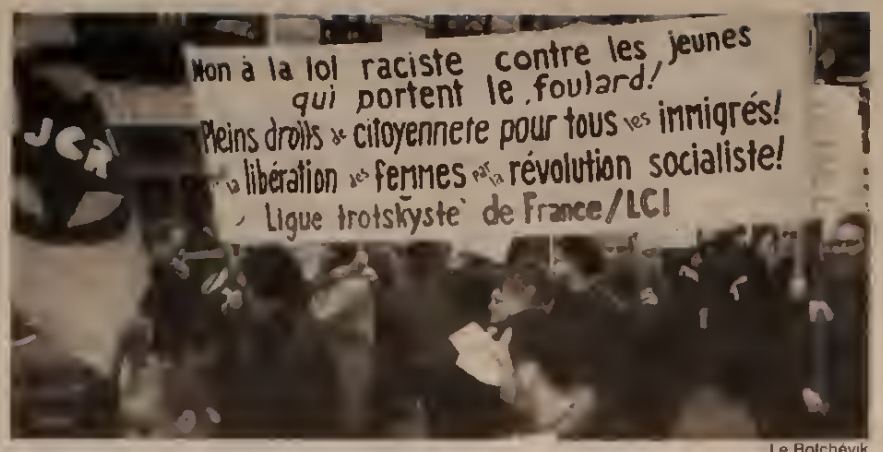
To get back to France, Besancenot wants to go back 30 years in time and, as he never fails to say, such a demand does not equal revolution. Thirty years ago, Chirac was elected mayor of Paris, the first one since the 1871 Commune, and Prime Minister Raymond Barre was officially decreeing austerity. One has to be profoundly demoralized and imbued with the spirit of "death of communism" to want to go back to that. As for Laguiller, she says almost word for word the same thing as Besancenot:

> "These are not revolutionary demands in any way, far from it. They are simply necessary measures to enable workers to regain the living conditions they had thirty years ago, which were already difficult for the working masses."
>
> —Speech in Le Mans, February 23

The Reformism of the LCR and LO

Besancenot constantly repeats that it is necessary to tackle the question of redistributing wealth. But the problem of humanity is not that the capitalists travel about in Mercedes or private jets. It is that they own the means of production—the factories, the machines, the means of transportation, etc.—and their objective is not to produce to satisfy people's needs but to maximize their profits. This profit system is what causes economic crises, oppression and war. The bourgeoisie and the workers have fundamentally opposed and antagonistic interests. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. It is impossible to make it function in the interests of the workers. It is not reformable.

Of course, workers are not ready to immediately accomplish their historic task of overthrowing capitalism. The capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union certainly did not open up new perspectives, as our reformist opponents pro-



Le Bolchévik

LTF banner at February 2004 demonstration denounces racist law banning young women from wearing Islamic headscarf at school, calls for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

claimed it would on the grounds that Stalinism had finally been defeated. On the contrary, it led to a deep political demoralization among the most advanced workers. The bourgeoisie launched a relentless triumphalist campaign over the "death of communism." The reason the bourgeoisie is so insistent is that it fully understands that communism remains on the agenda and that it must continually convince the workers that there is no alternative to capitalism. Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program in 1938:

> "The strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow. Its political aim is the conquest of power by the proletariat for the purpose of expropriating the bourgeoisie. However, the achievement of this strategic task is unthinkable without the most considered attention to all, even small and partial, questions of tactics....
>
> "The Fourth International does not discard the program of the old 'minimal' demands to the degree to which these have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. Indefatigably, it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But it carries on this day-to-day work within the framework of the correct actual, that is, revolutionary, perspective."

In this framework, Trotsky put forward a wbole series of demands, a "transitional program," to systematically mobilize the masses for proletarian revolution. The reformists of LO and LCR totally distort the Transitional Program by taking up one isolated demand and making it their current perspective, one which is supposedly realizable under capitalism.

Laguiller, for example, speaks endlessly about opening the capitalists' accounl books. However, in LO's public meetings, she explains that all she is demanding is an extension of the powers already held under capitalism by the *comités d'entreprise* [management-union plant committees]. With its program for "requisitioning" corporations that are making profits and are laying off workers, LO sees the hourgeois state as the source of progress, provided there are mobilizations in the streets or in the workplace to pressure the state into taking decisions that are in the workers' interests. For Trotsky, however: "If the abolition of business secrets is a necessary condition to workers' control, then control is the first step along the road to the socialist guidance of the economy." When Trotsky speaks of expropriating the large capitalist combines, he specifies that "we call on the masses to rely only upon their own revolutionary strength; we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers."

Besancenot, like Laguiller, promises to ban layoffs. Like the economic crises that cause them, layoffs are inherent to the capitalist profit system. It is a reformist lie to claim that one can "ban layoffs" under capitalism. But *Rouge* (15 February) says the opposite: "These proposals are radical, but not unrealizable! They simply require going up against the logic of profit, the power of the bosses and shareholders, and redistributing the wealth." To eradicate unemployment, it is necessary to overthrow capitalism through workers revolution. But that is the last thing Besancenot wants. His campaign consists of spreading the lie that capitalism can be radically reformed to serve the interests of the workers.

Take for instance the question of housing. The number of homeless people is steadily mounting. There is a profound social crisis in the *banlieues* and particularly in the decaying neighborhoods that are class and, in part, racial ghettos. Against this, Besancenot simply proposes to apply the existing law. And *Lutte Ouvrière* (16 February) headlined: "The State Has the Means to Build Sufficient Housing." In this way they breed illusions in the French bourgeois state. To confront the housing crisis, a program of massive urban reconstruction is needed in the *banlieues* and in the means of transportation, with mass permanent hiring, under workers control. As Trotsky declared:

> "But public works can have a continuous and progressive significance for society, as for the unemployed themselves, only when they are made part of a general plan, worked out to cover a considerable number of years. Within the framework of this plan, the workers would demand resumption, as public utilities, of work in private businesses closed as a result of the crisis. Workers' control in such cases would be replaced by direct workers' management."

Laguiller's central electoral slogan is to immediately increase the monthly minimum wage by 300 euros. The difference between Royal and Besancenot/Laguiller is that Royal promises a 1,500 euro gross minimum wage soon, while LO proposes 1,500 euros net right away. To sum it up, the difference between Royal and Besancenot/Laguiller is the difference between gross and net wages—around 300 euros—while the difference between all these people and us is the difference between reform and revolution. Adding 300 euros to the minimum wage is cruelly insufficient in view of the poverty facing the working class. Today millions of people do not even earn the monthly minimum wage, either because they are unemployed, undocumented (and thus paid below the minimum wage) or part-time workers, the great majority of whom are women. To put an end to this, it is necessary to share the work among all with no loss in pay—in other words, a 30-hour workweek for 40 hours' pay. For women to be truly able to work full-time, there must be 24-hour free childcare.

Is the money available for all this? The reformists of the Socialist Party generally say, "No." In their opinion, demands should thus be reduced to below these necessary minimum demands. The left reformists say, "Yes, all you have to do is take it from the capitalists." However, capitalism is unable to satisfy the essential needs of the working class and oppressed, and it will struggle to the death to preserve its system of exploitation. It is necessary to overthrow capitalism through a workers revolution, a perspective you will not find in the pages of either *Lutte Ouvrière* or *Rouge*.

Combier

VAAP

Left: Barricade during 1871 Paris Commune. Right: Petrograd Soviet, September 1917. October 25 proclamation (inset) by Military Revolutionary Committee announces offer of democratic peace, abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control and "establishment of Soviet power."

Reformism and the Union Bureaucracy

Earlier I spoke about the railway workers and the threats against them. On February 8, the unions organized a national demonstration. We sold quite a number of papers and subscriptions, but the mood was rather subdued among the tens of thousands of demonstrators. The example of the EDF [formerly nationalized French electricity company] is on people's minds. The EDF workers were betrayed by their own leaders, mainly of the CGT union federation, which in 2004 negotiated with Sarkozy, who was the government minister in charge of this privatization. The union bureaucracy agreed with management on the need to "modernize" the EDF and make it a "competitive" multinational corporation, particularly on the European market. They secretly negotiated to "maintain" pensions for the current generation of electricity and gas workers, together with some perks for the union bureaucracy, in exchange for the company's privatization. I recommend the book by Adrien Thomas, *Une Privatisation Négociée* [A Negotiated Privatization]. Sarkozy sealed

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

country is in their crosshairs. The monstrous hue and cry over the captured British crew members can only serve to heighten the danger of an imperialist attack on Iran. Moreover, Britain's defence of its marines and sailors—that they were not in Iranian but Iraqi waters—was premised on their role as overlords in Iraq, which has been subjugated by the murderous imperialist occupation. Irrespective of where the British forces were when they were apprehended, we say: ***British, U.S. and all imperialist troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan! Down with imperialist war provocations against Iran!***

Even while screaming about Iranian "lies," the British capitalist press could barely bring itself to report that there is no agreed boundary between Iraq and Iran for most of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. The fact that an imperialist search party patrols the area at all times—sometimes led by the British and sometimes by the U.S.—is a consequence of the occupation of Iraq. The stretch of Iraqi coast that lies at the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab waterway runs close to two strategic Iraqi oil terminals—Basra and Chaur al-Amaja—which are regarded by the Iraqi capitalist rulers as the country's "crown jewels." The boundary that is proclaimed today by the British was arbitrarily drawn—like the border of Iraq—by the British imperialists themselves!

Imperialist lies about "weapons of mass destruction" served as a pretext for the invasion of Iraq in 2003 which has led to the deaths of countless thousands of Iraqis, including through hideous imperialist massacres such as at Fallujah and Haditha, in addition to unleashing communalist slaughter on a mass scale. Today it is an open secret that the U.S. and British imperialists have staged numerous provocations in the hope that Iranian retaliation would serve as a pretext for an attack on Iran. They have been steadily beefing up military forces in and around the Persian Gulf: two U.S. aircraft carriers have been positioned near the Iranian coast and *BBC News* online (20 February) reported that the U.S. has readied plans for attacks on Iran, to be triggered either by "confirmation that Iran was developing a nuclear weapon" or "a high-casualty attack on US forces in neighbouring Iraq...if it were traced directly back to Tehran." And it's not just the Americans. Liberal journalist Robert Fisk reported that: "The Iranian security services are convinced that the British security services are trying to provoke the Arabs of Iran's Khuzestan province to rise up against the Islamic Republic" (*Independent*, 2 April).

U.S. Navy

March 28: Aircraft carrier USS *Stennis* in Persian Gulf during massive military exercise, part of imperialist provocations against Iran.

On 11 January, American troops seized five Iranians who even Iraqi officials maintained were diplomats. According to Patrick Cockburn in the *Independent* (3 April), this raid was in fact a botched attempt to abduct two senior Iranian officials—the deputy head of the Iranian National Security Council, Mohammed Jafari, and General Minojahar Frouzanda, the intelligence chief of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard—during an official visit to Iraqi Kurdistan. Cockburn says the operation was "somewhat as if Iran had tried to kidnap the heads of the CIA and MI6 while they were on an official visit," and that Britain should have expected Iran to retaliate. A *New Yorker* online article (25 February) by Seymour Hersh quoted a former senior intelligence official saying that "the word went out last August for the military to snatch as many Iranians in Iraq as they can," and a former National Security Council official told Hersh: "This is all part of the campaign of provocative steps to increase the pressure on Iran. The idea is that at some point the Iranians will respond and then the Administration will have an open door to strike at them."

Iran Needs Nuclear Weapons to Defend Itself

As revolutionary opponents of British imperialism, we unequivocally condemn all imperialist war provocations against Iran. The biggest threat to the working people and oppressed of the entire world is U.S. imperialism and its slavish toady, blood-soaked British imperialism. War moves against Iran to date include the UN Security Council's demand in December, at the behest of Washington, that Tehran halt its uranium enrichment programme and the imposition of a first round of sanctions on Iran. This came after almost three years of inspections in which the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) found no evidence of a nuclear weapons programme. We vehemently oppose the imperialist sanctions against Iran, which are the opening shots in a war, as the case of Iraq demonstrates. One and a half million people were killed and the country devastated by the United Nations sanctions against Iraq which preceded the U.S./British invasion and occupation. Since its inception at the end of WWI—when it was called the League of Nations—the purpose of the UN has always been to serve as a fig leaf for naked imperialist aggression against semi-colonial countries.

We insist that in the context of threats by the nuclear-armed imperialists, Iran desperately needs nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to defend itself. In today's world, possession of nuclear arms has become the only real measure of national sovereignty. In the event of military attack against Iran by U.S./British imperialism, or by Israel—the only nuclear-armed country in the Near East—or by any other force operating as proxy for the imperialists, our stand as Marxists is one of revolutionary defensism: for the military defence of Iran against imperialist attack without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime.

With breathtaking hypocrisy, British government spokesmen shrieked in high dudgeon about Iran's "coercion" of the 15 prisoners (often described as "hostages"), who for their part admitted being in Iranian waters and apologised. The images shown on Iranian TV, including of Leading Seaman Faye Turney wearing an Islamic headscarf, while smoking a cigarette, bore no comparison to the pictures of brutal torture and abject humiliation suffered by prisoners of the British and U.S. imperialist forces in Iraq, who have sacks over their heads, duck tape over their mouths and are routinely beaten, forced into "stress positions," and the rest. British complaints about treatment of prisoners are particularly obscene in view of the case of Iraqi hotel worker Baha Mousa, who was arrested in 2003 and died at the hands of his British captors. Mousa was "attacked over a 36-hour period while handcuffed and hooded and suffered 93 separate injuries" (*Guardian*, 15 February), while the soldiers involved were exonerated of his murder.

Indeed the Iranian treatment of the British military captives, as seen on TV, looked positively humane in comparison with the treatment of those in Britain who find themselves on the receiving end of the racist "war on terror." None of the British naval personnel suffered the fate of Brazilian electrician Jean Charles de Menezes, who was not even taken prisoner but gunned down in cold blood on the London Underground in July 2005; nor of Abdul Kahar who was shot and injured during a police "anti-terrorism" raid on his home in East London in June 2006. One Muslim of Algerian origin who was detained under anti-terrorism legislation in December 2001, languished in jail for years without any charges and is now subject to a form of house arrest known as a "control order," recently told the *Guardian* (28 March) that in Blair's Britain, "I have fewer rights than an animal."

While liberals and reformists plead with Blair not to attack Iran and call for troops out of Iraq, their bottom line is to support "our boys." Thus the Stop the War Coalition (StWC), dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), posted a web statement (undated) headlined "Don't attack Iran" which opened with: "We urge the speedy release and return to this country of the detained sailors and marines." While it is appropriate to call for the release of the Iranian diplomats seized by U.S. forces in Iraq, it is quite another

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the operation in 2004, but in fact the deal had been concocted under Jospin, when Royal and Buffet were in the government. It was under Jospin, at the Barcelona summit meeting, that it was decided at the European level to open up the electricity market, thus ending the monopoly and raising the perspective of privatization.

The CGT union bureaucracy at the EDF did not commit this betrayal simply because its leader, Denis Cohen, was a sellout. Lenin explained in his 1916 work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* that, especially in the imperialist countries, there is a strong objective basis for buying off a small layer of the working class thanks to the super-profits coming from the imperialists' exploitation of the world.

The union bureaucracy is based on this "labor aristocracy," which in France is generally white and male. Because of its limited advantages, this layer of workers identifies with the interests of its own capitalists against their rivals. They thus consider that the need to "modernize" the corporations—that is, to dismantle workers' gains—is inevitable. What the bureaucracy did yesterday at the EDF they may well do tomorrow with regard to railway workers, whether we have a Sarkozy or a Royal government. Royal will simply be more able than Sarkozy to count on support from the union bureaucracy.

The fight against chauvinism in the working class is integrally linked to the struggle against racist divisions among workers. We fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants***. We oppose all forms of discrimination, in hiring and elsewhere, against immigrant workers, including work bans against workers from [East European] countries that have recently joined the European Union. The strike last fall at the Modeluxe industrial laundry for the legalization and rehiring of their undocumented colleagues, which was finally victorious, shows that it is possible to mobilize the proletariat in defense of immigrant workers.

However, France today is the European country with the lowest level of immigration. Racist discrimination targets mainly the children and grandchildren of workers who immigrated to France a long time ago, most often from the former colonial empire. These youth are French citizens, but without the rights of citizenship. They are subjected to daily cop harassment, racist discrimination in hiring and housing, heightened job insecurity, etc. These youth today are a strategic component of the proletariat, whether it is in the auto industry (look at the strike in recent days at Magnetto, a Citroën subcontractor at Aulnay) or at the Roissy airport. The government is going after the railway workers in order to be able to take on the whole working class. In the same way, it uses racist poison against *banlieue* youth to try to divide the working class and attack the gains of all. That is why mobilizing in defense of this most oppressed layer of workers is crucial for proletarian unity, including in the historically proletarian strongholds like the railroads.

It is not possible to clearly draw a class line against the Royal-Buffet-Chevènement popular front by voting in this election. LO and the LCR are running as pressure groups on Ségolène Royal. There is no party or candidate representing workers' interests that we can call to vote for. With capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the international working class has suffered serious defeats in the past period. Capitalist exploitation and oppression have intensified. Today the capitalists are on the offensive. But it would be totally impressionistic to think that it will always be this way. The class struggle remains the motor force of history. We struggle for the proletariat to become conscious of its historic mission as gravedigger of the capitalist system. The working class will sooner or later regain the initiative. And the key then will be the existence of a Bolshevik party to lead the proletariat to victory. We are preparing for that victory today by struggling to build such a Bolshevik vanguard workers party. ■

Trotskyist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forum

"Market Reforms" Exacerbate Contradictions in China

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

Saturday, April 21, 7 p.m.
University of Toronto, Bahen Centre
40 St. George Street, Room 2175
(north of College St.—nearest subway St. George)

TORONTO
For more information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Iran...

(continued from page 9)

thing for purported leftists to call for the release of their "own" imperialist forces in the Near East. These captives are not civilian hostages, but military personnel for whom being captured goes with the territory. For the StWC, however, such displays of flagrant social-chauvinism are par for the course. The purpose of this "anti-war movement" was not to wage class struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system which breeds war, but to unite the maximum forces possible on a programme of bourgeois pacifism, lulling anti-war protesters with the absurd lie that capitalist "democracy" is the road to peace. The political perspective of the StWC is to pressure Blair to "break with Bush"; in other words it simply advocates an alternative foreign policy for British imperialism—one more independent of the U.S.

The Bloody Legacy of British Imperialism

The British press bemoans the fact that all layers of Iranian society loathe and despise British imperialism which is widely dubbed "little Satan" to the "great Satan" in the U.S. This hatred stems not only from the Blair government's role in the brutal occupation of Iraq, but from British imperialism's historic role in Iran when it was the world's leading power. Today, all the bellyaching in the capitalist press cannot disguise the fact that Britain is now a senile imperialist power that is totally dependent on U.S. imperialism to police its own interests abroad.

The fact that British imperialism is hated in Iran *in its own right* gives the lie to the reformists' claim that the main problem with British imperialism is its "special relationship" with the U.S. The present bloody mess in the Near East is the legacy of the carnage, savagery and "divide-and-rule" machinations of British imperialism when it was the dominant world power. For over a hundred years British imperialism has sought to appropriate for itself access to Iran's oil wealth. The modern oil giant BP began as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which the British government bought a 50 per cent stake in 1913. Over the ensuing decades Britain engineered a number of "regime changes" and in 1941 invaded the country and occupied the oil region in the south. (Meanwhile the Soviet Army entered the north and helped establish the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan.)

When the nationalist government of Mohammad Mossadeq, elected in 1951, proposed to nationalise Iran's oil, the Labour government of Clement Attlee imposed a naval blockade in the Gulf and asked the UN to condemn Iran (which it refused to do). The British hatched a plot to overthrow Mossadeq but lacked the wherewithal to carry it out, until they could persuade the CIA to take it over. Mossadeq was toppled and replaced by the brutal rule of the Shah. This history illustrates that the bloody carnage wrought by the U.S. and British rulers in Iraq today is not some aberration from the "democratic" norm, but the everyday workings of imperialism which in the pursuit of profits is driven to strive for domination of markets and spheres of influence. This, and not a misguided foreign policy, is what drives the imperialist powers to wage war.

Vahdat/ISNA

Tehran, March 6: Teachers demonstrate in front of Iran's legislature during strike for better wages and other demands.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The reactionary 1979 Iranian "Islamic Revolution" that overthrew the CIA-backed Shah was supported by the bulk of the left internationally in the name of "anti-imperialism." This included the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) party in Iran, which had a base among the country's strategic, heavily Arab oil workers. Uniquely on the left, the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) gave no political support to Ayatollah Khomeini's forces. We said: "Down with the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini! For workers revolution in Iran!" After taking power, the mullahs enslaved women in the veil, slaughtered thousands of leftists and trade unionists and intensified repression against Kurds and other minorities, as we said they would.

While the bulk of the "left" howled along with the imperialists against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" In a 1982 article, "Iran and Permanent Revolution" we wrote:

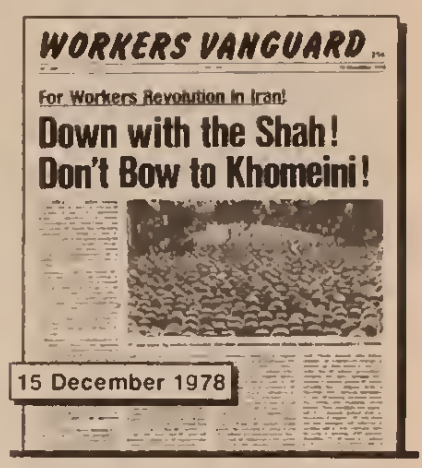
> "Afghanistan embodies all of the backward wretchedness of Iran—the tyranny of the landlords, khans, money lenders and mullahs—but without the internal social resources (i.e., a modern industrial proletariat) for its own emancipation. The Red Army intervention not only poses the military defense of the social gains of the October Revolution against an imperialist-backed counterrevolution on the southern border of the USSR. It also poses the extension of those gains to the oppressed Afghan peoples. The crime of the Kremlin bureaucrats would be to capitulate to world imperialism (as Stalin did in Azerbaijan in 1946) and withdraw the Red Army, thereby turning Afghanistan over to the tribal chiefs, the CIA and Khomeini and his ilk."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 33, Spring 1982

The Kremlin did treacherously withdraw Soviet forces in 1988-89, which was the opening for the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution throughout Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union itself. This historic defeat for the world proletariat has brought devastation to the working people of those societies and emboldened the imperialists in their attacks globally while fuelling the resurgence of religious reaction throughout the world.

Iran today is a cauldron of discontent, among students, women, trade unionists and national minorities. Its reactionary president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is an anti-Semite who has grotesquely referred to the slaughter of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust as a "myth." It is the task of the working class in Iran, leading women, national and ethnic minorities and all the oppressed behind it, to overthrow the Persian-chauvinist Islamic capitalist regime. Key to this perspective is the forging of a Leninist workers party. Such parties must be built throughout the Near East to unite the proletariat—Arab, Persian, Kurdish and Hebrew, Sunni and Shi'ite, Muslim and Christian—in struggle against imperialism and against the Zionists, mullahs, colonels, sheiks and all the other capitalist rulers. The fight for workers rule in the Near East crucially includes shattering the Zionist garrison state from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution.

This is the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, which vitally includes the fight to extend working-class rule to the imperialist centres, not least through the struggle for socialist revolution in Britain and the U.S. In the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East, Leninist workers parties are essential to break the proletariat of the region from fundamentalism, nationalism and illusions in imperialist "democracy." The Stalinised Communist parties of the Near East, which made a virtue of supporting various bourgeois forces, such as Mossadeq, betraying revolutionary opportunities, share responsibility for the growth of Islamic fundamentalism among the working and oppressed masses.

The British capitalist rulers are unrelenting allies of U.S. imperialism, the deadliest force on the face of this planet. The task of revolutionaries in the imperialist centres is to fight for proletarian revolution against our "own" ruling class. The only solution to imperialist depredation is the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order by the proletariat and its replacement with a rationally planned economy under the rule of the workers. When Bush and Blair launched their wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, both the Spartacist League/Britain and our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. called for military defence of those countries, without giving an iota of political support to the regimes there. At the same time we call on the proletariat in Britain and in the U.S. to wage class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home. As sections of the International Communist League, the Spartacist League/U.S. is committed to the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiracial proletariat in the struggle to sweep away U.S. imperialism while the Spartacist League/Britain is dedicated to building a revolutionary workers party to lead the multiethnic proletariat to likewise put an end to British imperialism through socialist revolution. ■



In contrast to our opponents on the left, Spartacists gave no political support to reactionary 1979 "Islamic revolution."

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

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Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

Thursday, April 19, 7 p.m.

The 1917 Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power

San Francisco State University
Rosa Parks O

Information end readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.

Why China Is Not Capitalist: Defend the Deformed Workers States of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Columbia University, Kent Hall 511
(take #1 train to 116th St.)

Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@compuserve.com

CHICAGO

The Capitalist State: Machinery of Bourgeois Repression

Tuesday, April 17, 7 p.m.

Harper Memorial Library, Room 125
University of Chicago
1116 E. 59th Street

Saturday, April 21, 4 p.m.

222 S. Morgan Street (buzzer 23)
(near CTA Blue Line UIC-Halsted station)

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, April 26, 6 p.m.

Women's Oppression and the Family

UCLA, Kerkhoff 152

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

China...

(continued from page 2)

from the clutches of the imperialist powers that had long held that country in servitude. That revolution laid the basis for collectivizing the economy, resulting in enormous social progress for the workers and peasants. However, the workers state that emerged was deformed from its inception by the rule of a nationalist bureaucracy fundamentally similar to that which came to power in the Soviet Union through a political counterrevolution led by Stalin & Co. beginning in 1924. The Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country" meant accommodation to world imperialism, selling out revolutionary opportunities throughout the capitalist world.

Trotsky and his followers unflinchingly defended the Soviet Union against the forces of the class enemy while calling for proletarian political revolution to sweep away Stalin's bureaucratic regime and return the Soviet Union to the revolutionary, internationalist principles that animated the October Revolution. Likewise, we in the International Communist League fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution in the former East Germany and USSR and for workers political revolution. Today we raise the same program in regard to China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states. The DSP stands on the ***other side*** of the barricades.

Among other political atrocities, in the 1980s the DSP (then called the Socialist Workers Party) embraced counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, the only "union" beloved by the CIA, Vatican and Western bankers. In 1991, DSP leader Renfrey Clarke literally manned Yeltsin's barricades during the imperialist-backed countercoup in Moscow, which signaled the ascendancy of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. At home, the DSP played a leading role in mobilizing support for Australian imperialist troops to be sent to East Timor in 1999 and to this day refuses to call for their withdrawal (see "What Is the Democratic Socialist Party?" *Australasian Spartacist* No. 167, Autumn 1999).

Slee treats the key question of the state in classic social-democratic fashion. Behind his account of the extent of privatizations in China lies the hoary Lahorite notion that "socialism" can be achieved by reaching a certain level of nationalization of the economy, presumably under such a "democratic" government as that of Clement Attlee's Labour Party, which managed the affairs of declining British imperialism following World War II. In regard to China, Slee is running the film of reformism in reverse.

The 1949 Revolution smashed bourgeois rule in China, and that remains the case today. At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate Communist Party (CCP) political power, the explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucracy. And when that happens, the question will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation.

Slee's arguments to the contrary notwithstanding, state-owned enterprises remain dominant in strategic industrial sectors such as steel, nonferrous metals, heavy machinery, shipbuilding, telecommunications, electric power, oil extraction and refining. The nationalization of land has prevented the emergence of a class of large-scale agrarian capitalists socially dominating the countryside. The state's effective control over the financial system has enabled the Beijing regime to insulate China from the volatile movements of speculative money-capital that periodically wreak havoc with neocolonial countries from East Asia to Latin America.

To the extent that the CCP regime has opened up sections of the country to capitalist investment, it acts as labor contractors for the imperialists and offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. But such does not equate to the rule of capital. The world's bourgeois rulers understand this much, which explains their push for China to "open up" banking and privatize the core state-owned enterprises, as well as the military pressures exerted by the imperialists against China. A U.S.-Japan military pact signed two years ago that embraced capitalist Taiwan as "a mutual security concern"—a brazen provocation against China—has now been followed up by a pact sealed last month by Japan and Australia that aims to "contain" China and targets as well the North Korean deformed workers state.

Slee's dragging the name of revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky into his arguments demonstrates utter cynicism, not least since his party explicitly repudiated Trotskyism back in 1984. Slee implies that Trotsky saw the Stalinist bureaucracy as simply a counterrevolutionary force. Not so. In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937) and other works, Trotsky explained that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state.

Here's one clue to reality: during the incipient proletarian political revolution in China in 1989, the People's Liberation Army initially refused to move against the workers of Beijing and the military leadership itself began to split, before new units were brought in to crush the rebellion. Such splits are hardly characteristic of the armed forces of capitalist class rule. But they do reflect the contradictions inherent in a workers state under bureaucratic rule. Such contradictions are also apparent in the economy. As we wrote in Part Two of "China's 'Market Reforms': A Trotskyist Analysis" (*WV* No. 875, 1 September 2006):

> "The People's Republic of China today exhibits both the tremendous advantages that are a consequence of the overthrow of the capitalist system—centrally, a level of economic growth far outstripping that of capitalist neocolonies like India—as well as the profoundly negative fruits of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The latter include sharply increased inequality, the growth of new bourgeois forces intertwined with the parasitic bureaucracy, and the looming threat of a capitalist counterrevolution that would destroy the gains made by China's worker and peasant masses. A Leninist-Trotskyist party must be forged to lead China's huge and powerful working class, at the head of the peasants and urban poor, in a proletarian political revolution."

Slee simply equates the Chinese workers state with the CCP bureaucracy, whose rule undermines the defense of that state and the social gains embodied in it. With its program of "socialism in one country" and its corollary—"peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—the Mao Zedong regime forged an alliance with the U.S. against the former Soviet Union, a betrayal of the world working class. Within China, a very backward society, Mao pursued policies of economic autarky and supposed egalitarianism (exempting, of course, the bureaucrats). Following Mao's death in 1976, the regime of Deng Xiaoping moved to decollectivize agriculture and opened China to direct capital investment from the offshore bourgeoisie in Taiwan and Hong Kong and from Western and Japanese corporations. Sworn enemies of workers democracy, which is necessary for the healthy operation of a planned economy, Stalinist regimes turn to "market reforms" as a whip to increase productivity, attempting to correct the imbalances of the command-planned economy.

As for the investment by "transnational corporations" to which Slee refers, revolutionary Marxists do not oppose China's extensive economic relations with the capitalist world through trade and joint ventures. The key question is the political program of the regime that administers the workers state. In 1921, the Bolsheviks introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), which made significant concessions to small traders and invited foreign investment. They undertook this program as a temporary measure to spur production in a backward, largely peasant country that had been devastated by World War I and by the Civil War following the October Revolution, during which 14 capitalist countries invaded the workers state.

At the same time, the Bolsheviks fought for the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, an essential prerequisite for development toward socialism. Under the regime of proletarian democracy, the Soviet workers were guaranteed trade-union rights and other protections in any capitalist-financed plant. And Lenin and Trotsky insisted on maintaining a state monopoly of foreign trade as a means to protect the Soviet economy from imperialist pressures.

In contrast to the Bolsheviks, the Chinese Stalinists from Mao's time on have excluded the working class from political power and opposed the perspective of international proletarian revolution. Conditions are indeed brutal in capitalist plants in the "Special Economic Zones" and elsewhere. There is indeed rising social inequality. On the other hand, economic expansion has had the effect of proletarianizing millions of former peasants, and the country has seen massive struggles by both peasants and workers in defense of their livelihoods. Last month, 20,000 peasants in Hunan province confronted the police in protest against a sharp rise in bus fares. The government eventually reinstated the original fares and suspended the bus company while arresting protest leaders—actions characteristic not of a possessing class but of a brittle and parasitic caste that deeply fears social protest. The thousands of struggles by workers and peasants that occur yearly in China indicate the raw material for proletarian political revolution, which requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Slee claims a direct identity between now-capitalist Russia and today's China. This is utterly false. When capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the former Soviet Union, all the "new class theories" propounded by social-democratic fake Trotskyists could not explain the devastation that resulted. Life expectancy in Russia has plummeted, women have been thrown back, murderous nationalism runs rampant. U.S. imperialism, unfettered by what had been the industrial-military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, feels free to launch military adventures abroad, while capitalist governments the world over accelerate their attacks on workers and the oppressed at home.

Should China succumb to counterrevolution, the results would be catastrophic: the return of imperialist subjugation, the dismantling of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, the deepening of "death of communism" ideology internationally. This is an outcome we seek to combat. And in such a showdown, the DSP will stand on the side of counterrevolution, as it has done and is doing. Thus, even before its formal January 1999 declaration that China was a capitalist state, the DSP embraced such counterrevolutionary causes as independence for capitalist Taiwan and "Free Tibet!" while promoting pro-imperialist "trade-union activist" Han Dongfang, editor of the *China Labour Bulletin*, Christian convert and darling of anti-Communist circles in Washington.

The DSP last year attempted to draw a blood line against our communist political criticisms, which we exposed throughout the left and labor movement (see "Condemn DSP Thug Attack on Spartacist Woman at Union Rally," *WV* No. 876, 15 September 2006). Does the timing of Slee's letter, only some months later, have anything to do with this? We don't know. What we do know is that Chris Slee, and the DSP, are "little Aussie" nationalist social democrats, hashing China in lockstep with their jackal imperialist rulers, the chauvinists at the helm of the Australian Labor Party and the petty-bourgeois swamp in which they swim.■

Xinhua

State-owned Dalian Shipbuilding Industry plant, one of world's largest.

AFP

Thousands protest near municipal government office in Xi'an, Shaanxi province, 2006. Banner reads: "Government Take Pity on Laid-Off Workers Who Need Food to Eat."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Consensus Against Immigrants, Minority Youth

AFP

Reuters

Cops arrest youth in Paris suburb during crackdown against ghetto rebellion that swept France, October 2005. Riot police at Gare du Nord transport hub in Paris, March 2007.

French Election: No Choice for Workers

We print below a presentation on the French presidential election, the first round of which takes place on April 22, given by Alexis Henri at a March 1 meeting in Paris of the Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). It is translated from the LTF newspaper Le Bolchévik *No. 179 (March 2007).*

LE BOLCHEVIK

The 2007 election campaign offers the "choice" between Nicolas Sarkozy, the minister of cops who introduced seven racist security laws and carried out tens of thousands of deportations of *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants]; François Bayrou, author of the first racist decree against young veiled women in high schools in 1994, when he was minister in the right-wing government of Balladur-Sarkozy; and [Socialist Party candidate] Ségolène Royal, former Minister of the Family, who wants to militarize the turbulent youth in the *banlieues* [suburban ghettos]. Whether it is Sarkozy's "party of order" or Royal's party of "a just order," it remains the order of the bourgeois republic—that is, capitalist and racist order.

In such a con game, people in general prefer the original to the copy. Indeed, a significant layer of backward workers is seriously considering voting for Sarkozy, the main candidate of the bourgeoisie, on the basis that he has proven himself to be determined in repressing youth, while Royal has only made promises.

Sarkozy, who has been a government minister almost continually for the past five years, is running as the candidate who represents a "sharp break." In a certain sense, this is true. The French political system in the post-World War II period was based on two main pillars. First was the class collaboration practiced by a powerful pro-Soviet Communist Party (PCF), which saved the bourgeois order in 1944. The PCF at the time participated in a capitalist government with the Gaullists and disarmed the workers when the French bourgeoisie was totally discredited by its collaboration with the Nazis. The PCF did it again in May 1968 by selling out the general strike for a mere 6 percent wage increase and new elections. The second pillar was the possibility for French imperialism, which could still look to its former colonial empire for support, of adopting an independent posture. This was tolerated by American imperialism on the basis that it was preferable to have certain countries making speeches and deals with De Gaulle or [former Socialist president François] Mitterrand rather than ending up as satellites of Moscow.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, this period is definitively over. Today the PCF is merely a shadow of what it used to be. Interimperialist rivalries have considerably sharpened, forcing each national bourgeoisie to step up its attacks on the working class in order to increase profits and survive in a climate of intensified competition between corporations. On the one hand, Sarkozy aims to reduce the foreign policy ambitions of French imperialism, bringing them more into line with its status as a third-rate imperialist power. On the other hand, he will need to break the back of the organized working class. He has promised, once he is elected, to take on the strongest bastion of the working class, the railway workers, who derailed Jacques Chirac & Co. in 1986 and again in December 1995. [The Gaullist Chirac was prime minister in 1986 and became president in 1995.] Sarkozy intends to ban railway workers' right to strike, to go forward with privatization of the SNCF [railway company] and destroy the special pension systems, which are highly advantageous for the workers. Behind this attack, the whole working class is being targeted.

How to Make a New Popular Front from the Old

There is no choice for workers in this election. It is necessary to expose the illusions in Royal being peddled by the "left" and the "left of the left," who present her as a "lesser evil" compared to Sarkozy. Royal does not represent the workers' interests. The bloc behind Royal and [PCF leader Marie-George] Buffet constitutes a "popular front," that is, a political bloc based on a program of managing capitalism in alliance with bourgeois parties such as that of [the Left Radical Party's] Christiane Taubira, or the formation led by [ultra-chauvinist] Jean-Pierre Chevènement. According to sources as diverse as the right-wing *Le Figaro*, the PCF's *l'Humanité* (10 January) and *Rouge* [newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, LCR], the PCF made an agreement with the Socialist Party (SP) to try to save its parliamentary group—and the government subsidies that go with it, without which the PCF apparatus would collapse. The agreement is not official so as to delude PCF members into thinking that Buffet does not wish to repeat the experience of 1997 [when she became a government minister under Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin] and to allow her to attract voters on the left—on behalf of Royal.

Bourdon/Le Parisien

March 6: Striking auto workers from Peugeot-Citroën plant in Aulnay, near Paris, demonstrate at company plant in Saint-Ouen.

Royal and Buffet, like their bourgeois allies Chevènement and [Green Party candidate Dominique] Voynet, were all ministers in the Jospin government, which intensified Vigipirate [a campaign of racist cop terror], privatized Air France and a large number of other companies (more so than any previous right-wing government) and strengthened cop surveillance of organizations aiding the *sans-papiers*. It participated in the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999 and, after September 11, 2001, introduced the "law on daily security," which served as a model for Sarkozy. In the course of her major TV appearance on February 19, Royal promised not only to strengthen neighborhood police in order, day in and day out, to better harass *banlieue* youth and to militarize control over youth. She also pledged to open 24-hour police stations in the *banlieues* and to create "boarding schools," which would actually be neighborhood prisons where youth would be locked up after being yanked from the care of their supposedly "failed" parents.

To give the slightest support to Ségolène Royal and vote for her program on the first or second round is in contradiction with the interests of the proletariat as a class opposed to the bourgeoisie. The proletariat produces the surplus value in the factories that is the basis on which the capitalist system functions. Because of this, only the proletariat has the social power and historic interest to overthrow this system.

We have always refused to give the slightest—even highly critical—support to a workers party participating in a popular front, because, in this case, it is part of a *bourgeois* alliance. To support a

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 891 | GCIU C-701 | 27 April 2007

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

AP

U.S. Air Force

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

Left: Workers at Smithfield meatpacking plant in North Carolina walk off job last November to protest firings of immigrants. Right: Air National Guard personnel in Arizona install section of fence along Mexican border, October 2006.

APRIL 24—On May Day last year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants, overwhelmingly Latino, took to the streets in cities across the U.S. in protest against the proposed "Border Protection, Antiterrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act," under which merely being in this country without papers would have meant being a felon.

It took no small amount of courage for these workers and their families, many of them already branded as "illegals," to come out in the teeth of escalating attacks on immigrants. But while many saw the demonstrations and walkouts as part of a continuing struggle in defense of their rights, protest leaders ensured that they served the political shell game that is a pillar of capitalist rule in America—the notion that the Democratic Party is the "friend" of labor, blacks and immigrants.

Chants of "Today we march, tomorrow we vote!" were the chorus orchestrated by the Latino organizations, Democratic politicians and their allies in the trade-union bureaucracy. This paid off handsomely for the Democrats in the November midterm elections, where they captured 70 percent of the Latino vote. Meanwhile, the vicious government crackdown on immigrants continues, resulting last year alone in the deportation of some 190,000 people. Agents of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) have been unleashed in raids on workplaces, neighborhoods and homes around the country. Today some 150 people were detained when rifle-toting federal agents raided a mall in a predominantly Latino Chicago neighborhood. We demand that all detainees be released now! No deportations!

With their eyes on next year's presidential elections, Rudolph Giuliani and other Republican politicians are increasingly playing the anti-immigrant card. But such nativist chauvinism is hardly just the Republicans' domain. A number of Democratic Congressional candidates, particularly in the South and Midwest, attacked their Republican opponents as "soft on illegal immigration." Even today's liberal darling, Barack Obama, voted for the "Secure Fence Act" mandating the construction of a 700-mile wall on the U.S./Mexico border, as did Hillary Clinton. The crackdown on immigrants has been greatly intensified by the "war on terror," through which the capitalist rulers have augmented an already vast machinery of state repression, with bipartisan support.

At bottom, divisions over immigration between and inside the Republican and Democratic parties reflect competing needs in the capitalist ruling class, part of which is dependent on low-cost immigrant labor. As other sectors of the economy absorb immigrant farm labor, agribusiness has howled about produce rotting for lack of pickers. Now the Colorado Corrections Department has begun a "pilot program" to provide farms with prison labor—a 21st-century version of the chain gang, at the cost of 60 cents per day per prisoner.

As a supposed "compromise," a new anti-immigrant bill has been cooked up by Illinois Democrat Luis Gutierrez and Arizona Republican Jeff Flake which offers a tortuous process of legalization for some while everyone else is considered a criminal. Latino politicos, mainstream immigrant rights organizations and union bureaucrats from Andy Stern's SEIU service workers union and the United Farm Workers have scandalously given their support to this vicious legislation. For their part, other immigrant rights groups as well as a variety of reformist left organizations are trying to resuscitate the "Great American Boycott" May Day protests of 2006. An article in *Workers World* (15 April) by Javier Rodriguez, described as a "co-founder of the May 1st National Movement," argues that "the country's progressive forces and allies are moving from traditional lobbying towards mass mobilization in an attempt to gain the upper hand and influence the national debate for a more inclusive pro-worker immigration reform." Besides *Workers World*, backing this endeavor are the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Revolutionary Communist Party and others.

But as Rodriguez himself makes clear, this is just the out-in-the-streets face of the lobby-the-Democrats game. Saluting the "historic" accomplishments of the 2006 protests, he numbers first among these "energizing the electorate and along with the anti-war sentiment changing the correlation of forces in Congress." The reformists' expectations in this new correlation of forces were put most baldly by the ISO, which in the aftermath of the

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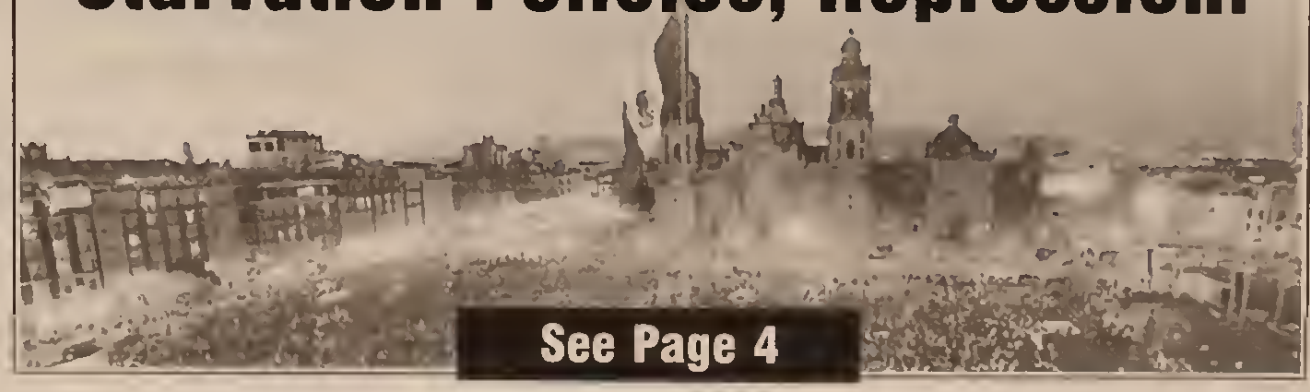
Mexico

For Labor Mobilizations Against Starvation Policies, Repression!



See Page 4

Rally in London to Free Mumia

Supporters in Britain of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal will join a May 5 rally, sponsored by the Partisan Defence Committee, to demand: "Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free Mumia now!" As the flyer for the rally emphasizes: "Mumia's life is in danger—*mobilise now!*" Oral argument on Mumia's *habeas corpus* legal appeal is due to be heard on May 17 in Philadelphia. With the U.S. capitalist state determined to execute this courageous fighter against racist oppression, what is urgently required is mass struggle—in the U.S., in Britain and internationally—centered on the social power of the unions.

Internationally, unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers have called to free Mumia. This month, the annual conference of the Scottish Trades Union Congress passed a motion, presented by the Aberdeen Trades Council, stating that Mumia "should be freed immediately from prison, as he is innocent, and the inherently racist death penalty should be abolished." A show of strength by the integrated working class on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal would strike a blow for all of us against the racist warmongers in Washington—whether Republican or Democratic—as well as their loyal lapdog, Tony Blair's Labour government.

Among the rally speakers will be renowned civil rights lawyer Gareth Peirce, known for defending some of the most prominent victims of racist capitalist injustice in Britain. Peirce was key in winning freedom for the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, who spent many years in jail after being framed up during the anti-Irish witchhunts that followed pub bombings in the early 1970s. She has also represented British detainees held in the U.S. torture camp at Guantánamo Bay; the family of Jean Charles de Menezes, an innocent Brazilian electrician killed by police in the London Underground as a "terror suspect" in July 2005; and the victims of the June 2006 police "anti-terror" raid in Forest Gate.

Rachel Wolkenstein, staff counsel of the Partisan Defense Committee (U.S.) and a former member of Mumia's legal team, will also speak. Wolkenstein was instrumental in first bringing Mumia's case to international attention and in uncovering evidence of his innocence, including securing the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Also on the platform on May 5 will be barrister Matthew Ryder of Matrix Chambers; Paul Moffat, Eastern Region Secretary of the Communication Workers Union; Glenroy Watson, chair of the Finshury Park London branch of the Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union and general secretary of the Global Afrikan Congress; and Steve Hedley, also a member of the RMT and a longtime supporter of Mumia.

Mumia was falsely convicted in 1982 of killing Faulkner and sentenced to death based on his political history and beliefs as a former Black Panther Party spokesman and supporter of the MOVE organization. His racist frame-up illustrates what the death penalty in the U.S. is all about—a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. Freedom for Mumia will not be won by reliance on the same racist "justice" system that has kept him on death row for over 25 years. The London rally must be part of rebuilding the type of massive protest that stayed the executioner's hand in 1995, when millions worldwide took up Mumia's cause. Now more than ever that support must be mobilized to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!■

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

Free Mumia Now!

Mumia's Life Is in Danger—*Mobilise Now!*

Saturday 5 May, 1 p.m.
University of London Union, Room 3C&D,
Malet Street, London WC1
Nearest Tube: Russell Square or Goodge Street

We want to make it very clear that speakers at the rally initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee do not necessarily agree in any particular with any publicity for this rally printed by the Partisan Defence Committee.

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Russian Revolution and the Fight for Black Freedom

As Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon explained in a 1959 essay, Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International won American Communists to the understanding that the fight against the special oppression of black people was of central importance to the proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The earlier socialist movement, out of which the Communist Party was formed, never recognized any need for a special program on the Negro question. It was considered purely and simply as an economic problem, part of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists; nothing could be done about the special problems of discrimination and inequality this side of socialism....

It is customary to attribute the progress of the Negro movement, and the shift of public opinion in favor of its claims, to the changes brought about by the First World War. But the biggest thing that came out of the First World War, the event that changed everything, including the prospects of the American Negro, was the Russian Revolution. The influence of Lenin and the Russian Revolution, even debased and distorted as it later was by Stalin, and then filtered through the activities of the Communist Party in the United States, contributed *more than any other influence from any source* to the recognition, and more or less general acceptance, of the Negro question as a *special* problem of American society—a problem which cannot be simply subsumed under the general heading of the conflict between capital and labor, as it was in the pre-communist radical movement....

Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth.

—James P. Cannon, "The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

Protest F.O.P. Harassment of Mumia Supporters

The following April 20 letter was sent to the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal by the Partisan Defense Committee after intimidation by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) forced the relocation of an April 24 event celebrating Mumia's birthday.

We are writing to express our solidarity with you against vicious cop intimidation directed at you and others who speak out on Mumia's behalf. We note that F.O.P. harassment and threats of terror have forced a change of venue for the birthday celebration you have planned for next week in Philadelphia as well as the forced relocation of a scheduled hip-hop benefit for Mumia here in New York City last Sunday. Unfortunately we were not able to attend that event.

As you point out, this is not a new phenomenon for those who have sought to mobilize for Mumia's freedom. The recent coordinated campaign to silence Mumia's supporters is yet another example of the determination of the racist capitalist state to legally lynch this courageous and innocent man. We stand in defense of all efforts to publicize and organize for Mumia's fight for freedom.■

New York Labor Black League and Spartacus Youth Club

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Video showing of *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal* and update on Mumia's case

Saturday, May 5, 4 p.m.
For more information: (212) 267-1025

299 Broadway, Suite 318
(north of Chambers St.)

WORKERS VANGUARD
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 24

No. 891 **27 April 2007**

Diana Kartsen

WV Photo

1948-2007

Our comrade Diana Kartsen died on April 12 from ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, better known as "Lou Gehrig's disease"). Although increasingly paralyzed as the disease progressed, Diana fought with every ounce of strength to contribute to party work and discussion, and for the preservation and continuity of the Prometheus Research Library where she was Librarian.

Diana's death is a painful blow to our comrades internationally, and to no one more than her companion and comrade Ed Kartsen. Our hearts go out to Ed, to Diana's family and to others close to her. We are bitter that we were robbed of a comrade of Diana's caliber, not least because backward religious elements at the helm of the U.S. imperialist ruling class have condemned millions to suffer hideously by blocking stem cell research that might lead to a cure for ALS and other diseases. Diana's dedication to human emancipation was also a struggle to free science from subordination to reactionary obscurantism through international socialist revolution.

Comrades who had the privilege to know and work with Diana benefited from her camaraderie in multiple ways; as a political and military leader in demonstrations; as a department head who ensured that comrades were given a thorough political briefing and overview as the precondition to any assignment, no matter how pressing the tasks or short the time at hand; as a wry wit and sympathetic friend to share a drink with; as a moral person with a strong sense of right and wrong whom you could count on for good advice. In a letter to comrades on the day Diana died, Ed Kartsen succinctly conveyed her strengths:

> "Diana has been correctly honored for her military command capabilities and as an inspiring leadership role model for many of the younger cadre. Of course she should also be honored for her lifelong work in the party to preserve the political history of our movement in her library work. This was an expression of her understanding of the importance of historic knowledge for the development of Marxist theory and program. She had a clear comprehension of the unity of mental and physical labor, that is, of theory with practice. She appreciated the value of maintenance, and the concept of systems.
>
> "Her understanding of the value of knowledge included the understanding of the critical importance of acquiring new knowledge about the political and natural world. Diana's pursuit of knowledge was driven with the same determination she showed on the battlefield and she took an active interest in learning the principles of dialectics. Diana combined organization and theory and understood both to be necessary in the fight for a socialist future of the human race."

Diana was won to Marxism and the Spartacist League as a student at the University of Chicago during the tumultuous period of the Vietnam antiwar movement. One comrade recalled seeing "this striking young woman with red flowing hair and a visible hammer and sickle pin on her jacket striding across campus." While a graduate student specializing in Islamic art, she was won from the orbit of the International Socialists to authentic Trotskyism—to the importance of defending the gains of the Russian Revolution and building a party capable of leading the fight for new Octobers.

After working for a period of time as a close supporter of our Revolutionary Marxist Caucus in Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), in October 1971 she became a founding member of the Chicago branch of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth group of the Spartacist League. Shortly thereafter she went to live and study in India, where she functioned under the political direction of the party. She joined the Spartacist League in 1974 after her return.

That same year, a Perspectives and Tasks document passed at the SL/U.S. Fourth National Conference stated:

> "One of the crucial tasks of the vanguard of the proletariat is the struggle to function as the memory of the working class. An important component of this struggle for continuity is the systematic assembling, propagation and critical assimilation of the primary documentary history of the workers movement. Given the passage of time and the accumulation of distortions and vulgarizations, only the precise, verified reconstruction of past realities can serve as a true compass....
>
> "We recognize that archival work constitutes an important party task and project the regular assignment of a qualified comrade to direct this work."

Diana was the qualified comrade found to lead the work of the Prometheus Research Library, drawing on her experience as an assistant at the Tamiment Library at New York University. The Prometheus Research Library's collection grew out of the 40-year accumulated and organized collection of SL National Chairman James Robertson. With Diana as Librarian and Jim as Director, the PRL accumulated over 6,000 books and periodical volumes. Particular emphasis is on minutes of leading committees and internal discussion materials from our revolutionary forebears. She also led the Library through the painstaking archival research and other work involved in the publishing of two books on historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon (*James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* and *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933*), a publication of Trotsky's *Third International After Lenin* in the original Russian and six *Prometheus Research Series* bulletins.

There are few positions in top party leadership and administration where Diana did ***not*** serve. The delegates at the SL's Sixth National Conference in 1980 elected Diana as a candidate member of the Central Committee. For a period of time she was department head for the International Secretariat while also holding down the Library. Elected a full member of the Central Committee in 1987, Diana was later elected to the SL/U.S. Political Bureau and to the office of National Secretary, paying particular attention to the often conflicting demands of central office departments and SL locals and to politically organizing the necessary discussion to prioritize our work. She also served for some years as Political Bureau secretary. Diana's objectivity, fairness and integrity particularly suited her longtime role as the Central Committee representative to the party's Central Control Commission.

Diana was also recognized as the party's best general. In May 1981, she received a battlefield promotion from candidate to alternate member of the Central Committee and won a commendation from the Political Bureau for fighting to marshal our forces against a daisy-chain goon squad set up by the reformist Workers World Party to seal off a rally by our Anti-Imperialist Contingent at an El Salvador demonstration in Washington, D.C. While Workers World appealed to Democratic Party "doves" to set a more "humane" policy for U.S. imperialism, our contingent drew the class line over the civil war raging in El Salvador with the slogans "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

From that day forward, Diana was a central military and political leadership component of almost every mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League or Partisan Defense Committee to stop the KKK and Nazi fascists, and dozens of other demonstrations.

With pain and sadness, and determination to continue the struggle to which Diana dedicated her life, comrades worldwide give the party's best general a last, strong comradely salute.

Diana leading our contingent at Philadelphia demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal, 12 August 1995.

Mexico

For Labor Mobilizations Against Starvation Policies, Repression!

The following article, edited for publication in WV, *is translated from* Espartaco *No. 27 (Spring 2007), newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

Mexico is an extremely explosive society. The divisions within the ruling class are now out in the open. The right-wing PAN [National Action Party] of Felipe Calderón seeks to continue and deepen the neoliberal and anti-working-class measures of the former regime of [Vicente] Fox, especially through privatization of the oil industry, the country's main source of revenue. The nationalist-populist PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] worries both about massive unrest and the excessive demands of the imperialists.

Cristina Rodriguez AP

January 31: Massive Mexico City protest by union and peasant organizations against jump in tortilla prices and for emergency wage increase. Bush meets Mexican president Calderón in Yucatán in March (inset).

These divisions have been evident since Fox launched the *desafuero* [stripping of immunity] campaign against [prospective PRD presidential candidate] Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) in 2004 and continued through the post-electoral polarization in 2006, with demonstrations of millions of people protesting the electoral fraud. In Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán, the miners and steel workers union waged the most powerful and combative labor strike in decades. Striking teachers and the oppressed masses of Oaxaca occupied the state capital. Out of fear of greater social explosions, the PAN rulers have pushed a growing militarization of the country, in some cases even threatening their bourgeois opponents in the PRD.

In anticipation of a Mexican Electrical Workers Union (SME) strike announced for March 16, but called off just one hour before it was scheduled to begin, the government sent in the army to surround several facilities of Luz y Fuerza del Centro [regional electric company covering Mexico City] as a threat to the working class as a whole. The new president ordered massive military operations in coordination with the police in states like Michoacán, Guerrero and Baja California to terrorize the population, targeting in particular rural zones where guerrillas have a presence and the working-class concentrations near the northern border. In February, to ensure the loyalty of the troops, Calderón gave them a pay raise of over 45 percent—a slap in the face to the working masses who received less than 4 percent.

The old PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] regime's economic base has been undermined by growing economic subjugation to the U.S., symbolized and driven by the NAFTA treaty for the imperialist rape of Mexico. The corporatist union structure is in severe crisis, and the benefits that corporatism once offered to some unionized sectors—like cheap housing, food subsidies and job security—have become a thing of the past. The PAN, with the PRI, looks to the privatization of the oil industry, and pushes for "reforms" to the State Workers Social Security and Services Institute (ISSSTE), which are aimed against the retirement pension system of government workers and tantamount to its privatization. These reforms are similar to the ones approved in 2004 for the Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS).

The PAN's most recent attack on the poor—which was met with massive demonstrations—was the increase in the price of tortillas, the main staple food for most Mexicans, by over 40 percent. The stage had been prepared by over a decade of NAFTA and the more recent international rise in the price of corn. However, the immediate cause of the current crisis was speculation on the part of corn magnates, both domestic (especially GRUMA/Maseca) and American (like Cargill and Archer Daniels Midland) in collusion with the federal government. With nearly half the rural population living below the official poverty line and 20 percent in utter destitution, this price hike, together with the price increases for other basic products like milk and eggs, threatens the population with starvation. The convulsive struggles from Lázaro Cárdenas to Oaxaca to Atenco have found a unifying element in this crisis: the policies of Bush and his lackeys are uniting in struggle the workers, the peasants and other sectors of the population.

In a 27 January leaflet ("Mobilize the Working Class Against Hunger and Repression!") [reprinted in *WV* No. 886, 16 February] we demanded the expropriation of the corn magnates without compensation as a call for the working class to fight against the capitalist class as a whole. We called for "labor strikes that demand a subsidy for tortillas so everyone can have them" which, together with our call for "the distribution of food for all under control of the trade unions," would ensure food distribution among the workers and the poor. We also called for opening the accounting books and the abolition of trade secrets.

Price watch committees, comprised of factory delegates, unions, cooperatives, peasant organizations and the urban poor, could be the nucleus of workers self-defense units against the repression accompanying the crisis. We fight for a sliding scale of wages that would ensure pay raises proportional to price increases, and for a sliding scale of working hours to divide up the available work, along with an extensive public works program to combat the massive chronic unemployment in the cities.

Our slogans—which underscore the irreconcilable contradiction between the capitalist mode of production and a system that would serve the interests of workers and the oppressed—aim at mobilizing the proletariat at the head of all the poor. Our program against the current crisis is centered on the working class which, due to its relationship to the means of production, is the only class with the historical interest and the social power to sweep away this system of economic exploitation once and for all. The bourgeoisie owns the means of production and therefore expropriates the fruits of the proletariat's labor. The fundamental task for Mexican revolutionaries today is to struggle for the *political independence of the proletariat*: to struggle against the

Capitalist rule mires Mexico in bitter poverty: slum area in Mexico City (left); people searching through garbage in Matamoros, near U.S. border.

Janet Jarman photos

No Support to the Bourgeois PRD, PRI, PAN!
For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

illusions in the PRD that permeate the working class and to oppose the bourgeois state's interference in the labor movement, fighting to forge a revolutionary workers party.

The Counterrevolutionary Destruction of the USSR and the "New World Order"

The current price crisis is conditioned internationally by the capitalist counterrevolution in the deformed workers states of East Europe beginning in 1989 and in the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state represented a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat, resulting in a general retrogression of working-class consciousness and opening a new period of the redivision of the world markets among the economic powers on a global scale. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is the economic system in which the national markets have been surpassed and the imperialist powers compete for control of the international markets, thus leading to wars. Without the military, ideological and economic counterweight of the first and largest workers state in the world, U.S. imperialism has emerged as the sole superpower, which today means such wars of colonial occupation as in Afghanistan and Iraq and the increased subjugation of the underdeveloped capitalist countries. In Mexico, the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the indiscriminate opening of the domestic economy to imperialist monopoly finance capital, particularly through NAFTA and massive privatizations.

Uniquely among the left, we Spartacists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union, the DDR (the East German deformed workers state), and the other deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies in power and establish the genuine workers democracy of soviets and factory councils. Today we do the same for the world's remaining deformed workers states: China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam.

Break with the PRD, Party of Capital!

The PRD represents the political wing of the bourgeoisie that seeks to use concessions to defuse the discontent of the workers and oppressed, so as to perpetuate the system of capitalist exploitation. The differences between the PRD and the PAN boil down to the manner of administering capitalism—with the carrot or with the stick. However, large masses of workers, peasants and youth see in the bourgeois populism of López Obrador and the PRD a viable alternative to the clerical and neoliberal policies of the PAN. The PRD, which emerged out of the PRI (as did AMLO himself), is a party of capital, inherently anti-worker. Nationalist populism is not anti-capitalist; in fact, it reinforces capitalism by strengthening the ties binding the working class to its "own" national bourgeoisie.

Just like its bourgeois opponents, the PRD does not hesitate to unleash state forces against the struggles of the workers and the oppressed. This was shown in the murderous attack on the Lázaro Cárdenas strikers in April 2006 and in the police attacks against students in the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] strike of 1999-2000, as well as the recent brutal occupation of the [impoverished] Tepito neighborhood by the Mexico City police and the expulsion of hundreds of families.

Many workers see in AMLO a sort of reincarnation of General Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, who [in the 1930s] used democratic reforms and concessions to win the support of the workers and peasants. Cárdenas' fundamental objective was to modernize the country for the benefit of the national bourgeoisie and never to call into question the bourgeoisie's rule. This required the support of the working class against the bourgeois factions opposed to the reforms and against the imperialists' demands. Once this objective was achieved, he himself unleashed the repressive force of the state against the strikers at the Azcapotzalco refinery in 1940, for example. The consequence of working-class trust in Cárdenas was the chaining of the labor unions to the state by means of the corporatist straitjacket and seven decades of brutal PRI rule. In the context of Lázaro Cárdenas' Mexico, Trotsky explained in 1940:

> "Inasmuch as foreign capital does not import workers but proletarianizes the native population, the national proletariat soon begins playing the most important role in the life of the country. In these conditions the national government, to the extent that it tries to show resistance to foreign capital, is compelled to a greater or lesser degree to lean on the proletariat. On the other hand, the governments of those backward countries which consider it inescapable or more profitable for themselves to march shoulder to shoulder with foreign capital, destroy the labor organizations and institute a more or less totalitarian regime."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

Albeit under different historical circumstances (fundamentally conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR), Cárdenas and AMLO embody analogous phenomena: bonapartist, bourgeois *caudillos* interested in the development of national capitalism and in impeding the development of an independent labor movement.

Many youth identify with Venezuela's Hugo Chávez and his "Bolivarian Revolution" as well as Bolivia's Evo Morales. The nationalizations in Venezuela and Bolivia—measures of national self-defense that we Marxists defend—do not free industries from capitalist domination, and in the end what happens in these countries is decided on an international scale. Capitalists in Venezuela are taking their money out of the country and in some cases they are hoarding their products, causing high inflation rates and shortages of food in the market. The imperialists sabotage and pull out their investments. This shows that it is impossible to solve problems in the framework of a single country. Reforms and nationalizations of certain branches of industry by a bourgeois state—reversible under the pressure of imperialism—do not lead to socialism. The repetitive cycle of bourgeois nationalist demagogy and neoliberal puppets has to be stopped. It is a task of the working class in the region to pull Latin America out of backwardness and imperialist subjugation. It is crucial to forge an international revolutionary workers party that can link the struggles of the impoverished masses to the powerful working class throughout the Americas.

Permanent Revolution and Defense of the Nationalized Energy Industry

Mexico is a country of combined and uneven capitalist development, where the most modern techniques of industrial production coexist side by side with the ancestral backwardness of the countryside. The bourgeoisies of the countries subjugated by imperialism are incapable of even carrying out the *bourgeois-democratic* tasks, such as national liberation, agrarian revolution and political democracy, that were historically associated with bourgeois revolutions such as the French Revolution of 1789. The revolutionary Leon Trotsky described the weakness of this class:

> "The pressure of foreign imperialism so alters and distorts the economic and political structure of these countries that the national bourgeoisie (even in the politically independent countries of South America) only partly reaches the height of a ruling class. The pressure of imperialism on backward countries does not, it is true, change their *basic* social character since the oppressor and oppressed represent only different levels of development in one and the same bourgeois society.... The bourgeoisie of colonial and semi-colonial countries is a semiruling, semi-oppressed class."
>
> —"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (1937)

We Spartacists base ourselves on the perspective of permanent revolution developed by Trotsky and vindicated in practice by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The full completion of the bourgeois-democratic tasks, in our time, is only possible under the rule of the proletariat. But once in power, the working class will not be able to limit itself to achieving these tasks; rather it would pass immediately to the *socialist*, collectivist tasks of the revolution. In so doing, the revolution acquires its *permanent* character. Thus the felt *bourgeois-democratic* demands of the population become a motor force for *socialist* revolution.

We oppose NAFTA and we defend the nationalized energy industry, especially but not only the oil industry, as basic measures of self-defense against the imperialists in a semicolonial country. The nationalizations in the energy sector were a crucial conquest for this country. As many layers of the population are perfectly aware, the privatization of oil will make for even greater subjugation to the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists.

Until March 1938 the Mexican oil industry belonged to the British, American and Dutch imperialists. Following the expropriation under Cárdenas, the oil magnates—especially the British, who had the support of "His Majesty"—imposed a boycott of Mexican crude oil and, in fact, provoked a rightist rebellion by General Cedillo against Cárdenas. Trotsky appealed to proletarian internationalism to mobilize British workers in defense of the Mexican expropriation against their own imperialist rulers. As Trotsky wrote:

> "The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense....
>
> "Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty-bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers, their diplomacy, their press, and their fascist hirelings. The cause of Mexico, like the cause of Spain, like the cause of China, is the cause of the international working class. The struggle over Mexican oil is only one of the advance-line skirmishes of future battles between the oppressors and the oppressed."
>
> —"Mexico and British Imperialism" (1938)

Today, it is the U.S. imperialists who circle like vultures over PEMEX [Mexico's state oil company]. One of the main reasons for Bush's recent visit to Mexico was to insist on opening the oil company to "private capital to expand Pemex production" (*La Jornada*, 11 March). U.S. workers have the internationalist duty to defend the Mexican nationalized oil industry against the predatory intentions of Bush and his imperialist cabal.

For a Workers and Peasants Government!

The peasantry is a heterogeneous layer of the petty bourgeoisie that is incapable of playing an independent political role as a class. Their productive activity is individual and based on the private ownership of a portion of land. Thus the peasants compete economically with each other. The peasantry does not have the objective class interest, cohesion or social power that the working class has to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish its own government. Especially with the implementation of NAFTA, the Mexican countryside has largely been devastated with great masses of peasants thrown off their land, faced with the inability to compete with large U.S. and Mexican agribusinesses. The impoverished peasantry and the great mass of the urban poor are the main potential allies of the proletariat for socialist revolution.

The industrial working class must place itself at the head of the other oppressed sectors in society and fight alongside

continued on page 6

María Meléndrez

Reuters

Left: At March protest against "reforms" aimed at pension and health care benefits, riot police in Mexico City block demonstrators from entering Senate building. Right: Police under PRD administration attack protest during UNAM student strike, December 1999.

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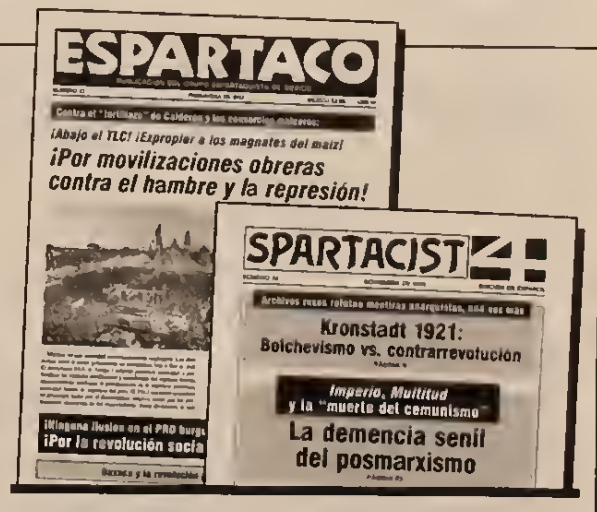

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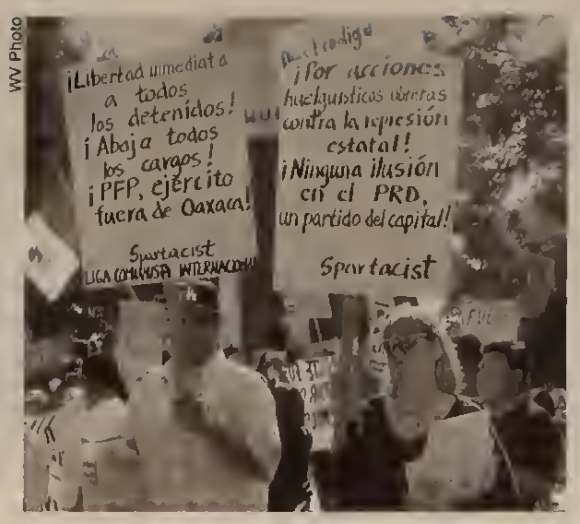
Mexico...

(continued from page 5)

agricultural workers and peasants committees for subsidies in the form of machinery, tractors, irrigation systems, agricultural credits as well as quality seed. Well-paid jobs, quality bilingual education at all levels, a system of public works to supply basic services and health care in the more backward indigenous regions of the countryside must be elementary demands for the workers movement.

The demand for so-called "food sovereignty," raised prominently by the UNT [National Union of Workers] and a host of peasant organizations, resonates everywhere. This demand has a defensive character as it is posed in the context of the devastation of the countryside by NAFTA and increased subjugation under the imperialists. Nonetheless, we do not raise this demand. According to the National Union of Autonomous Regional Peasant Organizations (UNORCA), food sovereignty means "the freedom of peoples to define their agricultural and forestry policies; fighting to take agriculture and food out of the World Trade Organization and any international trade agreement that weakens our sovereignty." At the center of their demands is one to "promote balanced and sustainable rural development with the implementation of new public policies, institutional programs, tools and reforms that foment and protect the ability to produce, industrialize, distribute and market the strategic products for feeding Mexicans—based on small peasant producers—as a condition for food sovereignty." Thus behind the demand for "food sovereignty" is a reactionary and utopian framework of returning to small-scale peasant agriculture within the bounds of national capitalism.

In contrast to the nationalist populists, we Marxists understand that hunger can only be eliminated in the context of an *internatianal* division of labor in a socialist planned economy which requires the overthrow of capitalism worldwide. To perpetuate the existence of a miserable, culturally and technically backward peasantry is reactionary. Marxists fight for the *madernization* of the countryside. A workers and peasants government—the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasants, which together will direct the goals of the country through soviets (councils)—would struggle to attain these goals by expropriating all the modern agribusinesses of the north and the Bajío [central lowlands region] and transforming them into state farms. At the same time, it would seek to convince, through example, the poor peasants in the southern and central regions of the advantages of large-scale, mechanized, collective exploitation of land over small family plots. The fate of the poor peasantry, i.e., its disappearance in the midst of oppression and capitalist misery or its transformation into a class of agricultural proletarians in a modernized countryside, depends on the success of the proletarian revolution and its international extension.



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Spartacist League at November 2006 L.A. protest in defense of Oaxaca militants. Signs read: "Free All Detainees Now! Drop All the Charges! PFP, Army Out of Oaxaca!" and "For Workers Strikes Against State Repression! No Illusions in the PRD, Party of Capital!"

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Mexico, even after a proletarian revolution, could not on its own reach the living standards of a First World country. Modernization of the countryside, for example, would require a scientific and technological level much higher than Mexico currently has. *The immediate survival* itself of a workers Mexico would depend on the help of our class brothers and sisters in the U.S. At the same time, a socialist revolution in Mexico would reverberate through the Americas and galvanize the powerful multiracial proletariat in the U.S. Trotsky explains in his "Basic Postulates" in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

> "10. The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the basic reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it can no longer be reconciled with the framework of the national state. From this follow, on the one hand, imperialist wars, on the other, the utopia of a bourgeois United States of Europe. The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

Many in Mexico incorrectly view the U.S. as one homogenous reactionary and imperialist mass—a view based on the bourgeois nationalism prominently pushed by the PRD. But the U.S. is a class-divided society. The working classes and oppressed of Mexico and the United States have a common interest in a socialist revolution in "El Norte." Our comrades in the U.S. struggle to mobilize the powerful multiracial U.S. working class in opposition to the designs of Yankee imperialism, sharply opposing the semicolonial occupation of Iraq, the presence of imperialist troops in the Near East, and the U.S. imperialist threat against the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states. Our comrades in the U.S. fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants as a concrete way to forge links of solidarity between both proletariats. All of this is within a perspective of class struggle independent of the bourgeois Republican and Democratic parties.

In 1991 the Spartacist League/U.S., Trotskyist League of Canada/Ligue Trotskyste du Canada and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the ICL, issued a declaration titled "Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico." We explained that "the fight for workers revolution in Mexico and the U.S. is directly linked, including by the human bridge of millions of Mexican and Central American workers who have 'gone north'." The declaration calls on "Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers to join in opposing this anti-labor pact." Down with NAFTA! For joint class struggle on both sides of the border! For socialist revolution in all the Americas!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership! Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is clear that Mexican workers want to fight. But their current leaderships subordinate them to the bourgeoisie, whether through nationalist ideology or open repression. As an excuse for not mobilizing their supporters for the demonstration against starvation on January 31, a spokesman for the corporatist unions grouped in the CTM [Mexican Labor Federation] and historically affiliated to the PRI argued that they had to "give time" to Calderón to see if his economic measures "work." The CTM and the CT [Congress of Labor] refused to participate as soon as AMLO confirmed that he was going to march, and then they proposed a system of "credit based on wages" [to lessen the impact of the crisis]. This measure would only make workers indebted to their bosses. What is necessary is to increase the buying power of the workers, not to chain them for life to their exploiters through bloodsucking loans.

For their part, the "independent" UNT and SME unions, politically aligned with the bourgeois PRD, demonstrated on January 31 under a set of nine demands codified in the "Declaration of the Zócalo," which clearly reflect the bourgeois populist program of the PRD. Besides demanding aid to the countryside, emergency wage increases as well as the creation of formal jobs—demands we support that are directed toward elementary needs—the declaration calls to "renegotiate" and not to *end* NAFTA. It calls for a "great national agreement" on the basis of "social unity," as if there were no class divisions in Mexico. The union bureaucracies want to unite the impoverished masses with the people that are trying to starve them to death. This is *bourgeois nationalism*: illusions in the false unity between exploited and exploiters on the basis of the supposedly common interest of advancing "the fatherland."

We Spartacists fight to replace the pro-capitalist bureaucracies with a class-struggle leadership and to transform the trade unions into organs for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. As Leon Trotsky explained in 1940, "The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditianul independence of the trade unions in relatian to the capitalist state*."

This struggle and the struggle for union democracy cannot he separated from the struggle for a *revolutionary leadership*—a Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionary workers party, part of a reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. A Bolshevik party is the fundamental instrument for bringing political consciousness to the proletariat, the principal, leading force through which the working class can achieve and consolidate the socialist revolution. As Trotsky explained, "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer" (*Lessons of October*, 1924).

The French utopian socialist Fourier noted that the level of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation. Bourgeois revolutions such as the French Revolution of 1789 swept away the feudal institutions that had blocked the development of capitalism. They replaced social relations based on obligations and privileges with those based on contractual equality, and thus had a profound effect on the family. The condition of women in the most advanced capitalist countries shows the limits of liberty and social progress under capitalism. On the other hand, the backward character of capitalist development in Mexico, its colonial past, and its subjugation to imperialism are reflected in deeply rooted manifestations of social backwardness. PRDers and representatives of other parties in the Mexico City Legislative Assembly have presented a proposal to decriminalize abortion up to the twelfth week of pregnancy when the woman claims poverty or argues to control how many children to have. In response, the arch-reactionary Catholic church is calling demonstrations to prevent its approval. We Spartacists support this partial reform and struggle for the right of free abortion on demand, for women's liberation through socialist revolution and for full democratic rights for homosexuals.

Age-old anti-indigenous racist oppression is derived from colonial brutality, when the decadent Spanish crown kept itself going through the immense shipments of silver and gold obtained through the superexploitation of the indigenous population. *Machismo*, homophobia, anti-indigenous racism and anti-Semitism are bourgeois ideologies that serve to justify concrete oppression and divide the oppressed. A revolutionary party would be, in the words of Lenin, the "tribune of the people." By fighting against all examples of oppression and social backwardness, the proletarian party embodies the Marxist revolutionary ideal: the emancipation of all humanity through the emancipation of the proletariat.

The Petty-Bourgeois Radical Populism of the EZLN and the APPO

In the context of the horrible misery and brutal oppression that the indigenous population of the country faces, the EZLN [Zapatista Army of National Liberation] has been very attractive for some of those who oppose capitalist devastation. In addition, their criticisms of the PRD during the electoral circus were attractive to many youth. Thus the Zapatista Sixth Declaration says that "the problem of the country is not a party, but rather the capitalist system," which "we must transform" (*La Jornada*, 15 January 2006). But there is nothing in the Sixth Declaration directed toward overthrowing capitalism; its demands are for democratic reforms such as, centrally, a new constitution "that would recognize the rights and liberties of the people, and defend the weak in the face of the powerful." It is utopian to think that through new laws the capitalist state can be reformed and put at the service of the exploited and oppressed. What is necessary is a workers revolution that

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On the other hand, the militancy of the APPO [Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca], which emerged as the ally of the SNTE [National Educational Workers Union] Local 22 teachers who were on strike for over six months, also galvanized those who want to struggle against this vile and corrupt regime. Their barricades—which gave them control of an important part of the city of Oaxaca—and their ongoing battles with the police were a source of inspiration for many youth who want something more than fraudulent elections and parliamentary farces. But their struggle did not go beyond calling for the sacking of governor-hangman Ulises Ruiz. Thus, although at the beginning of their struggle they had called for boycotting the elections, the APPO and SNTE Local 22 leaders ended up calling for a vote to AMLO.

Populism denies the fundamental division of class society between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, substituting a simplistic division only between the rich and the poor, thus denying the central role of the working class as the fundamental agent for social change. In fact, the Zapatistas emerged in 1994 explicitly rejecting the struggle for proletarian revolution. Populists confine their program to democratic reforms within a capitalist and narrow nationalist framework. Regardless of their militancy and intentions, the "radical" populists such as the EZLN and the APPO end up orbiting around the PRD and trying to put pressure on it.

The Syphilitic Chain of Petty-Bourgeois Populism

Our revolutionary Marxist perspective is counterposed not only to all varieties of populism, but also to the self-proclaimed Marxist organizations that tail class forces alien to the proletariat and limit their program to the Mexican national terrain. Perhaps the most grotesque example is the Militant Tendency [Militante], which is in fact an *integral part* of the bourgeois PRD. Militante touchingly says that "AMLO must fight against capitalism" (*Militante* No. 154, second half of September 2006). This is tantamount to calling for the Pope to fight for the rights of gays. Militante only *strengthens* suicidal illusions in the bourgeois PRD, and its politics pave the way to bloody defeats for the working class.

The Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (LTS) puts forth every kind of slogan against the high cost of living, such as "jobs for all," "general emergency increase in wages" (*Estrategia Obrera* No. 58, 24 January), etc. But without even mentioning the fight for socialist revolution in their article, the LTS's program is *reformist*, completely within the framework of capitalism. The LTS writes: "Unfortunately, the PRD, which claims to be a 'democratic' party and to be against repression, has endorsed this action," that is, the recent huge federal police operations in Michoacán. The LTS doesn't even mention the *direct* participation of the PRD in the bloody attack against the workers of Lázaro Cárdenas in April last year! Instead, the LTS calls on "all organizations that claim to be democratic (like those that make up the CND [National Democratic Convention])" to join them in forming a "National Coordinating Committee Against Repression." In other words, the LTS calls for a political bloc with the bourgeois PRD.

The Internationalist Group (IG) was formed eleven years ago by demoralized former members of our organization. Incapable of dealing with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 and the retrogression of working-class consciousness that followed this world-historic defeat for the proletariat, they deserted Trotskyism to tail the forces of alien classes, embellishing existing consciousness and adapting to it.

The IG is incapable of dealing with the massive illusions in populism, and looks to invent its own reality. They make every kind of contortion to present AMLO as merely a "neo-liberal with a human face," minimizing the devastating effects of NAFTA and all of the neoliberal policies of the last four presidencies. They turn their back on the struggle in defense of elementary democratic rights and the most pressing needs of the poor.

In a recent article ("Against the *Tortillazo*, Impose Workers Control! Mexico's Tortilla Crisis, Product of Capitalism," *El Internacionalista*, January 2007), the IG essentially puts an equal sign between the former semi-bonapartist regime of the PRI and the current openly pro-imperialist, starvation policies of the PAN. Thus, while they make a passing reference to the "disaster" brought about by NAFTA, they argue that "neither the poverty of small peasants nor forced migration began 15 years ago," minimizing the horrible misery and growing subjugation of Mexico to imperialism that this predatory treaty has produced. Finally, they write:

> "Moreover, by keeping the cost of tortillas low and the price of corn high, it [the government] was subsidizing Mexican industrialists by lowering the cost of reproduction of 'its' workforce. In other words, they were using 'food sovereignty' to keep workers drowning in poverty due to low wages."

The IG argues that you shouldn't fight for cheap food because it means keeping wages low! This position is, plain and simple, *reactionary*.

VAAP

International Women's Day demonstration in Petrograd, 1917. Banner demands increase in rations for soldiers' families.

The IG refuses to defend partial gains. With this logic, they should oppose the defense of the nationalized oil industry, and in fact all demands directed toward improving the conditions of the working class and oppressed before the socialist revolution. Every reform, every gain for the working class and oppressed will necessarily be partial and at any moment reversible while capitalism still exists. But that's no reason for revolutionaries to drop the struggle for partial conquests; on the contrary, our purpose is to mobilize the working class at the head of all the poor and oppressed in the fight for their most pressing needs in preparation for the general overthrow of the entire capitalist class. As Lenin explained:

> "Unlike the anarchists, the Marxists recognise struggle for reforms, i.e., for measures that improve the conditions of the working people without destroying the power of the ruling class. At the same time, however, the Marxists wage a most resolute struggle against the reformists, who, directly or indirectly, restrict the aims and activities of the working class to the winning of reforms. Reformism is bourgeois deception of the workers, who, despite individual improvements, will always remain wage-slaves, as long as there is the domination of capital."
>
> —"Marxism and Reformism" (1913)

Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871

The combative struggle of the Oaxacan masses has infatuated the supposed "Trotskyist" left, demonstrating in deeds its crass rejection of Trotsky's permanent revolution. The LTS salutes this struggle as "the Oaxaca Commune," comparing it to the Paris Commune of 1871. Nothing could be more false. The Paris Commune was a *social revolution*, the first example in history of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. But, to begin with, the industrial working class barely exists in Oaxaca! In reality, the Oaxaca struggle was based completely on unionized teachers and the impoverished petty-bourgeois masses. For genuine Trotskyists, the point is not to paint reality in prettier colors, but to fight to mobilize the *industrial urban proletariat* at the head of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution.

One of the main lessons from the Paris Commune—which in the end was smashed by bourgeois reaction at the expense of 30,000 working-class lives—was that the proletariat cannot seize the existing state apparatus and wield it in its own interest. As Marx and Engels taught us, the bourgeois state is made up of bodies of armed men whose task is to defend the capitalist mode of production, which is based on private property and the exploitation of labor. Its core is the army, the police, the courts and the prisons. The working class must destroy the bourgeois state through socialist revolution and erect in its place a *workers* state to defend the proletariat as the new ruling class against the recalcitrant bourgeoisie. The lessons of the Paris Commune with respect to the Marxist understanding of the state—especially as codified in *The State and Revolution* by Lenin, a seminal work of revolutionary Marxism—played a crucial role in the 1917 Russian Revolution, the only successful workers revolution in history.

The entire perspective of the APPO was based on illusions in the democratic reform of the capitalist state, with the PRD as the instrument to carry it out. The LTS shares these illusions; one of its most frequent demands, directed at the bourgeois state itself, is "For the dissolution of the repressive forces of the state." To believe that the bourgeoisie would ever agree to "dissolve" its state is not only utopian, but truly suicidal—this is a reformist position counterposed to the essence of Marxism.

The IG's rejection in deeds of permanent revolution drives them, as we've already seen, on the one hand, to abstain from the struggle for elementary rights and measures to meet the basic needs of the population; on the other hand, it leads them directly to glorifying left populism. An example is Oaxaca. Last year the IG affirmed that the Oaxacan teachers "know that the 'PRI, PAN, and PRD are the same thing'" (*El Internacionalista/Edición México* No. 2, August 2006), a position that they had to abandon barely days later, when the teachers and APPO called for a "punishment vote" against the PRI and the PAN—i.e., for the PRD. More recently, they wrote that the APPO masses "lacked an explicit revolutionary political perspective" (*El Internacionalista*, January 2007), implying that they had an implicit one—and only the IG knows what that means! Now, in a desperate attempt to paint APPO red, they say that "APPO's support to PRD presidential candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador in the July 2 elections was seen by many Oaxaca strikers as a 'tactical' move against Ulises Ruiz Ortiz [URO]: a vote for AMLO against URO. But for the APPO leaders it was strategic." The IG abandons the starting point for all revolutionary politics: political support to the bourgeoisie is not some astute "tactic" but a mortal illusion that can only lead to defeat.

Not very different from the LTS, the IG also abandons the Marxist understanding of the state. Thus, in a recent article they cite uncritically—and in such a moving way—the speech of a Oaxacan student directed at the police: "'the condition of the country made you choose between leaving your fatherland or joining that force [the Federal Preventive Police] due to the lack of opportunity,' but that 'you should be on this side because you are the same as us. Look at your skin, your hands, you're the same color as us. You are also Huicholes, Mixes, Tarahumaras [indigenous peoples]'" (*El Internacionalista*, November 2006). The IG in fact approves of such statements, adding: "Appealing to the police invaders not to repress can be a correct tactic under certain circumstances, and suicidal in others. It is a dangerous illusion to think that the police 'are also part of the people'." Presenting such liberal appeals to the police as, again, another type of astute "tactic" can only mean sowing deadly illusions in the bourgeois state.

For New October Revolutions!

Recurring economic crises and repression are endemic to the capitalist system. The only solution to put an end to both is the overthrow of capitalism through international workers revolution. The victory of the proletariat on a world scale would place unimagined material abundance at the service of human needs, lay the basis for the elimination of classes and the eradication of social inequality based on sex and the very abolition of the social significance of race, nation and ethnicity. For the first time mankind will grasp the reins of history and control its own creation, society, resulting in an undreamed-of emancipation of human potential, and a monumental forward surge of civilization. Only then will it be possible to realize the free development of each individual as the condition for the free development of all. Reforge the Fourth International of Trotsky, world party of socialist revolution! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

BAY AREA

Thursday, May 3, 7 p.m.

For the Unconditional Military Defense of China Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Defend the Gains of the Chinese Revolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy!

San Francisco State University
Rosa Parks D

Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917: How the Workers Took Power

Saturday, May 5, 4 p.m.

222 S. Morgan Street (buzzer 23)
(near CTA Blue Line UIC-Halsted station)

Tuesday, May 8, 7 p.m.

Harper Memorial Library, Room 125
University of Chicago
1116 E. 59th Street

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

elections opined: "Let's take the opportunity to force the politicians—including those who pretend to be our 'friends'—to act on our side's agenda for a change" (*International Socialist Review*, January-February 2007). That will be a cold day in hell. But such pitches have long defined the reformists' "politics of the possible," which serves only to reinforce illusions in the inherent "justice" of capitalist "democracy."

The hard truth is that the capitalist system is based on the brutal exploitation of all labor, with the ruling class inflaming racial and ethnic hostilities to keep the working class divided and thus ensure a greater extraction of profit. As we wrote in the International Communist League's Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

> "Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labor opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

Only the achievement of a world socialist order can eliminate the age-old problem of poverty, which is the main driving force for mass migrations throughout the world. We fight for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants*** as part of our struggle to advance the class consciousness and solidarity of the multiracial working class and prepare it for the necessary revolutionary battle against capitalist class rule. We do not seek to tinker with the capitalist system by looking for an alternative immigration policy. While we would support a genuine amnesty for undocumented workers or any other reform in the interests of working people, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat runs it.

A real fight for immigrant rights in this country will only begin when the workers—white, black, Latino and others—understand their *common interests as a class* in opposition to all political parties and state agencies of the capitalist class. Unlocking the social power of the multiracial working class means breaking the chains forged by the labor bureaucracy which have long shackled the working class to their exploiters through support for the Democratic Party, the party of the graveyard for countless movements of social protest.

AP

Latino workers looking for construction work in New Orleans, January 2006. Much of the debris-clearing and rebuilding has been done by undocumented immigrants.

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Immigrant Rights!

Today, the bitter fruits of looking to the Democrats for redress are brought home in the savage provisions of the Gutierrez/Flake legislation. Called the "Security Through Regularized Immigration and a Vibrant Economy" (STRIVE) act, it would grant "conditional non-immigrant status" to those of the 12 million undocumented workers who can prove they have consistently held a job in the U.S. since at least June 2006. These workers must leave the country and pay a minimum $2,000 fine as well as back taxes. The so-called "path to citizenship" follows a six-year waiting period, with the requirement that they learn fluent English and be able to prove that they were consistently employed throughout this time, a condition that essentially shackles these workers to the tender mercies of their employers.

Packaging yesterday's "guest worker" programs as "new worker" programs, the bill would supposedly allow some 400,000 undocumented immigrants a year to work temporarily in the U.S. with some having to pay up to *$15,000* in fines. So immigrants subsisting on pitifully low wages and no benefits are supposed to come up with such a sum (to say nothing of the more than $64,000 that a Bush proposal would make a family of five pay before any of its members could get a green card). In fact, this is a recipe for maintaining an army of undocumented workers continuing to live in fear of *la migra*. Workers who could pay the money can renew their three-year visa once. Then they may be allowed to enter the long and winding road of "conditional non-immigrant status."

This would all be backed up by further reinforcing the power of the state, and not just on the border, where the arsenal of helicopters, unmanned Predator planes, radar coverage and border guards is to be further built up. Immigrants would be tracked through a biometric database and I.C.E. would receive funds for thousands of additional agents for "workplace enforcement." Police forces could be used to assist the Feds in conducting operations within 100 miles of the border.

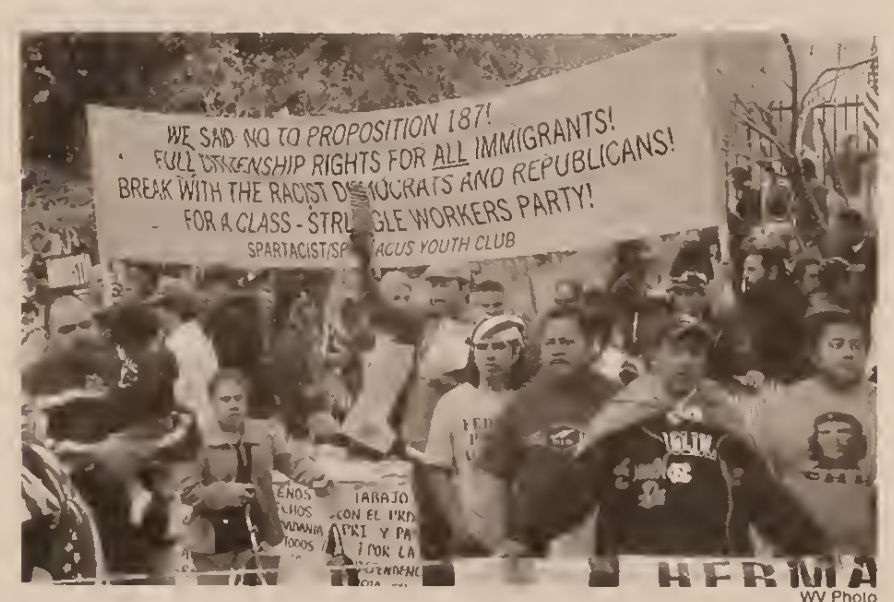
Unlike the old *bracero* program, which press-ganged labor from Mexico to toil in the fields and then threw them out of the country, these workers are to be delivered to all sectors of the economy. Immigrant workers already number 1.4 million in construction, although many are being thrown out of work due to the bursting of the housing bubble. Another 1.7 million are employed in manufacturing, hotels, cleaning and maintenance work, landscaping, retail and wholesale and health services, as well as agriculture. While the agribusiness bosses have long justified their brutal degradation of immigrant labor by saying that they perform work that "Americans won't do," the labor of undocumented workers has become structural to the national economy.

The situation cries out for a class-struggle fight to organize immigrant workers and bring them into unions with full union wages, rights and protections. A joint declaration issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. and our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México distributed at the mass immigrant rights protests last year argued:

> "Defense of immigrant rights is necessary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat."
>
> —"Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" *WV* No. 867, 31 March 2006

Capitalism's Labor Lieutenants

Much of the SEIU's 1.8-million strong membership is composed of immigrants, many of whom have waged hard-fought, militant struggles to organize. But their interests are betrayed by their top union leaders. A statement by SEIU Executive Vice President Eliseo Medina welcomed the STRIVE legislation, declaring that it "addressed the need for smart enforcement strategies at the border and in the workplace, a path to earned citizenship, and reunification of families." The statement supported the "framework" laid out by the legislation for "a more humane worker visa program that will help fill a growing pool of available jobs and protect the rights of all American workers." It would be hard to find a more servile expression of the role of the trade-union bureaucracy as the labor police for the capitalist class.



WV Photo

April 7: Immigrant rights demonstration in Los Angeles

Addressing the official support to "guest worker" programs by unions in the "Change to Win" federation that split from the AFL-CIO in 2005, a *Socialist Action* (April 2007) article perceptively noted that the tops of these unions "hope that their Democratic Party friends in the Congress will allow them to collect union dues from tens of thousands of guest workers." Rather less perceptively, the same article ludicrously presented the outbreak of protests last year as having "overturned the legislative shell game of Democrats and Republicans."

The article remarked, "Under this scenario, Stern & Co. represent a vile new breed of corporatist unionism who might have needed to split from the parent federation in order to better enact their social compact with the bosses." But while the AFL-CIO tops have opposed guest worker programs, they are no less part of the same "social compact." Their "Immigrant Workers Freedom Rides" in 2003 were centrally aimed at building support for the Democratic Party. Their opposition to the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement, which has forced millions of Mexican peasants out of the countryside, many of whom are now among the undocumented in the U.S., was the thoroughly chauvinist appeal to "save American jobs." They have presided over the wholesale devastation of the unions at the hands of the bosses, who have seized on the opportunity to vastly increase their profits by bringing in thousands of immigrant workers, at far less wages and under far more brutal conditions.

Just look at the meatpacking industry. As unionization fell by more than half, real wages plummeted from $20 an hour in the 1970s to $10.50 an hour in 2001. A 2005 Pew Hispanic Center report estimates that undocumented workers may now make up more than a quarter of the meatpacking workforce. But these workers have not docilely accepted the conditions meted out by the meatpacking bosses. From Iowa to Texas to North Carolina, they have fought against abusive treatment and to protest health and safety conditions in an industry with one of the highest injury rates. Five of the six Swift meatpacking plants raided by I.C.E. last December were unionized. Yet while the UFCW union tops challenged the legality of these roundups, they did not mobilize union power to stop them and to fight the deportations.

It is urgent that the labor movement act in defense of all those targeted by government repression. "Homeland Security" laws are increasingly bearing down on unionized workers. Late last year in Chicago, some 70 mostly black rail workers lost their jobs, many for supposedly violating new government guidelines barring ex-felons from holding such positions. As we wrote in "Protest 'War on Terror' Firing of Rail Workers!" (*WV* No. 884, 19 January): "The fight for the rights of workers, immigrants and black people will either go forward together—independent from and opposed to the capitalist class and its government—or fall back separately."

Local 10 of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in the Bay Area, as well as Local 19 in Seattle, have called for "stop work meetings" on May Day in order to "support and participate in the 'Great American Boycott II'" (*Workers World* online, 8 April). For the ILWU to actually mobilize its power in the fight for immigrant rights would be an important breakthrough. Much was made of last year's May Day protests as an example of labor's power. There were certainly thousands of workers involved, and various plants, particularly in meatpacking, were shut down as many immigrants did not show up for work. But the workers were not mobilized *as a class*. Whatever the presence of organized union contingents or banners at the demonstrations, such labor presence was politically dissolved by the protest leaders into an undifferentiated mass. Their purpose was not to mobilize labor but to pressure the capitalist state through the agency of the Democrats.

According to *Workers World*, the Local 10 resolution calling for the stop work meeting notes that on May Day 2006, "90 percent of the container cargo at the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach was halted as the result of immigrant truckers not going to work." That was a brave action by these workers, who are lined up in the cross hairs not only of the anti-immigrant crackdown but of the so-called "war on terror." But more than a salute to their militancy, the non-union, mainly immigrant port truckers need the unions to wage a serious fight to organize them. This is not simply a question

Minuteman Project

WV Photo

Left: Rally by reactionary Minuteman outfit, Los Angeles, June 2006. Right: Spartacists join workers to stop provocation by anti-immigrant bigots at L.A. Labor Day picnic in 2006.

Fascistic Minutemen and Anti-Immigrant Bigotry

Among the more noxious products of the government's anti-immigrant crusade are the fascistic Minuteman Project and its offshoot, the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps. Drawing on support from outright fascists, the Minutemen have a paramilitary component akin to the 1977 Klan Border Watch, the brainchild of white-supremacist David Duke. They conduct armed vigilante patrols of the border with Mexico, serving as auxiliaries to state forces. One of these immigrant-bashers' current campaigns involves erecting fences along the border to make the case for having it entirely sealed off by walls and barbed wire.

Minuteman spokesmen have also toured various campuses to peddle their racist filth, often under the sponsorship of College Republicans. Various left groups, including the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), have co-sponsored anti-Minutemen protests with college Democratic Party clubs, for example at Columbia University last October. Naturally, these reformist "socialists," who function as "Anybody but Bush" shills for the Democratic Party, breathed not a word of criticism of their co-sponsors in their coverage of the protest. When the New York University (NYU) College Republicans hosted another Minuteman speaker at an April 9 panel discussion, the reformist left groups protesting outside again steered away from denouncing the Democrats—the *other* party of American capitalist imperialism.

As a pseudo-militant cover for working in league with the Democrats, the PSL, among others, labels the Minutemen outright fascists. In contrast, we understand that these racist bigots are not, at this time, a fascist organization that advocates or carries out deadly physical assaults on the labor movement and the oppressed. Fascists like the neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan have a long history of speaking with the lynch rope and recruiting to a program of genocide. When such groups have raised their heads in urban centers, as in New York City in October 1999, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have initiated labor/black mobilizations, centered on the power of the organized working class, to stop their rallies for racist terror. Opposing this perspective, the ISO worked in league with black Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton in an attempt to derail the mobilization of labor/black power in New York.

Though consisting primarily of white racists, the Minutemen have sought to recruit blacks and Latino citizens who buy into anti-immigrant bigotry, with some modest success. A number of Minuteman protests have been supported by Ted Hayes, a black activist for the homeless in Los Angeles, and Anthony Williams, a black preacher in Chicago. The California-based Latino Americans for Immigration Reform has joined with the Minutemen in carrying out patrols along the Mexican border. Minuteman Project co-founder Chris Simcox even hails the late Mexican American icon Cesar Chavez, longtime head of the United Farm Workers Union, as "the original border Minuteman" for his treacherous 1969 march to the border to protest "illegal" immigration. On their Web site, the Minutemen hypocritically distance themselves from neo-Nazis and other "extremists." But whenever the Minutemen call an action, just such fascist vermin crawl out to join them.

Our position on what action to take against the Minutemen depends on the concrete circumstances. When these racists engage in physical provocations directed at immigrants and their allies, we seek to mobilize workers and minorities to stop them. Last year in the Los Angeles area, a dozen Minuteman and other bigots tried to disrupt a Labor Day march and picnic. Trade unionists and members of immigrant rights groups, joined by our supporters, surrounded these sinister racists, and L.A. cops had to step in to escort them out (see "Racist Minuteman Provocation Spiked," *WV* No. 876, 15 September 2006).

But when the Minutemen appear as reactionary ideologues on campuses, we do not support the liberal/reformist position of disrupting their meetings or seeking to drive them off. Rather, as in the case of other right-wing ideologues like David Horowitz, we seek to refute their poisonous anti-immigrant politics through protest and exposure. When members of the ISO and PSL among others took the stage and unfurled banners as Minuteman founder Jim Gilchrist spoke at Columbia, his supporters violently attacked the protesters. This gave the Minutemen the pretext to shut down their event and scream that their free speech had been trampled.

A Spartacus Youth Club leaflet issued shortly after the protest noted: "Shutting them down in this context simply played into the hands of the reactionaries' false and absurd claim that the left is trampling free speech, when in fact it is the right-wing bigots that have been waging a massive campaign to purge the campuses of leftists, immigrants, blacks and any voice that is in opposition to the ruling-class agenda." The leaflet, reprinted in *WV* No. 879 (27 October 2006), denounced the investigation launched by the administration against the protesters, stating, "***Defend anti-Minutemen protesters! No administration reprisals!***" Outrageously, eight of the protesters have now received disciplinary warnings or censures from the Columbia administration.

An ISO speaker at the rally outside the Columbia event stated that the Minutemen "don't have a right to free speech because it's not free speech, it's hate speech." At bottom, this is a liberal call to suppress racist ideology, which leads logically to appeals to the campus administration and/or the bourgeois state to regulate what people can and cannot say. Thus following a grotesque College Republican "Find the Illegal Immigrant" event at NYU this February, the College Democrats and LUCHA (Latinos Unidos Con Honor y Amistad) called on the administration to revoke the College Republicans' charter. Calls on the administration to regulate speech will necessarily and overwhelmingly redound against the left and defenders of the rights of the oppressed. While the reformist left pushes fealty to the Democratic Party of racism and war, our perspective is to defend immigrant rights through mobilizing working-class power against the racist capitalist system.■

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of their defense, but of the defense of the ILWU itself, which is increasingly isolated as a bastion of union power amid low-wage and non-union workers in the maritime and related transportation industries.

In 2002, the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call for a united-front mobilization based on the power of the unions to fight against the government's anti-immigrant witchhunt and "war on terror" laws. Among these laws is the Maritime Security Act, which is aimed at the heart of the longshore and transport unions. Noting that the rulers had taken first aim at immigrants of Near Eastern descent, hundreds of whom were rounded up and thrown in jail following September 11, the call argued: "They've created the spectre of an 'enemy within' in order to strengthen the power of their own consummately violent state. But what America's racist rulers can get away with will be determined by the class struggle."

Some 300 unionists, immigrants, blacks and youth answered that call, marching in downtown Oakland on February 9. The internationalist spirit of this demonstration was underlined in the greetings from our Mexican comrades. Noting their own struggle against the nationalist lie that all Mexicans—exploiters and exploited alike—share the same interests up against the Yankee imperialist colossus, the GEM statement declared: "The true allies of the Mexican workers are not their brutal exploiters. Their true allies are you: the American workers fighting for their rights and those of all the oppressed."

A core of some 30 overwhelmingly black members of ILWU Local 10 was critical to this mobilization. The February 9 protest was an exemplary action that, on a small scale, illustrated the program of working-class revolutionary internationalism, which is vital not only to the defense of immigrant rights but to transforming the unions into organizations of class struggle. As the preamble to the program of the Labor Black Leagues states: "We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!"

The Politics of the Possible

A central demand for the May 1 protests is "legalization for all immigrants now!" As an article by the ISO's Lee Sustar in *CounterPunch* (24 February) explains, this simply means opposition to any legislation that would deny "guest worker" status to all of the presently undocumented workers in the U.S. The article lays out that this is the basis for preserving "unity" between "organizations that have accepted guest-worker proposals and more militant immigrant groups that oppose such measures as second-class citizenship." With this kind of "unity," why bother protesting at all since it is evidently OK if immigrant workers are indentured servants as long as it is "legal"?

Such grotesque reformism is taken to even greater depths in an article by Nativo Lopez, president of the Mexican American Political Association, in *Against the Current* (March-April 2007), in which he opines: "We can certainly reaffirm what unites us as a national alliance while we forge unity with all others who minimally agree that immigrants represent inherent value for America, and that the fair return for all that they contribute to the greatness of this country is a legal recognition of permanent status, and eventually U.S. citizenship." As U.S. imperialism rampages around the globe, devastating Afghanistan and Iraq, destroying the lives and livelihoods of millions in Mexico under NAFTA, immigrants here who are being ground under the heel of American capitalism are to be saluted for their contribution to the "greatness" of the U.S.A., and maybe even eventually allowed to become citizens.

The various coalitions of the Workers World Party and its spin off, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, provide a more radical gloss to the May 1 protests with demands such as: protection of all workers' rights; money for human needs, not war; economic and social justice for Katrina survivors; and jobs for all now. What they don't tell you is that the fight for such demands means a revolutionary fight to get rid of the capitalist profit system. There's plenty of wealth in this society, created by the labor of workers and appropriated by the tiny class of capitalists who own the means of production. To get the money for jobs, schools and health care, to make life livable for blacks, immigrants, the poor and all working people means breaking the power of the bourgeoisie.

The reformists acquiesce to what is "possible" and practical under capitalism. Ours is a different purpose: to build a workers party that fights for a socialist revolution to expropriate the capitalist class and establish a workers state with a planned, collectivized economy. As the struggles in defense of immigrant rights and against the wars, neocolonial occupations and other depredations visited by U.S. imperialism around the globe make vividly clear, this must be an international fight. Our watchwords are those that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner more than 150 years ago in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"■

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Of Nappy Heads and Hard Hearts

The recent flap over the whimsical words of radio's Don Imus have reminded us how raw are the feelings of people in an age we like to think of as that of a "new" century.

With one deft line, tmus was able to lob a verhal depth charge into the oceans of the heart, spreading wreckage for miles.

It spoke volumes of the tender tissues of which the nation's illusion of civility is composed; and the continuing power of racial and sexual stereotypes to send shock waves of pain far and wide.

Three words: "nappy-headed hos," did the damage; but it did damage precisely because our wounds are so raw, so close to the surface, with a thin scab of coverage.

It also worked because what society has become, has turned a throwaway joke into a searing reality. For within that poisonous epithet is an ancient antipathy toward Africans, merged with a long and deep history of misogyny (or hatred of women).

In America, who can debate whether Black women are the most disfavored of all the nation's women? What did we learn from the horrors of Katrina, if not this?

Seen in this light, we see all too clearly, how easy it was, how available it was, for Imus to point at the most isolated sector of American life, and let it go. It was a freebie.

And what of tmus, a man approaching his 67th summer of life, who's still bilted as a 'bad boy' of radio?

His radio-TV show is a monster of a moneymaker, with tens of millions of dollars spent on ads to reach his vast audience. And he has (had?) that audience because he aims his shtick at the lowest common denominator—racist, sexist, slur and ridicule—which warms the cockles of the White, Male, American heart. It plays because he hits a nerve, early and often, which resonates within the psyche of millions.

It was this national nerve which twitched with snickers when the I-Man pointed his tongue at the mostly Black women who carried Rutgers University to the brink of a national championship; who, by coming in second place, exceeded every expectation of them, and assured them a kind of immortality in the evanescent pages of the sports record books. Until, that is, someone looked at them, and noticed that there was something not quite right (or was it white?) about them.

Dark, athletic, talented women—scholar-athletes—with their hair twisted into hraids, and in their moment of near triumph, a public snicker, to remind them of who they *really* are in the good ole' U.S. of A.

Imus struck, goaded on by one of the boys....

His name, split in two—is I'm US—and, in a perverse way, he is (or maybe was).

For while Imus mouthed the words, the country lives the reality—daily.

In education, housing, health care, jobs, the legal system, on TV, in the papers—*every day*—this silent curse is launched at Black female life, screaming their view of their lack of worth.

Imus just gave this affirmation.

By so doing, he made miltions.

And ain't that the American way?

11 April 2007

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Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia's legal defense, made payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" and earmarked for "Mumia," to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

on demand as part of a program of free, quality health care for all. These are vital necessities for women and for working people as a whole, along with paid maternity and paternity leave and free 24-hour childcare. Every real gain won by working people and the oppressed has heen the result of hard class and social struggle, not appeals to capitalist politicians and the courts.

With their eyes on the White House prize, Bush's bourgeois Democratic Party opponents were quick to seize on the Supreme Court ruling. Senator Dianne Feinstein said she was "truly shocked" by the decision, and presidential contender John Edwards calted it "a stark reminder of why Democrats cannot afford to lose the 2008 etection." But it was the Democratic Party politicians and bourgeois feminists who paved the way for the attacks on abortion rights, however "shocked" they now claim to be. Three decades of attacks on *Roe v. Wade* started with "born again" Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who in 1977 sneered, "There are many things in life that are not fair" as he signed into law the Hyde Amendment eliminating abortion coverage from Medicaid.

The Reagan years and those of Bush Senior were dark ones for defenders of abortion rights, but the rollbacks continued under Bill Clinton. During his eight years in office, safe access to abortion was gutted in much of the country, as numerous state laws further restricted access and the number of abortion providers plummeted. Clinton ended "welfare as we know it," consigning millions of single mothers and others to desperate poverty. Bourgeois feminist groups such as NOW and NARAL *demobilized* protest in defense of abortion clinics by preaching reliance on the Democratic administration. Today, while paying lip service to abortion rights, the Democratic Party spouts the "family values" rhetoric of the Republicans, aiming to win over a section of their retigious constituency. Pandering to religious backwardness, Hillary Clinton proclaimed in 2005 that "abortion in many ways represents a sad, even tragic choice." In fact, for many women abortion is more a necessity than a "choice."

The Supreme Court ruling is a stark expression of how religion is used to further social reaction. The majority's "faith-based" decision reflects a confluence of reactionary Catholic and Protestant fundamentalist hostilities to women and modern medical science. Preaching about the "difficult and painful moral decision" involved in abortion, the Court's patronizing edict evokes biblical images of women as the weaker vessel who must be protected from deceitful doctors hiding from them the horrible "crime" they are about to commit. The decision borrows directly from the phrasebook of the Operation Rescue bigots in upholding the state's "legitimate interests" in promoting "respect for life, including life of the unhom."

The need for abortions in later stages of pregnancy is particularly an issue for women who are young and poor, many of them black and Hispanic, because they have virtually no access to health care, contraceptives or even sex education. What's actually painful and difficult in racist, capitalist America is being a single mother, desperately seeking nonexistent day care or an affordable medical clinic or an apartment to tive in. Or how about the anguish of a frightened teenager seeking a pharmacy that will sell her Plan B contraceptives? Or the difficulty of getting hold of a car and driving hundreds of miles to the only abortion clinic in Mississippi and sleeping overnight in the parking lot to fulfill the state-mandated waiting period—and then waking up to a gauntlet of protesters with five-foot posters of fetuses? Today *87 percent* of U.S. counties have no abortion provider.

The legal right to abortion was won as a result of the massive social struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, centrally the struggles for black rights and against the Vietnam War. But as the attacks on abortion rights show, reforms are always reversible when power is in the hands of the racist capitalist exploiters. It is only with the destruction of capitalism that humanity will be treed from state repression and religious bigotry interfering in the private affairs of people's lives. The liberation of women requires a socialist revolution that will uproot the private property system and bring women fully into social and politicat life.■

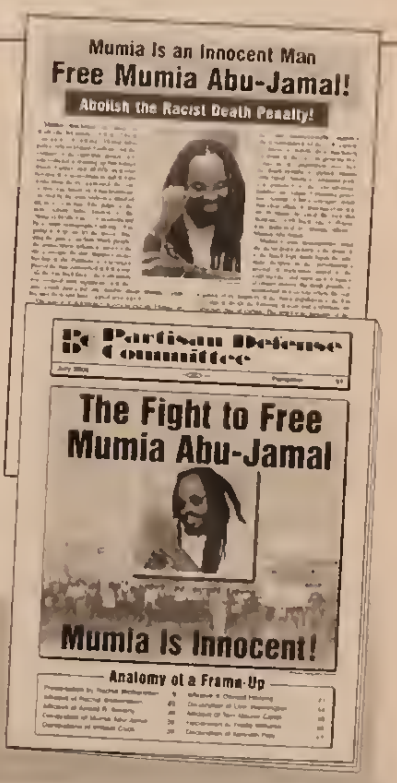
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO FREE MUMIA!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis ol the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 lor DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles ol the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Racism...

(continued from page 12)

mass incarceration of black and Latino youth. He has also acted as the bourgeoisie's fireman in dousing the flames of class struggle, demobilizing black workers, including from the ILA longshore union, who were marching in defense of school busing in the early 1980s in Norfolk, Virginia, and playing a key role in defusing the L.A. transit strike in 2000.

Then there's Al Sharpton, a demagogue and hustler who wore a wire for the Feds in the 1980s. In 1986, Sharpton led boycotts in Harlem against Arab shopkeepers. He further served the racist exploiters by pushing bankrupt police "reform" schemes in order to squelch struggle against the acquittal of the cops who pumped 41 bullets into unarmed black African immigrant Amadou Diallo. Sharpton even fronted for the Ku Klux Klan in October 1999 by going to court on their behalf in opposition to the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization against the Klan in New York City.

To our reformist opponents in the International Socialist Organization (ISO), the Imus affair "highlights how liberal journalists, supposedly committed to objectivity, nod and wink at the most outrageous, hateful and bigoted behavior, as long as it serves their careers—and how racism has been made respectable in the mainstream media" (*Socialist Worker* online, 20 April). No kidding! The ISO gloats that Imus's dumping shows "a shift in the political climate—reflected in, but going far beyond, the ouster of the Republican Congress last November and the ever-worsening crisis of the Bush administration."

Such liberal "Anybody but Bush" gushing only serves to obscure the reality that the Democrats are the other party of racist American capitalism. It was in the context of the horrific conditions for the black population today—conditions reinforced by the betrayals of the self-proclaimed (Democratic Party) black "leaders" and the (largely pro-Democratic Party) trade-union misleadership—that Imus's disgusting racial slurs hit a raw nerve. Enough has become more than enough, and this was one head that had to roll, with forces far more powerful than that of the Rutgers team clamoring for action, however token. But "cleaning up" the airwaves by getting rid of this particular bigot or adding a few more black executives—Jesse Jackson's timeworn refrain—won't bring about any amelioration in the condition of the black masses, much less the fundamental social overturn required to smash the racist oppression endemic to American capitalist society.

As Marxists, our interest is in changing material reality, in forever destroying the social basis for black oppression in this country by welding the anger of the ghetto poor to the power of labor and effecting a proletarian socialist revolution. We do not hold that this can occur by sanitizing social reality through "politically correct" discourse or moral appeals to the "conscience" of the racist rulers, including their corporate media mouthpieces.

Black oppression is embedded in the foundation of American capitalism. The chains of black chattel slavery were shattered only by iron and blood in the American Civil War, the second American revolution. Following emancipation and the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction through a compromise by the Northern capitalists and the former Southern slavocracy, the shackles of institutionalized Jim Crow segregation lasted well into the mid 20th century. While the struggles for civil rights resulted in the end of legal segregation in the South, under their liberal, pro-Democratic Party leadership they did not and could not address the fundamental material conditions of the mass of the black population, North and South. The black population constitutes an oppressed race-color caste, segregated in the mass at the bottom of American society. At the same time, militant black workers have historically played, and continue to play, a leading role in the struggles of the labor movement.

WHDH-TV

Six-year-old Desre'e Watson was handcuffed and jailed in Florida on felony charges for throwing a tantrum in kindergarten.

The decades-long rollback of the gains wrested by the civil rights movement and other social struggles in the 1960s underlines the fact that it will take a third American Revolution—a socialist revolution—to bring about full social equality for black people. The college campuses have been the targets of a virtual racist purge as affirmative action programs are slashed and tuition skyrockets. Just in the last few years, infant mortality rates in Mississippi and other Southern states have jumped sharply, particularly in impoverished black households. In many ways today, conditions for the black masses are worse than at the time of the civil rights movement.

With a massive decrease in good union jobs, mainly as a result of the deindustrialization of the U.S. economy and the supine response of the pro-capitalist trade-union tops, generations of black youth have been thrown on the scrap heap. "By the time they reach their mid-thirties, a full 60 percent of black high school dropouts are now prisoners or ex-cons," according to an article on "The American Prison Nightmare" in the *New York Review of Books* (12 April). Even black children as young as six years old can be hauled away in handcuffs, as was the case in Avon Park, Florida, where Desre'e Watson was *charged with a felony* for a kindergarten tantrum and booked at the county jail, her fingerprints and mug shots duly taken. And this was no isolated event.

Grotesquely, some of Imus's defenders sought to equate his language with that of black rap musicians who routinely use the "N" word as well as gross anti-women and anti-gay lyrics. They do not equate. Only the most "colorblind" could fail to see the difference between the use of racist epithets in rap lyrics and the spewings of Imus and his coterie of backward wise guys.

There is certainly an ugly side to the "message" rap conveys, reflecting widespread backward attitudes in the ghettos, where anti-Semitism, sexism, anti-gay prejudice and anti-immigrant bigotry are noxious by-products of oppression. We oppose the use of racist epithets by anyone, black, white or other. In our article "The 'N' Word in Racist America" (*WV* No. 807, 1 August 2003) we explained:

> "Far from being a sign of a subversive assault on the language of oppression, the pervasive use of the slave masters' epithet by black youth reflects a profound, if unconscious, demoralization and self-hatred, an internalization of the demeaning view of black people propagated by the capitalist rulers and the mass media. Its use represents a *retreat* from the fight against racism and within the working class and can only offend and divide."

No tinkering with the present system, no amount of combat against "bad ideas," can accomplish the historic task of black emancipation. Our perspective is that of *revolutionary integrationism*, based on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. Our inspiration and model is the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which led the October Revolution of 1917, the greatest act of social liberation in all history. In placing the working class of Russia in power, it opened the door to the emancipation of women, the many oppressed nationalities and the long-suffering Jewish people. Our aim is to emulate the Bolsheviks by building a revolutionary party with a significant black leadership component that will lead the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed, in the struggle for workers power. For black liberation through socialist revolution!■

Join the PDC Contingents at the Philadelphia and Bay Area Rallies!

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The Partisan Defense Committee is mobilizing contingents for rallies called by supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal to coincide with oral arguments in his *habeas corpus* appeal scheduled for May 17.

Thursday, May 17

Philadelphia: 8:30 a.m.
6th and Market Streets
(Outside Third Circuit Court of Appeals)
For more information and round-trip transportation from New York City call the PDC: (212) 406-4252 or e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

San Francisco: 4-6 p.m.
7th and Mission Streets
(Outside U.S. Court of Appeals Bldg.)
For information on Bay Area contingent call: (510) 839-0852 or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Visit the Partisan Defense Committee Web site: www.partisandefense.org

Spartacist League/Labor Black League Forums

The Road to Black Freedom: Revolutionary Marxism vs. Black Nationalism

The Racist Rulers' Vendetta Against the Black Panther Party from COINTELPRO to the Frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

With an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, May 5, 3 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Ave., Hollywood
(1 block east of Vermont, Vermont/Sunset Red Line station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239 or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

BAY AREA
Saturday, May 12, 4:30 p.m.
Laney College
Room D200
(1 block from Lake Merritt BART station)
For more information: (510) 839-0851 or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Free Abortion on Demand!

Supreme Court Rolls Back Abortion Rights

On April 18, the Supreme Court upheld a 2003 law criminalizing a rarely used second-trimester abortion procedure, intact dilation and extraction. Doctors now face up to two years in prison for performing the procedure. As we wrote four years ago in "Fight Rollback of Abortion Rights!" (*WV* No. 800, 28 March 2003):

> "This is nothing short of a major assault against legalized abortion established by the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision. If this bill becomes law, it would be the wedge for overturning *all* abortion rights, which the anti-woman bigots have sought for the last three decades through both legislative and judicial means and the unleashing of 'god squads' that have bombed abortion clinics, terrorized patients and even murdered doctors."

Troy Newman, president of Operation Rescue, which has long spearheaded the drive against abortion rights, gloated: "The court has now said it's OK to ban procedures. We can do more than just put hurdles in front of women seeking abortions—we can put roadblocks in front of them" (BostonHerald.com, 18 April). In fact, the Bush gang wants to impose its reactionary "morality" on every aspect of everyone's life. The onslaught against abortion is a spearhead for generalized social reaction—against women's and gay rights, against black people and other minorities, against civil liberties.

What is urgently needed is militant struggle to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion. It is outrageous that the capitalist state—from state legislatures up to whatever nine people are appointed for life to the Supreme Court, an inherently reactionary institution—should have the life-and-death power to intervene in people's most intimate, private decisions. We fight for free abortion and contraception

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Don Imus and Racism U.S.A.

Don Imus, the foulmouthed multimillionaire "shock jock" who has talked racist, anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-Semitic, anti-Muslim trash for years on his "Imus in the Morning" show, was canned this month by both MSNBC and CBS. Public outcry over his nasty racist slur against the mainly black Rutgers University women's basketball team sealed his fate, after initial attempts by Imus and his network bosses at damage control. We say good riddance to Imus and his swinish sidekicks. But for all the liberal angst that dominated the media for about a two-week news cycle, his firing does nothing to address the material reality of racist oppression in this country.

Reuters

AP

Right: Members of Rutgers women's basketball team, target of racist rant by Don Imus (inset). Below: New Orleans in aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

Capitalist America: Hell for Black People

Rourke/American-Statesman

On April 6, two days after Imus and executive producer Bernard McGuirk (also subsequently canned) made their grotesquely racist and sexist comments, with Imus referring to the Rutgers team as "nappy-headed hos," the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) led the attack, issuing a press statement demanding first an apology and then his firing. The NABJ was joined by others, including the National Association of Hispanic Journalists. When MSNBC finally pulled the plug on its simulcast of the Imus program, followed shortly thereafter by CBS radio broadcasters, it claimed that the pullout of sponsors such as American Express, Sprint, Staples, Procter & Gamble and General Motors was not the tipping point. Rather, pressure by MSNBC employees—black and white, men and women—had played the decisive role.

In a *Washington Post* (13 April) article, Eugene Robinson wrote: "Two of the network's on-air stars—'Today' weatherman Al Roker and NBC correspondent Ron Allen—authored strong anti-Imus posts on NBC blogs." He noted further that women and minorities who worked at NBC told management "they felt the sting of Imus's attacks personally." Alexander Cockburn, writing in *CounterPunch* (14 April), was to the point: "People finally got mad and the networks blinked. That's good, even though it won't change anything."

The history of racist, sexist garbage spewed by Imus & Co. is long and well documented. (Imus is hardly unique; one could add the likes of Ann Coulter, Bill O'Reilly, Rush Limbaugh, to name but a few in a long list of reactionary, racist mouthpieces, offending all the way to the bank.) Imus's nauseating and frequent use of such language—and the tolerance of it—reflects the reality of racist oppression in capitalist America, reflections flourishing in a retrograde political climate. The broadcast equivalent of the gutter press, the "shock jocks" promote open vile racism, all-sided bigotry and American chauvinism on behalf of this country's capitalist rulers.

The long list of political officeholders and aspirants of both capitalist parties and media and literary luminaries—mostly white and male, but not exclusively so—who appeared regularly on Imus's program have made quite a nauseating spectacle themselves. They opined that the incident had called forth a "national conversation" about race and sex, a claim laced with crocodile tears about their own respective roles as "enablers." The networks, and not only Imus's employers at CBS and MSNBC, suddenly discovered "disparity" in the situation of black and white people in the U.S. and quoted relevant statistics to that effect—at least for the duration of the news cycle.

One need only look at Hurricane Katrina for an indelible image of the reality of life for black people. The black and poor of New Orleans were left to suffer, left to die, through sheer ruling-class contempt and incompetence on the part of not only the Bush administration but the Democrats on the state and local level as well. Over Imus, however, Democrats, white and black, piled on with their practiced hypocrisy, their cynical posture as "friends" of the oppressed. Thus, Hillary Clinton promptly posted material about the scandal on her Web site and eventually made her way to Rutgers to speak. (The Clintons have an ax to grind, as Imus & Co. repeatedly referred to Hillary Clinton as "Satan.") Barack Obama, who had appeared some years ago on Imus's show to plug one of his books, announced that he would not be a guest in the future. Democrats Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton also latched onto the Imus affair in order to shore up their credentials as "black leaders."

The real deal is that the Democrats, while occasionally mouthing something about "diversity" as they trawl for votes and to cash in on the enormous unpopularity of the demented Bush regime, are up to their necks in the oppression of the black masses. Democratic president Bill Clinton, who managed to conjure a reputation as a "friend" to the black population, implemented the ending of "welfare as we know it," accelerated the use of the racist death penalty and carried out hideous imperialist attacks against Iraq and Serbia, among other crimes against the world's oppressed and working masses. Such, of course, are the normal workings of capitalist "democracy."

For his part, Jesse Jackson's job has been and continues to be winning back to the fold blacks and other minorities who become discontented with the Democrats. Jackson egged on the racist "war on drugs," the results of which are counted in the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 892 — GCU C-701 — 11 May 2007

U.S. Out of Iraq, Afghanistan Now!

Iraq Occupation: Imperialist Barbarism

More than four years of imperialist occupation have reduced Iraq to a living hell. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis have perished since the U.S. invasion in 2003. In the communal warfare between Sunni and Shi'ite Arabs unleashed by the occupation, more than *5,300* Iraqis were killed in March and April alone as unidentified bodies appear daily throughout the country, often bearing the scars of hideous tortures. Nearly four million people, by UN estimates, have left their homes to seek refuge elsewhere in Iraq or have fled the country altogether.

Conditions have become even more hellish since President Bush announced a "surge" of 20,000 additional troops for Iraq in order to subdue Baghdad. U.S. and Iraqi forces have carried out house-to-house sweeps in the capital, smashing down doors and dragging "suspects" from their homes. By the end of March, the UN estimated that more than 37,000 people were imprisoned throughout Iraq, often subjected to "detainee abuse" (read: torture). Unknown numbers of men, women and children are perishing as U.S. forces attack densely populated neighborhoods with artillery barrages and air strikes by warplanes and helicopter gunships.

Bush's military escalation has been met by increased attacks by Iraqi insurgent forces against U.S. troops—the 104 killed in April represented the sixth-highest monthly toll since the invasion. There has also been a sharp increase in terrorist bombings by Shi'ite and Sunni communalist forces pursuing a gory campaign of "ethnic cleansing" of mixed neighborhoods. On April 18, at least 171 people died in a series of five bomb attacks in the capital. The puppet Iraqi government has simply stopped providing statistics on civilian deaths.

The sectarian bloodletting was the pretext for the U.S. occupation forces to construct a 12-foot-high concrete wall around the mainly Sunni enclave of Adhamiya. On April 23, some 2,000 people demonstrated in Baghdad in outrage over the move to turn the neighborhood into what one banner accurately called "a big prison." Many compared the project to the walls built by Zionist Israel in the West Bank to seal off the Palestinian population. As one resident declared: "We'll be like the Palestinians and we will not accept that" (London *Independent*, 24 April). Since Iraqi security forces heavily overlap with Shi'ite militias and death squads, many walled-in residents understandably view with fear the soldiers who control the entrance to their communities.

AFP photos

Baghdad: U.S. troops terrorize Iraqi family, February 6 (above). Scene following car bomb in bus station in Sadriya neighborhood, one of several explosions in Baghdad on April 18 that killed at least 171, mainly Shi'ites.

The plan to wall off Sunni neighborhoods in Baghdad is borrowed directly from the bloody history of British imperialism's subjugation of its colonial subjects. An article by Lt. Col. Wade Markel in *Parameters* (Spring 2006), the quarterly journal of the Army War College, recommends "involuntary internment" for those Sunnis who refuse to be imprisoned in what he cynically calls "gated communities."

Markel's article cites growing interest among U.S. military officials in Britain's crushing of an anti-colonial revolt in Malaysia in the 1950s. About half a million mainly ethnic Chinese, the base of the Communist-led insurgency, were forcibly concentrated in "new villages"—concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire and observation posts. What Markel delicately describes as "a substantial element of repression to the strategy" was measured in wanton executions and massacres of villagers. The U.S., in its failed attempt to crush the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, applied similar methods by driving the rural population into "strategic hamlets" while carrying out the "Operation Phoenix" program of assassination on a mass scale.

The Democrats and the Iraq Quagmire

Almost everyone associated with the launching of the Iraq war is scurrying, however lamely, to find cover. Chief among these currently is former CIA director George Tenet, who portrays himself as a scapegoat for the decision to invade Iraq. Tenet was just doing his job when he told his superiors that reports of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction were a "slam dunk." This was just one of the lying pretexts for the war the U.S. imperialists were determined to wage in order to project their overwhelming military might in the strategic, oil-rich Near East at the expense of their rivals and to serve notice on anyone who dared stand in their way.

As the occupation drags on, a large section of the U.S. capitalist ruling class wants to extricate American forces from this imbroglio without further damaging its interests in the region, and beyond. Speaking for this section of the bourgeoisie, Democratic Senate majority leader Harry Reid called the war "lost" while Democrats in Congress passed a bill, promptly vetoed by Bush, purportedly setting a date to begin the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In reality, the bill not only provides more funding for the U.S. military in Iraq than was requested by Bush but would open the door to maintaining tens of thousands

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Break with the Democrats—
The Other Party of American Imperialism!

For a Workers Party
That Fights for Socialist Revolution!

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Labor: Defend Immigrant Rights Demonstrators!

Los Angeles

We print below a statement issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on May 3 protesting the bloody L.A. cop rampage against a mass May Day immigrant rights protest. Spearheaded by the elite Metro Division, which is trained for "potential counterinsurgency or terrarist situations," the palice by their own account fired 148 "less than lethal" rounds. Among those attacked by cops were a Telemundo news anchor, a FOX reporter and her camerawoman, who has sued the LAPD and the city for damages. Amid the uproar aver the cop violence, the L.A. City Council issued a rebuke, the FBI annaunced it would conduct an inquiry, and the LAPD demoted twa commanding officers and pulled 60 cops from street duty. Whatever damage control and spin the authorities put on the situation, the cop riot exemplifies the role of the police as brutal enforcers of capitalist rule over the working class, black people, immigrants and all the oppressed.

* * *

The racist LAPD brutally attacked immigrant rights demonstrators who rallied in MacArthur Park near downtown Los Angeles on May Day. During a 30-minute cop riot, portions of which were broadcast repeatedly on local and national television, police attacked activists, bystanders and journalists with foam bullets, tear gas, batons and boots. Observers reported that the cop assault took place with little or no warning. Numerous demonstrators and reporters were hospitalized and there are reports of nine people arrested. Women, children, elderly people and entire families were violently pushed and beaten. The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests this racist cop attack. Drop all charges against those arrested!

This outrageous police assault was carried out by the same LAPD that is notorious worldwide for beating Rodney King and attacks on blacks and Latinos in the ghettoes and barrios. It comes in the context of a vicious nationwide government crackdown on immigrants, resulting last year in the deportation of some 190,000 people. L.A. and Southern California have seen increased I.C.E. raids. Democratic Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa conveniently left town for this year's protest. Back at home, his cops delivered the city government's message: don't march in defense of immigrant workers on May Day.

Loomis/L.A. Times

May 1: KCBS cameraman attacked in MacArthur Park during cop riot against immigrant rights protest.

Having unleashed the armed fist of the state to intimidate immigrant rights protesters, the mayor and police chief William Bratton now plan an "investigation." Bratton said some of the police actions were "inappropriate," while reiterating Villaraigosa's statement that the police were supposedly provoked by "instigators." The fact is that masses of cops in full riot gear provocatively surrounded MacArthur Park and brutally attacked peaceful demonstrators. The chorus of calls for an "independent investigation" of the police is intended to reinforce the illusion that the police can be reformed to be "just" and will only whitewash the cops' actions.

It is urgent that the multiracial labor movement defend all those targeted by government repression including under the rubric of the "war on terror" which domestically is a war on immigrants, blacks, and labor. Defense of immigrants is crucial to defense of the working class as a whole. The situation demands a class-struggle fight to organize immigrant workers and bring them into unions with full union wages, rights and protections. An important first step would be for unions to protest this vicious cop assault. Labor must demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!■

Protest I.C.E. Raid in Chicago!

The following letter, addressed to U.S. attorney Patrick J. Fitzgerald, was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 30.

The PDC vigorously condemns the 24 April raid on the Little Village shopping mall, in the heart of Chicago's Mexican American community. While hundreds of people, including children and the elderly, conducted their business, the whole shopping mall was locked down by a heavily armed and armored team of I.C.E. (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) and FBI agents, ostensibly to break up a "business counterfeit identification document business." At least 160 Latino shoppers were rounded up at gunpoint, handcuffed and lined up against a wall, and four were arrested. That same day, eight more people were arrested in the Chicago area.

These raids are an outrageous act of blatant intimidation in anticipation of this week's immigrant rights rallies, and part of the pattern of increasing numbers of raids, arrests and deportations being carried out nationwide by the federal government. We demand: free all those arrested and drop the charges now!■

TROTSKY

The Capitalist State and Proletarian Revolution

LENIN

Echoing the notion that the state embodies the interests of society as a whole, a pillar of bourgeois ideology, the reformist left puts forward the proposition that the institutions of the capitalist state can be pressured into serving the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Combatting such illusions, the 1938 founding document of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party upheld the Marxist understanding that the emancipation of the proletariat requires a socialist revolution that smashes the capitalist state and replaces it with a workers state.

In any society, the real power is held by those who own and control the means whereby that society lives, the instruments of production, distribution, and communication. In capitalist society, such ownership and control is held and exercised by the big bourgeoisie, by the bankers and industrialists. Through its hold on the major natural resources, the factories, mines, banks, railroads, ships, airplanes, telegraph, radio, and press, the big bourgeoisie effectively dominates capitalist society, runs society in such a manner as to secure and maintain its own interest and privilege, and upholds the system of the exploitation of the great majority. The state or government, far from representing the general interests of society as a whole, is in the last analysis simply the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power, enforces the property relations which guarantee its privileges, and suppresses the working class. In these essential functions all of the organs and institutions of the state power cooperate—the bureaucracy, the courts, police, prisons, and the armed forces. The particular political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) in no way affect the basic social dictatorship of the controlling minority, and are only the different means through which that dictatorship expresses itself. The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society, in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion....

Since the capitalist state is the political instrument of capitalist dictatorship, and since the workers can carry out socialization only through the conquest and maintenance of political power, the workers must, as the necessary political phase of the change of ownership and control of the productive mechanism, take control of state power through the overthrow of the capitalist state and the transfer of sovereignty from it to their own workers' state—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Opportunities for the workers to take power have come and will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. When the profound social discontent generated by the crisis of capitalism extends to a decisive majority of the working class and of the productive sections of the population generally, and when these have been won to the perspective of revolutionary change, the workers will be in a position to take power and to put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

—"Declaration of Principles" (1938),
reprinted in *The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party* (1982)

Letter

On JetBlue and Outsourcing

20 March 2007

Dear Comrades,

In reading the article "Labor: Organize JetBlue!" (*WV* No. 888, 16 March) I noticed that the question of organizing workers at "third party" contractors does not take up the international dimension of this task. In our article on the 2005 strike by the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA) against Northwest Airlines, we wrote: "The AMFA leaders, and many mechanics on the picket lines, combine their protests against the outsourcing of mechanics' jobs with chauvinist statements against 'illegal' immigrant workers and foreign mechanics in Latin America, China and Singapore, which is depicted in AMFA statements as a haven for terrorists. The AMFA tops buy right into the government's phony 'war on terror'" (*WV* No. 853, 2 September 2005).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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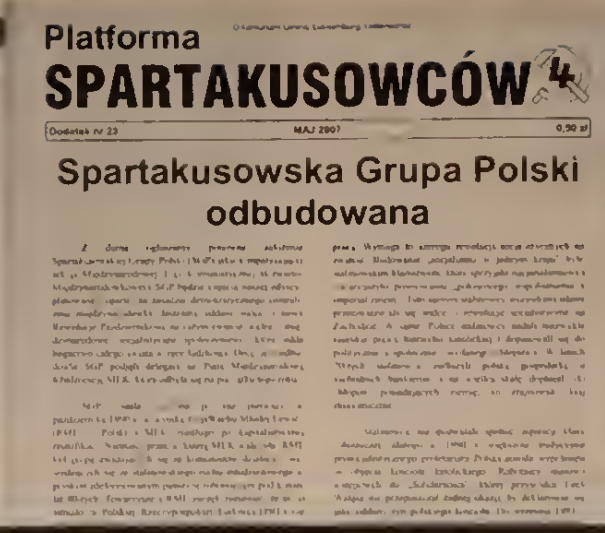
Spartacist Group of Poland Refounded


Platforma SPARTAKUSOWCÓW 4

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For New October Revolutions! Reforge the Fourth International!

Platforma Spartakusowców No. 23 (May 2007) and back issues can be ordered for $.50 each from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, NY, NY 10116.

The following is translated from the Spartacist Group of Poland's Platforma Spartakusowców *No. 23 (May 2007), which was distributed at May Day demonstrations in Warsaw:*

We are proud to announce the refounding of the Spartacist Group of Poland as a sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The SGP will be part of our disciplined democratic-centralist international. We are committed to the fight for new October Revolutions worldwide, the fight for an international socialist society that will put the entire world's wealth at the disposal of humanity. The decision to refound the SGP was made earlier this year by the delegates of the Fifth International Conference of the ICL.

The SGP was first founded in October 1990 as a result of the fusion between the Young Left Movement (RML) of Poland and the ICL, following on the heels of the capitalist reunification of Germany and the ICL's fight against counterrevolution. The RML was a group of subjectively communist militants that originated in the late 1980s from the Stalinist youth movement in the Polish deformed workers state. The comrades of the RML started to come to an understanding that what existed in the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) was not socialism, but rather that Poland was a deformed workers state. While the Polish bourgeoisie was expropriated in the mid-late 1940s following Poland's liberation from German occupation by the Soviet Red Army, Poland was ruled not by democratically elected workers councils but by a parasitic bureaucratic caste—much as in Stalin's Soviet Union—deriving its privileges from the collectivized property forms. The Stalinists of the Polish United Workers Party lied to the working class that it was committed to building socialism. In reality they carried out a program that was directly counterposed to the interests of international proletarian revolution.

The RML came to understand that socialism is a classless egalitarian society that can only be achieved on the basis of a qualitatively higher level of economic development and an international division of labor, requiring a series of workers revolutions around the world. Building "socialism in one country" was a Stalinist lie that pandered to nationalism and went hand in hand with promoting "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Thus the Stalinists vehemently opposed the struggle for socialist revolutions in the West. Within Poland the Stalinists granted enormous rights to the Catholic church and accommodated the politically and socially backward peasantry. Throughout the 1970s the Stalinists mortgaged Poland's wealth to the Western bankers and massively subsidized the landowning peasants, ruining the Polish economy.

The aspirations of the working class were frustrated time and again by the Stalinists, so that by 1980 the majority of the historically pro-socialist Polish proletariat was driven into the arms of the Catholic church. Workers flocked to Solidarność, whose leader Lech Walesa wasted no opportunity to declare himself to be a true son of the Polish church. By September 1981, Solidarność had consolidated itself around a program for capitalist counterrevolution, as demonstrated by its calls for "free trade unions"—a war cry of Cold War anti-Sovietism—and for "free elections," which would have meant capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government. It received active support from a wide range of reactionary forces, such as the Vatican under Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla (John Paul II), the union-busting U.S. president Ronald Reagan, Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and the anti-communist Social Democratic Party of Germany. The ICL's predecessor, the international Spartacist tendency, described Solidarność at the time as a company union for the CIA and bankers, raising the call "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" and stressing that the Polish working class needs a Trotskyist party.

When in December 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski suppressed Solidarność's bid for power, the iSt supported this measure. At the same time, it warned that the Stalinists were capable of selling out the Polish workers state to capitalism, which they eventually did in 1989-90. The iSt's position was a direct application of the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states against internal and external counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic castes and replace their rule with that of democratically elected workers councils based on the defense of collectivized property forms, the planned economy and an internationalist perspective.

The RML started to break from Stalinism under the impact of the events in Poland. They rediscovered and upheld a fine tradition of the early Communist International that had almost been forgotten in Poland by the late 1980s: to honor in the month of January the "Three L's," Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, outstanding leaders of Russian, Polish and German communism. In honoring the Three L's, the RML effectively broke from the Polish nationalism promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy and set itself apart from other left organizations which at the time actively promoted Solidarność counterrevolution.

What particularly attracted the RML to the ICL was the ICL's fight for a Red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe in the unfolding proletarian political revolution in the German Democratic Republic [East Germany] in 1989-90. The ICL was the only organization internationally that fought against the capitalist reunification of Germany. A May 1990 "Letter to Polish Workers" issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), German section of the ICL, made clear the ICL's unflinching opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution. The RML shared this understanding and embraced the ICL's Trotskyist program. In July 1990 the RML noted in a letter to our German section: "In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists who have a 'Solidarność' pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in 'Solidarność.' ... It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them."

Counterrevolutionary Heritage of Solidarność

In 1990, the SGP was founded on the basis of the Agreement for Common Work between the RML and the ICL. The Agreement rejected the idea of a "family of Trotskyism." It noted that Trotskyism has nothing in common with such purveyors of anti-Sovietism as the followers of Nahuel Moreno or the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel, who in 1983 hailed the Solidarność leadership as "the best socialists in the world." To this day our pseudo-Trotskyist opponents defend their support to counterrevolutionary Solidarność. In striking contrast to the pro-Solidarność left which capitulates to poisonous Polish nationalism, we declared that "Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!" (see *Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 1, October 1990 and *WV* No. 513, 2 November 1990).

In the following years the SGP published *Platforma Spartakusowców* and actively intervened in class and social struggles, such as the 1992 coal miners strike and in defense of Roma immigrants against racist deportations in 1996. Uniquely on the left, we opposed both the bourgeois parties that came out of Solidarność and the ex-Stalinist, social-democratic SLD [Democratic Left Alliance], which led alliances with capitalist parties. Such formations on the basis of an agreement between bourgeois workers parties like the SLD (a party with a working-class base and a pro-capitalist leadership) and bourgeois parties are "popular fronts"—political blocs based on the program of administering capitalism, thus subordinating the working class directly to the parties of the bourgeoisie. *PS* also published ICL articles on broad international issues.

In 2001, the International Executive Committee of the ICL decided to dissolve the SGP. The objective political situation in Poland was mistakenly viewed as bleak for the ICL in contrast to workers' and

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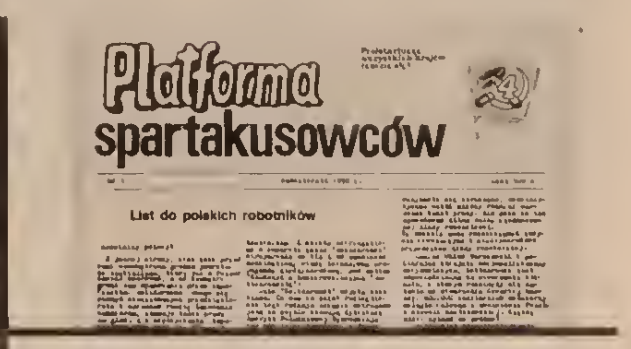
Platforma Spartakusowców


Platforma spartakusowców

List do polskich robotników

Spartacists at 1992 May Day march in Warsaw protested anti-Semitism and attacks on abortion rights. First issue of SGP publication (October 1990) printed ICL German section's "Letter to Polish Workers."

Ullstein

Revolutionary Marxist leader Rosa Luxemburg denounces German imperialism at 1907 rally.

Memorial Meeting

A memorial meeting in honor of our comrade Diana Kartsen is planned for New York City on May 27. For more information, call (212) 732-7861.

Spartacist Group Refounded...

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social struggles occurring in West Europe at the time. However, the Fourth ICL Conference in 2003 undertook a critical review of internal problems stemming from the impact of capitalist counterrevolution on our organization. The document of this conference noted soberly:

> "Failure to recognize the period we are in and the necessary relationship of our small revolutionary vanguard to the proletariat, and the absence of the Soviet Union as an active and defining factor in politics, have led to disorientation. Frustration and impatience over the disparity between our small size and slender roots in the working class and our proletarian internationalist purpose have led both to opportunist lunges and sectarian moralism."
>
> —*Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 58, Spring 2004

The conference concluded that an inability to deal with the world created by the fall of the USSR, and the consequent retrogression in consciousness, lay at the root of the ICL's crisis in 2003. The weight of the defeats and the ensuing social catastrophes of capitalist counterrevolution flattened the understanding of our cadre that the ICL was, and is, the party of the Russian Revolution, of new Octobers, leading the way to the coming transformation of the world. At bottom, what was posed was whether "we will fight to maintain our revolutionary continuity or buy into and ultimately surrender to the worldview of our opponents. To these opponents, the issue of revolution, the Russian question, is an 'old' question that does not fit into their 'new world reality'." Following our 2003 conference we undertook a further re-examination of past practices and political questions.

One of the questions that came under review was our propaganda on Solidarność in the 1990s. After the destruction of the Polish deformed workers state in 1989-90, Solidarność had served its purpose as the spearhead for capitalist counterrevolution. Its peasant sector and many intellectuals decamped and founded their own bourgeois parties. Thus, Solidarność (and its offshoots like Solidarność 80 and Sierpien 80) became more akin to a trade union in social composition. During the first tenure of the SLD-led government in post-counterrevolution Poland we observed that the "official Solidarność union now poses as a champion of working-class interests while revving up its anti-Communist demagogy and making overtures to openly fascistic forces" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January 1995; *PS* No. 5, Spring 1995).

However, taking into account only the latter, we argued one-sidedly in a 1998 article in *PS* that "the function of Solidarność has nothing to do with 'trade unionism' of any kind, 'militant' or otherwise." Following internal discussion within the ICL, we corrected this formulation in our 2005 article "Right Wing Wins Polish Elections" (*WV* No. 857, 28 October 2005 and *PS* No. 13, December 2005), noting that it wrongly denied the fact that Solidarność is ***both*** a trade union and a reactionary clericalist organization: "It organizes workers at the point of production, sometimes leading defensive economic struggles; at the same time it functions as a political movement closely allied to the Catholic hierarchy and explicitly right-wing nationalist parties." This article, which summarized the ICL's proud record of fighting against counterrevolution against the backdrop of the obscene 25th anniversary festivities for Solidarność, was written in close collaboration between the ICL and its sympathizers and supporters in Poland.

Fabian/Sygma

WV Photo

Above: Solidarność leader Lech Walesa with Pope Wojtyla in 1981. Right: Spartacists in front of NYC Solidarność office, September 1981, expose Walesa's outfit as company union for CIA and Vatican.

Despite the SGP's dissolution, the ICL, especially through the SpAD, continued to intervene in leftist events and class struggles in Poland, and pursued discussions with militants who were interested in our program and repelled by the Polish left's embrace of anti-Communism and Polish nationalism. This work was facilitated in large part by a founding cadre of the SGP who continued to closely collaborate with the ICL. We consolidated another ICL sympathizer and won new ones.

For a Leninist Vanguard Party!

The organizational disappearance of the ICL in Poland in 2001 created a vacuum that was filled with various counterfeits—albeit limited to the Internet, as many such leftists share an illusion that posting texts and chatting on the Internet can substitute for the hard work of forging a Trotskyist party through polemical struggle against all varieties of opportunism and through active intervention in class and social struggles. Our principled fight [in 2005] against one of these counterfeits, *Platforma Proletariacka* (*PP*), paved the way for the refounding of the SGP.

PP was a creation of a former SGP member who for a period of time postured as a Spartacist. The extent to which he broke with the ICL program was seen in his declaration of critical electoral support to a liberal-bourgeois candidate for president of Poland, Maria Szyszkowska, in 2005. *PP* falsely portrayed her as an opponent of Solidarność counterrevolution and SLD social democracy (then in government). That position was counterposed to the Marxist principle of working-class independence, which necessarily includes not voting for bourgeois candidates. It effectively meant abandoning the ICL's hard struggle against capitalist counterrevolution. We responded to this unprincipled maneuver in our 4 September 2005 "Statement of Sympathizers and Supporters of the ICL in Poland," pointing out: "The fact that *PP* provided critical support to Szyszkowska in the elections testifies, at best, to an attempt to improve her image under the influence of her left-sounding demands or, at worst, to a desperate desire to exist on a 'political scene' saturated with the reactionary climate of post-counterrevolutionary Poland." *PP* eventually accepted the criticism, acknowledged the violation of Marxist principle and went out of business.

The group that is refounded faces by and large the very same questions that were posed at the time of the founding of the SGP in 1990. The capitalist counterrevolution, spearheaded by Solidarność and embraced by the disintegrating Stalinist gravediggers of revolution, meant attacks on the living conditions of the working class, intensified national chauvinism, anti-Semitic attacks and persecution of Roma people and immigrants. As we had warned, women were hit particularly hard—they were the first to be sacked, they receive lower wages than men for the same work, and they are confronted with a reactionary ban on abortion. Catholic and Polish-nationalist values are being imposed on youth in schools. The ex-Stalinist social democrats of the SLD demonstrated their loyalty to the bourgeoisie during two terms of administering the capitalist state. Their attacks on the gains of the working class paved the way for electoral victories of right-wing reactionary parties in 1997 and 2005. Today the SLD is attempting to cohere yet another alliance with liberal-bourgeois democrats with the aim of administering Polish capitalism again after the next elections.

AP

July 2005: 5,000 Polish miners demonstrated outside Parliament in Warsaw to defend pension rights.

The Polish bourgeoisie continues its military alliance with U.S. imperialism. In 1999 Poland joined NATO, and since 2003 it has participated in the colonial occupation of Iraq. Poland has recently sent more troops to Afghanistan. In 2004 Poland joined the European Union (EU), a consortium of imperialist states formed on the basis of anti-Sovietism and maintained to facilitate competition with its American and Japanese imperialist rivals.

The recent extensions of the EU to East Europe are aimed at exploiting the poorly paid and well-trained labor there and expanding the markets and spheres of influence of the European imperialist bourgeoisies. At the same time, the EU pursues austerity measures against the working class aimed at destroying "welfare state" measures in West European countries. It unleashes cop terror against the minority populations of Turkish, Asian, Arab, African or Roma origin and has drastically increased measures to seal the EU off from further immigration. While Germany is its strongest element, the EU is lacking a cohesive political or economic center. The EU is riven with rivalries among its bourgeoisies. The British have lined up with the American bourgeoisie against German and French imperialist interests. The newer East European members, including Poland, often ally themselves politically with U.S. imperialism. We counterpose to the imperialist EU our struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
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National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860

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trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

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Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed
Saturday, May 19, 4 p.m.
222 S. Morgan Street (buzzer 23)
(near CTA Blue Line UIC-Halsted station)

— and —

Tuesday, May 22, 7 p.m.
Harper Memorial Library, Room 125
University of Chicago
1116 E. 59th Street

Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Black Liberation and the Fight for Immigrant Rights
Thursday, May 24, 6 p.m.
Kerckhoff 152
University of California Los Angeles

Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

The present government of the arch-reactionary Lech and Jaroslaw Kaczynski twins has been viciously attacking gay rights activists while presiding over the current attempts to restrict abortion even more severely, including in cases of rape and health problems. They have strengthened the power of the capitalist state by introducing a more severe penal code and fast-track courts. As dissatisfaction with the government grows among the older generations of the working class and their children—who still remember the social gains destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, such as employment for all, free quality medical care and education systems accessible to all—the Kaczynskis unleash *lustracja*, a McCarthy-style anti-Communist witchhunt.

Lustracja threatens large numbers of the older generation with being purged from their jobs for their recorded cooperation or contacts with the Stalinist secret services—a crime in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie persecutes members of the Security Office for suppressing the anti-Communist Home Army (AK) and has put Jaruzelski on trial for his successful spiking of Solidarność's counterrevolutionary bid for power in December 1981. Jaruzelski and other representatives of the former PRL are being tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes! The witchhunt against them is ultimately aimed at criminalizing anyone fighting today for a socialist future. ***Down with the anti-Communist witchhunt! Hands off Jaruzelski!***

Our new members were recruited mainly on the proud record of the ICL's fight against capitalist counterrevolution and for Trotskyism in Poland. One of our comrades encountered the ICL at a march for women's rights on International Women's Day and was attracted to the ICL because of our fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution and for full democratic rights for homosexuals. Our left opponents talk to striking workers only about economic demands and refuse to combat reactionary prejudices like anti-Semitism, male chauvinism or anti-gay bigotry; when these opportunists go to demonstrations for women's rights, they promote bourgeois feminist ideas. In contrast, we intervene in all struggles and among all layers of society with the revolutionary program. We tell striking workers that for the proletariat to advance, it must

Der Spiegel

1945: Poles greet Soviet Red Army troops following liberation of Poland from Nazi scourge.

actively champion the rights of the oppressed; and we tell women's rights activists that they must turn to the proletariat, which is the only class in society with the social power and the objective interest to overthrow the capitalist system to which the oppression of women is inherent. We fight to build a revolutionary party that must be, in Lenin's words, a tribune of the people.

Trotskyism and the Second World War

On the way to re-establishing a Polish section of the ICL we discussed the Trotskyist position on World War II. The cynical propagandists of the capitalist class portray World War II as a war between democracy and fascism. Nothing could be further from the truth! In fact, World War II was a war between competing gangs of imperialist robbers. Our revolutionary predecessors, Trotsky's Fourth International, took no side in the war between the imperialist Axis powers of Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan and the Allied imperialists of Britain, France and the U.S., who disguised their desires for world hegemony and unbridled imperialist exploitation of colonies with "democratic" rhetoric. During the Second World War, the Polish bourgeoisie was a lackey of French and British imperialism. It is for this reason that the Trotskyists did not take a side in the 1939 war between imperialist Germany and Poland, which was merely, to use Trotsky's words, a "'crippled' gangster of imperialism." In clarifying this question, we referred back to Trotsky's powerful 1938 article "A Fresh Lesson," written at the time of the Munich accords upon which Hitler's troops dismembered and annexed the Czech parts of Czechoslavakia:

> "Even irrespective of its international ties, Czechoslovakia is an absolutely imperialist state.... A war, even on the part of isolated Czechoslovakia, would thus have been waged not for national independence but for the preservation and, if possible, the extension of the borders of imperialist exploitation....
>
> "An imperialist war, no matter in what corner it begins, will be waged not for 'national independence' but for a redivision of the world in the interests of separate cliques of finance capital."

In the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, *we did have a side*. We stand in the tradition of the brave Trotskyists in the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw, who declared, "We defend the workers state, notwithstanding the Stalinist regime, like we defend every workers organization from blows of the class enemy, notwithstanding the reformist regime ruling it.... LONG LIVE THE RED ARMY! LONG LIVE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION!" (*Czerwony Sztandar* [Red Flag] No. 6, July 1941).

While Polish patriotism has constantly been whipped up by the capitalist regimes after counterrevolution, the rule of the Kaczynski twins is particularly pernicious in combining virulent anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism with anti-Communism. This may well be motivated by holding up their family "honor," as their father was a fighter in the Home Army, an outfit notorious for mostly engaging in battle with Communist forces, killing Jews and standing by idly when the Nazis crushed the heroic 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Upon the advance of the Soviet Red Army on Warsaw in 1944, the AK staged an uprising in Warsaw to prevent Poland from falling under the influence of the Soviet Union (see "The Warsaw Uprising of 1944" in *WV* No. 294, 4 December 1981; *PS* No. 9, Spring-Summer 1999). When this uprising ended in complete failure, the AK cynically accused the Red Army of refusing to liberate Warsaw. This old anti-Communist myth has become official history in Poland's schools and universities today.

We are inspired by the Trotskyists, who during World War II upheld the banner of proletarian revolutionary internationalism. They stood for the fraternization of the soldiers fighting in the imperialist armies, including organizing Trotskyist cells among Wehrmacht soldiers in France and the Netherlands. They saw in the German proletariat the instrument to overthrow the Nazi regime, to expropriate the bourgeoisie that brought Hitler to power and to build a socialist Germany. They solidarized with defense of the German proletariat against retributions and opposed the mass expulsions of the German population from the areas east of the Oder and Neisse rivers, Poland's new border with Germany. They exposed the lie of "collective guilt" of all Germans. As a statement of the European sections of the Fourth International declared in 1945:

> "The treatment of the German people on the principle of collective guilt provides the fascists precisely with new possibilities to fish in the murky waters of nationalism. The danger is all the greater since if the German people are collectively guilty then the Nazis who are the real guilty ones can logically hope to escape punishment....
>
> "Fascism and imperialism can only be ended with the downfall of capitalism and the victory of international socialism. ***Long live the German proletarian revolution! Long live the Socialist United States of the World!***"
>
> —"International Solidarity With the German Proletariat," 1945

By re-establishing the SGP, the ICL is provided with an important window into East Europe. This is an important step toward reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ***Workers of the world unite! For new October Revolutions! Join us!*** ■

NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

Safety and Health Administration protect industry bosses, not the workers, and rarely enforce their own workplace safety rules, even in the face of life-threatening violations. Whether it's the thousands of poor and black people along the Gulf Coast left to die in the face of Hurricane Katrina or those working to keep NYC transit running, lives are expendable for a ruling class intent on squeezing out every penny it can in the name of the bottom line. The government at all levels knew for decades about the dangers facing New Orleans, but did nothing about the city's inadequately built and crumbling levees. The NYC transit system and much of the rest of the country's infrastructure is rotting because the obscenely rich capitalists refuse to spend the money to maintain and upgrade it.

Track workers have for years demanded radios for everyone working in the dark, filthy, dangerous subway tunnels, so that they can be connected with train crews and control centers. But for the MTA, a worker's life is not even worth the cost of communications equipment. Safety technology far more sophisticated than radios and lanterns has long existed—deploy it today! The way to establish and enforce safety on the job is through mobilizing union power. The TWU must fight for ***elected union safety committees with the power to shut down unsafe worksites on the spot.*** Indeed, Marvin Franklin might still be alive if the TWU had shut down the NYC transit system *immediately* after Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks.

After the deaths of Boggs and Franklin, NYC Transit head Roberts ordered 6,000 workers to be immediately "reinstructed" on safety procedures. Once again, the transit bosses are blaming the victims when workers are killed on the job. Grotesquely, Local 100 president Roger Toussaint alibis the MTA bosses by speaking of how "transit work is inherently dangerous work," pushing their safety crash course and trying to sell workers on a toothless "track safety bill" being pushed in Albany. At Franklin's funeral on May 5, Jeff Hill gave an impassioned speech repudiating the lies being spread that he and Franklin did anything wrong. He explained how the two were following the direct orders of a foreman when retrieving the dolly, declaring, "It wouldn't have happened if we weren't doing what we were told to do."

Following the deaths, *WV* salesmen outside a transit maintenance facility were mistaken for TWU members by a black sanitation worker who yelled out: "What's happening? You guys are dying every day! They're killing you every day!" Many workers are angry over the deaths of Boggs and Franklin and have real respect for the TWU, particularly following its three-day strike in December 2005 in defiance of the state's Taylor Law. That strike crippled the financial capital of the world. But it was knifed by the trade-union bureaucrats of the NYC Central Labor Council and the TWU International and called off by Toussaint as the union was showing its muscle. Now Toussaint promotes boss Roberts as a "nice guy" appointed by the MTA's new management under Democratic Party governor Eliot Spitzer, whose election the TWU tops supported. This is the same Spitzer who, as state attorney general, threw Toussaint in jail and went after the union with fines for going on strike!

What labor needs is a leadership based on the policy of class struggle, one that would unleash union power independent of and in opposition to the capitalist government and its politicians. We need a workers party that will fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the murderous profit system and replace it with a planned economy under workers rule. Until then, workers will continue to be crushed under the wheels of a system that cares nothing for their lives. ■

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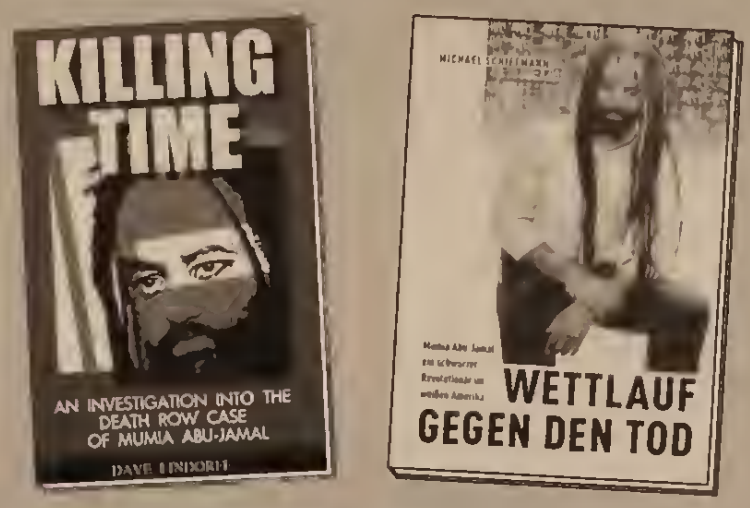
Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist "Justice"

David Lindorff, Michael Schiffmann: Undermining Mumia's Fight for Freedom



David Lindorff's *Killing Time* and Michael Schiffmann's *Race Against Death*.

With oral arguments in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal scheduled for May 17 in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the fight for freedom for this class-war prisoner is posed with utmost urgency. This could well be the final legal appeal for Mumia, an innocent man falsely convicted of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. For more than 25 years the cops, prosecutors, bourgeois politicians and their media jackals have howled for his blood because they see in Mumia—a Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth and later a MOVE supporter, an outspoken journalist who speaks of revolutionary change—the spectre of black revolution. The forces of capitalist "law and order" want to kill Mumia or bury him alive in prison, not only to silence his voice but to send a message to minority youth, to union militants, leftists and anyone who would dare defy their system of exploitation and racist oppression.

Mumia's conviction and death sentence were the result of a political and racist frame-up, the continuation of the government vendetta against the Black Panther Party that led to the murder of 38 Panthers and the frame-up arrests of hundreds of others and part of a crescendo of frame-ups and outright terror directed against the MOVE organization. The police and prosecutors have stopped at nothing in their efforts against Mumia—intimidation of witnesses, suppression and falsification of evidence of Mumia's innocence, concerted campaigns against any and all who stand in defense of Mumia.

In every legal action since Mumia's conviction, the courts have denied the evidence of his innocence and of the state frame-up. That includes three evidentiary hearings, three motions and two appeals to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, a *habeas corpus* petition filed in the U.S. District Court and three petitions to the U.S. Supreme Court. The reversal of Mumia's death sentence in December 2001 by U.S. District Court judge William Yohn was immediately appealed by the prosecution. Mumia remains on death row, where he has languished for a quarter-century.

The history of Mumia's legal case gives flesh and blood to the Marxist understanding of the bourgeois state and its courts as organs of repression against the working people and the oppressed. They are not neutral but serve and protect the capitalist ruling class and its profit system. There is no justice in the capitalist courts for those who stand in opposition to and defiance of that system and its manifold horrors.

It took mass international protest—protest that crucially included trade unionists—to stay the executioner's hand in August 1995. What is needed now, as the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have repeatedly stressed, is to rekindle such mass protests behind the call for Mumia's freedom, based on the understanding that he is an innocent man and the victim of a racist political frame-up.

This task not only entails combatting the bourgeois media that dutifully repeats every lie dished out by the Philadelphia D.A.'s office and the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.). It also requires exposing those who claim to support Mumia while denigrating the massive evidence of his innocence and the state frame-up. Representative of such types are David Lindorff, author of *Killing Time: An Investigation Into the Death Row Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (Common Courage Press, 2003), and Michael Schiffmann, author of *Wettlauf gegen den Tod* (2006, available in English on the Internet as *Race Against Death*).

Both authors reject the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner and cast doubts about Mumia's own statement that he had nothing to do with the shooting. Schiffmann has denounced the Beverly evidence as "divisive" and "distracting," while Lindorff intones that to push it risks alienating potential supporters of Mumia. Their bottom line is to plead for a new, "fair" trial by the same legal system that railroaded Mumia to death row. Thus, in the guise of "exposés" on behalf of Mumia, these books serve to *undermine* the fight for Mumia's freedom.

Various reformist left groups—from the Workers World Party (WWP) to the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Socialist Action (SA)—have embraced either or both of these books, and for a reason. Each of these organizations has peddled the same illusions in capitalist "justice" and thus worked to *demobilize* the mass protest movement for Mumia that must now be revitalized.

Evidence of Innocence: Too Hot to Handle

Both Lindorff's and Schiffmann's books provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the holes in the prosecution case, the falsification of evidence and coercion of witnesses, the bias that oozed from every pore of Judge Albert Saho during Mumia's 1982 trial. *Killing Time* starkly depicts the racist jury-rigging at the trial, and *Race Against Death* presents ballistics and other evidence refuting the lying police account of how Mumia supposedly shot Faulkner.

All this, and more, had long ago been established as fact, due principally to investigative work by Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee and, along with the PDC's Jonathan Piper, a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999. Wolkenstein and Piper repeatedly fought in the defense team to bring forward evidence of the police frame-up and of Mumia's innocence. It should not have taken a Marxist understanding of the capitalist state and its legal system to pursue the evidence in a case that was such an obvious frame-up, moreover one that was so loaded with racist bias and political motive. A detailed account of this evidence is included in Wolkenstein's July 2001 affidavit submitted by Mumia's then attorneys Marlene Kamish and Eliot Grossman to both Pennsylvania state and U.S. federal courts. The affidavit, along with Beverly's 1999 confession and other crucial documents, was printed in the September 2001 PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!* (reprinted in the updated July 2006 pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*).

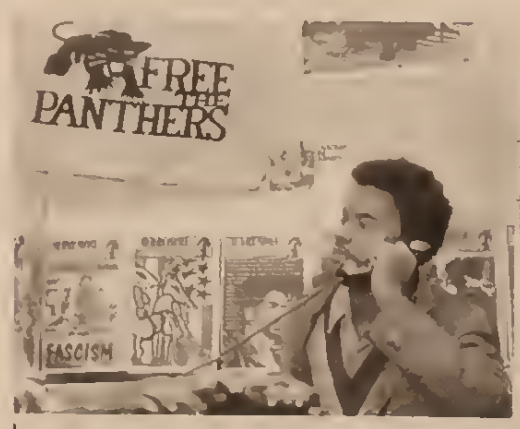
But while the Lindorff and Schiffmann books lean heavily on this work (a point they fail to acknowledge), their core purpose is to *undermine* the fact of Mumia's innocence and the extent and depth of the frame-up carried out by the forces of the state, who want to see him dead. Both equivocate on the life-and-death question of whether Mumia shot Faulkner. While Lindorff writes that he would "lean towards innocence" in regard to the first-degree murder charge against Mumia, he adds, "I'm not convinced that Mumia Abu-Jamal was simply an innocent bystander." Asking whether Mumia shot Faulkner, he concludes: "The answer has to be maybe." While Schiffmann states that Mumia is innocent of murder and points to Kenneth Freeman as the shooter, he nevertheless offers that "even if Abu-Jamal did fire the shot that killed Faulkner, he did so in self-defense."

Lindorff attacks *Mumia's own declaration* that "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent" (see box, page 7). Schiffmann does the same thing by implication.

Both writers are quite explicit in their dismissal of the confession of Arnold Beverly. In a 1999 affidavit, Beverly declared: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area." As Wolkenstein stated in her 2001 affidavit:

> "Beverly's confession not only established Jamal's innocence but also laid bare the extent and consciousness of police and prosecutorial misconduct in prosecuting and convicting Mumia Abu-Jamal and sentencing him to death for a crime he did not commit. Beverly's account of the shooting did not stand alone but was supported by a wealth of information in the record.... Beverly's account of being hired to kill Officer Faulkner was consistent with the fact that there were at least three ongoing FBI investigations of police corruption in the Center City area where Faulkner worked at the time of his murder, and that at least one other informant in those investigations was murdered. Beverly's account of the shooting was also more consistent with the available physical evidence than the prosecution scenario of the shooting (which was physically impossible). Moreover, the claim that police hired Beverly (along with police political bias against Jamal) helped to explain the gross police and prosecutorial misconduct permeating the case."

For Lindorff, Beverly's confession "strains credulity." Schiffmann recounts that while he was initially inclined to believe the confession, under the influence of Lindorff and others he was con-



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal (Wesley Cook) as 15-year-old Minister of Information of Philadelphia Black Panther Party, 1969. Mumia was target of FBI's murderous COINTELPRO operation.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

Report of [redacted] b7C Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Date: OCTOBER 24, 1969
Field Office File #: 157-3937 Bureau File #:
Title: WESLEY COOK
Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

b7C

verted to rejecting the account as an "unnecessary complex scheme" (while opining that the courts should have at least heard this evidence). In this, the authors are following in the footsteps of Dan Williams. In 2001, Williams, who was then serving on Mumia's legal team with lead counsel Leonard Weinglass, published an unauthorized and lying account of the legal defense, appropriately titled *Executing Justice*. Williams told Weinglass that his book was a "pre-emptive strike" against the Beverly confession—which they had suppressed for two years—ever being used in Mumia's defense in court.

Calling the confession "insane" and any effort to use it "bona fide lunacy," Williams' assertions in his book provided the sole basis of prosecution arguments for excluding this evidence from court. Mumia fired Williams and Weinglass when he learned of the publication of the book, which outrageously tried to make Mumia complicit in burying the Beverly testimony. The lie that Mumia rejected the Beverly evidence was echoed in a *Socialist Action* (April 2001) article by Jeff Mackler. Thanks to Williams' treachery, the courts summarily excluded the Beverly evidence, and the cops and prosecutors have never had to try to refute it. Nor *could* they refute it, as Beverly's confession throws light on the web of cop corruption that led to the conviction of a number of police officers and higher-ups.

Why would Lindorff and Schiffmann, two self-proclaimed advocates for Mumia, follow Williams by tearing at the Beverly confession, doing the prosecutors' work for them? At bottom, it is because the Beverly evidence shows that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, bad prosecutor or racist judge but of an entire "justice" system in which the cops, prosecutors and courts act to uphold the class interests of the capitalist rulers. This Marxist understanding is anathema to the liberal Lindorff and the anarchoid liberal Schiffmann, who embrace the very "justice" system that at every level has declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case, that Mumia has no rights it is bound to respect.

Declaration of Mumia Abu-Jamal

3 May 2001

The declaration below is reprinted from the July 2006 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!

I, MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, declare:

1. I am the Petitioner in this action. If called as a witness I could and would testify to the following from my own personal knowledge:

2. I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent.

3. At my trial I was denied the right to defend myself, I had no confidence in my court-appointed attorney, who never even asked me what happened the night I was shot and the police officer was killed, and I was excluded from at least half the trial.

4. Since I was denied all my rights at my trial I did not testify. I would not be used to make it look like I had a fair trial.

5. I did not testify in the post-conviction proceedings in 1995 on the advice of my attorney, Leonard Weinglass, who specifically told me not to testify.

6. Now for the first time I have been given an opportunity to tell what happened to me in the early morning hours of December 9, 1981. This is what happened:

7. As a cabbie I often chose 13th and Locust Street because it was a popular club area with a lot of foot traffic.

8. I worked out of United Cab on the night of 12/9/81.

9. I believe I had recently returned from dropping off a fare in West Philly.

10. I was filling out my log when I heard some shouting.

11. I glanced in my rear view mirror and saw a flashing dome light of a police cruiser. This wasn't unusual.

12. I continued to fill out my log/trip sheet when I heard what sounded like gun shots.

13. I looked again into my rear view mirror and saw people running up and down Locust.

14. As I scanned I recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy.

15. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream.

16. As I came across the street I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees.

17. I closed my eyes and sat still trying to breath.

18. The next thing that I remember I felt myself being kicked, hit and being brought out of a stupor.

19. When I opened my eyes, I saw cops all around me.

20. They were hollering and cursing, grabbing and pulling on me. I felt faint finding it hard to talk.

21. As I looked through this cop crowd all around me, I saw my brother, blood running down his neck and a cop lying on his back on the pavement.

22. I was pulled to my feet and then rammed into a telephone pole beaten where I fell and thrown into a paddy wagon.

23. I think I slept until I heard the door open and a white cop in a white shirt came in cursing and hit me in the forehead.

24. I don't remember what he said much except a lot of "n-----s", "black motherfuckers" and what not.

24. I believe he left and I slept. I don't remember the wagon moving for a while and when it did for sometime.

25. I awoke to hear the driver speaking over the radio about his prisoner.

26. I was informed by the anonymous crackle on the radio that I was en route to the police administration building a few blocks away.

27. Then, it sounded like "I.D.'d as M-1" came on the radio band telling the driver to go to Jefferson Hospital.

28. Upon arrival I was thrown from the wagon to the ground and beaten.

29. I was beaten again at the doors of Jefferson.

30. Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler.

31. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to.

32. I never said I shot the policeman, I did not shoot the policeman.

33. I never said I hoped he died. I would never say something like that.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the above is true and correct and was executed by me on 3 May, 2001, at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

(signed)
MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Liberals and Capitalist "Justice"

Lindorff, whose columns appear in *CounterPunch* and the *Nation*, scorns those convinced that Mumia had nothing to do with Faulkner's shooting as "true believers," a timeworn anti-communist epithet. He outrageously equates those "absolutely convinced" of Mumia's innocence with the F.O.P., which clamors for Mumia's blood, saying that "one of those two bitterly opposed sides may be in the right, though I have my doubts about both."

Chicago Black Panther Party residence shot up in 1969 FBI/police raid that killed Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Nevertheless, Lindorff has made himself a minor celebrity on the liberal left as an "independent" authority on Mumia's case, embraced by such reformists as the ISO, which enthused over *Killing Time* for "exposing the flaws in Mumia's case" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 December 2005). The Web site of Refuse & Resist, which is associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), runs articles by Lindorff, whom they also trumpet as an authority on Mumia's case, and Lindorff will be speaking at the May 12 "Writers for Mumia" co-sponsored by the WWP's International Action Center and the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition of New York City.

In the afterword to *Killing Time*, Lindorff makes clear that the question for him is not whether Mumia "'did it,' but whether he received a fair trial and a fair appeal of his conviction." Mumia's case, he writes, "is nothing less than a test of the American justice system." In fact, Mumia's case is a testament to the racist and political frame-ups that are integral to the capitalist "justice" system. They are not aberrations staining the reputation of U.S. democracy, as Lindorff and other liberals would have it, but are just as much a part of the fabric of the bourgeois state as are the torture chambers at the Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo prison camps. Where *Killing Time* pleads for a "fair trial" for Mumia, *Race Against Death* spends several pages lauding celebrities and others demanding that Mumia get a new day in court.

Both of these books serve as tools for those whose strategy revolves around the call for a new trial. For years, this call has been a centerpiece of protest actions organized by the reformist left, sometimes with an admixture of calls to free Mumia. At a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting," representatives of some reformist left groups—SA, WWP, Solidarity, the RCP's Refuse & Resist—along with the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and others adopted a strategy and slogans for the April 24 "Millions for Mumia" demonstrations and beyond. With abundant evidence of Mumia's innocence, and no less proof of the frame-up methods used to send him to death row, there should have been no question that a movement on his behalf would raise the demand for his freedom, just as earlier generations were mobilized around the calls to "Free the Scottsboro Boys!" and "Free Angela Davis!" But following a debate, the call to "free Mumia" and opposition to the death penalty were rejected in favor of calling for a new trial in order to reach out to "the American mainstream." For the reformists, who sought to forge a class-collaborationist alliance with Democratic Party politicians and other bourgeois liberals, that "mainstream" included those who were agnostic on Mumia's innocence.

Mumia in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops on 9 December 1981.

At bottom, the "new trial" slogan is an appeal to liberals who see Mumia's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." The program put forward by the WWP, RCP, ISO, SA et al. masks the true face of bourgeois democracy, which represents nothing other than the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In *Lessons of October* (1924), Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian Revolution of October 1917, pointed out the role of such reformists in "the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." This is precisely the role of the reformist "socialists" who rely on the courts to bring Mumia "justice." These groups *obstruct* the development of a defense movement based on the understanding that it is the class nature and racial bias of the capitalist state that is behind the cops' and courts' virulent hatred of Mumia, and that the road to winning his freedom lies in class-struggle defense.

Since the PDC and Spartacist League took up Mumia's case in 1987, we have advocated pursuing all possible legal proceedings on his behalf. But in doing so we place no faith whatever in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. The PDC's efforts in publicizing Mumia's case, raising funds for his legal defense and initiating united-front protests helped make Mumia a household name and laid the foundation for the upsurge of mass protest on his behalf in the 1990s. It is only the pressure of a mass movement, with the power of the organized working class brought to bear, that can make the courts respond. A demonstration of the social power of the working class, which can bring production, transport and communications to a halt, was seen in the December 2005 strike by New York City transit workers that crippled the financial

continued on page 8

Capitalist "Justice"...

(continued from page 7)

center of U.S. capitalism.

The groundbreaking investigative work by Wolkenstein and Piper proved that Mumia is an innocent man victimized by a wide-ranging, multi-layered frame-up. In our class-struggle defense work, we seek to imbue militants with the understanding that the bourgeois state, consisting at its core of the armed forces, the cops, the courts and the prisons, is an apparatus of violence designed to protect the profits and rule of the capitalist class against the working class and the oppressed. And as Mumia's case so amply demonstrates, in racist America, this repression, carried out under both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital, falls heavily on the black population, segregated in the main at the bottom of society.

The rulers' murderous disdain for black people is a thread connecting the mass incarceration of minority youth, mainly due to the "war on drugs," and the racist atrocity in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, when the government at all levels left thousands to die. In capitalist America, "justice" means that it is the black people, workers, immigrants and the poor who are thrown into the depths of the vast network of prisons and death rows across the country. Over two million men, women and even children are behind bars, over half of them black or Latino. The racist bias inherent in the capitalist legal system was underscored in the U.S. Supreme Court's 1987 *McCleskey v. Kemp* decision upholding the death penalty despite overwhelming evidence of the racist disparity in its application. To do otherwise, the court ruled, would throw into question "the principles that underlie the entire criminal justice system." Indeed it would!

We call to ***abolish the racist death penalty***—a barbaric institution and, in the U.S., a legacy of chattel slavery. We fight for proletarian socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous state apparatus and the capitalist profit system it serves and to replace it with a workers state based on a planned, collectivized economy.

The Courts' "Mumia Rules"

The state's determination to kill Mumia, and why, was displayed at his sentencing in 1982, when the prosecution held up his prior membership in the Black Panther Party to secure a death sentence. As the PDC documented in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The FBI COINTELPRO Files" (*Class-Struggle Defense Notes* No. 22, Summer 1995), as a teenager Mumia was a target of the FBI's program to destroy the Black Panther Party. The cops and courts further had it in for Mumia when he won prominence as a journalist, whose searing exposés of racism and police terror earned him the title "voice of the voiceless," and became a supporter of Philadelphia MOVE. The Philly cops' murderous campaign to destroy MOVE was capped by the 13 May 1985 firebombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue commune by the police and the Feds, killing eleven and burning down a predominantly black neighborhood.

Our earliest defense efforts on behalf of Mumia included explaining the numerous legal issues in his case, much of which is recounted by Lindorff and Schiffmann. In early 1989, the PDC produced a legal dossier, "The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Handbook of Constitutional Violations," detailing the many ways in which the right to a fair trial was violated.

It is clear that the courts operate by special "Mumia rules" akin to the frame-up methods used to persecute earlier fighters for black rights, labor militants, communists and others deemed "subversive." In 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to take up the legality of making Mumia's membership in the Panthers the basis of his death sentence, a clear violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of speech and association. But the court did take up and overturn the death sentence of a member of the Aryan Brotherhood, a racist prison gang, based on the same legal argument! And every court to which it has been presented has refused to consider the Beverly confession and mountains of supporting evidence.

Faulkner was shot early in the morning of 9 December 1981 on the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia's Center City red-light district. Mumia was critically wounded, shot through the lungs and into the liver. As Mumia has made clear, the cops beat him at the scene and at first planned to take him to police headquarters to finish him off. At the hospital, they tried again to kill him.

To secure Mumia's conviction, cops and prosecutors coerced witnesses into providing perjured testimony and terrorized others into not testifying at all. The latter included William Singletary, who had told police immediately after the killing that he saw someone other than

WV Photo

Philadelphia, August 1995: Reformist left's call for new trial for Mumia subordinates fight for his freedom to reliance on racist capitalist courts.

Mumia shoot Faulkner. Fearing for his life, Singletary left town during the trial.

The prosecution's case against Mumia rested on three legs, all lies, as detailed in the 1995 PDC pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*. First, the prosecution claimed that three eyewitnesses identified Mumia as the shooter. But not one witness ever testified to seeing Mumia shoot Faulkner. As other eyewitnesses have testified, the key prosecution witness, prostitute Cynthia White, was not even on the scene at the time of the shooting. Another prosecution witness, cab driver Robert Chobert, admitted in 1995 that he had not been parked behind Faulkner's police car, as he claimed at the 1982 trial, and could not see the shooting. This is confirmed by photos Schiffmann discovered that had been taken by freelance photographer Pedro Polakoff minutes after the shooting clearly showing that Chobert's cab was not parked behind Faulkner's car.

Second, the prosecution claimed that Mumia confessed to the shooting when he arrived at the hospital to be treated for his wounds. This was a cop/prosecution fabrication pure and simple. Gary Wakshul, the cop who guarded Mumia that night, wrote in his report that Mumia "made no comments." At a 1995 Post Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing, held as the threat of execution was hanging over Mumia, Wakshul testified that he did not manage to report the "confession" *for two months*, when this tale was concocted at a roundtable meeting called by the prosecutor to prepare for trial.

Lastly, the prosecution argued that the fact that Mumia's gun was found at the scene showed that he did the shooting. There is not a shred of evidence that Mumia's gun was ever fired that night, let alone that Mumia had fired it.

The story cooked up by the cops and the D.A.'s office is that Faulkner had made a routine traffic stop of a VW he saw driving erratically, with Mumia's brother Billy Cook behind the wheel. Cook emerged from the car and a scuffle took place. Mumia, parked in the cab he drove, saw his brother beaten by Faulkner, ran across a parking lot and shot Faulkner first in the back and then emptied his revolver straight down at a prone Faulkner. It was while Faulkner was falling, the prosecution claims, that he shot Mumia. This is a totally false story.

The essential premise of the prosecution case was that only three men were on the southeast corner of 13th and Locust when Faulkner was shot—Faulkner, Billy Cook and Mumia—and that since the shooter was not Cook, it must have been Mumia. This scenario was refuted by no fewer than five witnesses who have testified that a black man ran away from the scene to the east.

At the 1995 hearing, it was revealed that police had found a driver's license application belonging to one Arnold Howard in Faulkner's uniform. At this hearing, Howard testified that he had given the document to Kenneth Freeman. Billy Cook, in a 1999 declaration submitted to Wolkenstein, included in *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*, declared that Freeman was in the Volkswagen with him at the time, and that "Freeman told me after that night that there was a plan to kill Officer Faulkner, that Freeman was part of that plan, that he was armed that night and participated in the shooting."

Schiffmann strenuously argues that it was solely Freeman who killed Faulkner. Freeman's involvement is certainly a crucial part of the picture. Suspiciously, and conveniently for the cops, he was found dead on 13 May 1985, just hours after the bombing of the MOVE commune. But it is the confession of Arnold Beverly that ties Freeman's role and other evidence into a coherent picture of what happened on 9 December 1981.

Doing the Prosecution's Work: Smearing Arnold Beverly

Beverly recounts that he had been waiting on the north side of Locust Street and had a partner on the south side, with cops positioned to make sure the hit went off. Beverly states that when Faulkner pulled over Cook's VW:

> "I heard a shot ring out coming from east on Locust Street. Faulkner fell on his knee on the sidewalk next to the VW. I heard another shot and it must have grazed my left shoulder. I felt something hard on my left shoulder. I grabbed at my shoulder and got blood on my hand. I ran across Locust Street and stood over Faulkner, who had fallen backwards on the sidewalk. I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene."

Beverly states that he escaped through a station on the Speedline subway with help from the cops. The fact that he himself had been shot in the hit on Faulkner helps explain why he came forward with his confession.

A vitally important part of Beverly's statement is that he was wearing a green army jacket at the time of the shooting. No less than five witnesses, including *two cops* and two prosecution witnesses, said that someone at the scene thought to be the shooter was wearing a green army jacket. Dessie Hightower's friend Robert Pigford, who never testified at the trial and later became a cop, told police that immediately after hearing shots he saw a man in an army jacket standing over the fallen cop. Billy Cook said that Freeman was wearing one, and William Singletary confirms that the shooter who got out of the VW was wearing one. The person or persons wearing a green army jacket could not have been either Mumia or Billy Cook. *Mumia was wearing a blue and red striped quilted jacket, and Billy wore a blue Nehru-style jacket.*

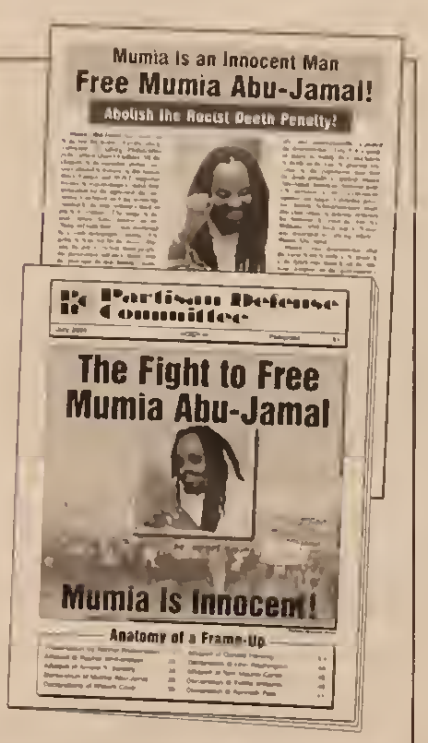
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Philadelphia Bulletin

At August 1978 press conference following cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home, racist Philadelphia mayor Rizzo lashes out at "new breed" of journalists such as Mumia (far left).

Beverly's account also answers the critical question of how Mumia was shot. His claim that Mumia was shot by a backup cop and not by Faulkner is supported by the account of a homicide cop named Westerman, included in a medical examiner's report, that Mumia was shot by "arriving police reinforcements." This accords with the testimony of Dessie Hightower that Faulkner's gun was in his holster as police removed him from the scene. The trajectory of the wounds Mumia suffered—traveling down through his chest from his lung and into his liver—blows apart the prosecution's claim that he had been shot while standing over Faulkner, i.e., from below.

Other elements of Beverly's testimony have been corroborated as well. When Rachel Wolkenstein first located Beverly in 1989, he said that a black officer, "Boston," was involved in the shooting. Wolkenstein pointed out in her affidavit that "the existence of a police officer named 'Boston' was confirmed when reviewing the records of a 1979 federal law suit concerning police brutality in Philadelphia." Wolkenstein noted that Beverly's account was backed up at a 1997 PCRA hearing for Mumia by the testimony of a prostitute named Pamela Jenkins, who had been an FBI informant in an infamous corruption scandal involving Philadelphia's 39th police district. Wolkenstein stated: "Jenkins testified that in 1982, while a prostitute and lover of P.O. [Police Officer] Thomas Ryan, she learned that a black police officer named Boston and other police officers, including 'Sarge' and Det. Richard Ryan, were present during the shooting of Officer Faulkner."

In 1999, Wolkenstein and Piper resigned from Mumia's legal team when it became clear that Weinglass and Williams refused to use the explosive evidence provided by Beverly and the supporting evidence of the police frame-up and of Mumia's innocence, after suppressing it for two years. It was finally introduced in 2001, after Mumia had fired Weinglass and Williams. That Beverly's confession tied together previously unexplained loose threads and that he passed two lie detector tests is fact. But from the moment it was introduced, the confession has been met with a frenzied attack, by both those leading the charge for Mumia's legal lynching and by individuals and groups who consider themselves to be supporters of Mumia's legal battle.

It was when Mumia was trying to prevent the publication of Williams' *Executing Justice* and found himself under renewed attack by the F.O.P. and the press that Lindorff popped up with an article in Salon.com (23 March 2001) titled "Mumia Sues to Halt Book." Having written very little about Mumia's case previously, Lindorff claimed that Williams' treacherous book, which concluded that Mumia may have been guilty, "makes a forceful argument that Abu-Jamal deserves a new, fairer trial." Three months later, when Mumia and his new attorneys introduced the Beverly confession, Lindorff denounced it as "a kind of legal 'Hail Mary' pass" while scurrilously attacking Mumia's lawyers ("Mumia's All-Or-Nothing Gamble," Salon.com, 15 June 2001).

Lindorff continues his attack on Beverly's testimony in *Killing Time* without offering a single fact to refute it. Nowhere does the "award-winning investigative reporter" Lindorff even mention the repeated descriptions of the green army jacket.

Schiffmann's tack in *Race Against Death* is to distort the facts and neatly discard what he finds inconvenient. Much as Williams did in regard to the Beverly confession itself, Schiffmann does the work of the prosecution by arguing that the fact that five people saw someone in a green army jacket on the scene, and that this could not have been Mumia or Billy Cook, is irrelevant. He argues that these sightings must have been mistaken due to "weak memory," "bad light at the scene" and "obstructed" views. Though he repeatedly cites and gives credence to testimony from Robert Pigford, Schiffmann fails to mention Pigford's telling the police that he saw a man with a green army jacket standing over Faulkner.

Cop Corruption and the Killing of Faulkner

Schiffmann's book has been hailed for reporting "new" ballistics evidence that had already been uncovered by Wolkenstein and set forth in her affidavit. This includes the lack of divots in the sidewalk at the scene of the shooting, which contradicts the cops' tale that Mumia fired repeatedly as he stood over Faulkner.

Schiffmann, however, like Lindorff, simply disappears facts that back up Beverly's account. Neither writer mentions that Beverly's reference to a cop named Boston is corroborated, although Lindorff covers Pamela Jenkins' testimony in depth. Nor do they make any reference to Westerman's report, instead repeating ad nauseam that Mumia was shot by Faulkner. They ignore the evidence in Wolkenstein's affidavit that, according to the police ballistics report, the gun reputedly used by Faulkner to shoot Mumia "contained powder fouling, dirt and lint in the chambers," could "not cock as designed" and "had a bent hammer spur"—i.e., was inoperable. In buttressing Schiffmann's case that Freeman was the sole killer, *Race Against Death* cites evidence that the bullet trajectories do not accord with the prosecution's account of how Faulkner was shot. In fact, as Wolkenstein's affidavit demonstrates, those trajectories point to more than one shooter.

Schiffmann questions why no witness described Beverly disappearing into the Speedline subway entrance. This is hardly a mystery. According to Beverly (and others), the street was swarming with cops who were keeping witnesses at bay. Schiffmann also disputes Beverly's testimony regarding the presence of two undercover cops and a uniformed police officer in a car nearby, claiming that "one would expect them everywhere else in order to be able to plausibly deny any involvement in the crime." Schiffmann does not mention that in late 1996, ***three years before Beverly's confession***, "an eyewitness named Marcus Cannon came forward with the information that he saw two white men who appeared to be undercover police officers present on the scene during P.O. Faulkner's shooting" (Wolkenstein affidavit). Singletary has also testified that he saw two police "white shirts" and a number of uniformed cops at the scene.

What Lindorff and Schiffmann's arguments against Beverly boil down to was summed up by Schiffmann in a November 2006 interview with journalist Hans Bennett, posted online, in which he remarked, "The scenario Beverly describes is certainly not one *I* would resort to if I wanted to kill a fellow cop," with "too many people in the know, too many imponderables in its planned execution, and far too much traffic, pedestrian and otherwise." Those who actually do this for a living might beg to differ. In one of the most famous mob hits of all, in 1985 Paul Castellano was gunned down in front of a crowded Midtown Manhattan restaurant by a group of converging hit men. All were wearing trench coats and Russian fur hats to create confusion and make identification nearly impossible, which might indicate why Beverly and Freeman were both wearing green army jackets.

Lindorff and Schiffmann concede the overwhelming evidence of cop corruption, with Lindorff noting that "one-third of the 35 cops involved with the case had compiled a record of deceitful behavior and even evidence tampering." He even notes that Faulkner's FBI files could be consistent with his being an FBI informant—the motive for the hit!

The history of Philly cop corruption is a matter of public record. Virtually the entire chain of command for the "investigation" of Faulkner's death was under suspicion in federal corruption probes, including the head of the Central Division, John DeBenedetto (convicted), and the head of Homicide, James Carlini (unindicted co-conspirator). Inspector Alfonzo Giordano, who pled guilty in 1986, was senior officer at the scene after Faulkner's shooting and played a key role in initiating and orchestrating the frame-up. Giordano certainly knew who Mumia was in December 1981, having been the right-hand man of the racist police chief Frank Rizzo during the cops' vendetta against the Black Panther Party and having helped lead a police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home in 1977-78, when Rizzo was mayor.

But Lindorff and Schiffmann reject any connection between this history and the possibility of a mob/police hit on Faulkner, which Lindorff declares to be incredible. He admits that it is not uncommon for cops to kill their own, but claims that "the standard modus operandi for police executions has been for them to occur in a dark part of a park or alleyway, out of view of anyone—often with the officer's own gun used so as to make it look like a suicide."

Well, sometimes yes, sometimes no. Consider the case of sheriff-elect Derwin Brown of DeKalb County, Georgia, gunned down in December 2000 in front of his house after he vowed to clean out corruption in the sheriff's department. Or take the well-known case of Frank Serpico, a New York City cop who worked as an informant against police corruption in the 1970s and was set up by his fellow officers to be shot during a drug raid. Under that scenario, the cops could claim that street thugs shot Serpico, just as the Philly cops could cover their tracks by hiring Beverly and Freeman to do the job on Faulkner.

Ever so naively, Lindorff asks how the cops could have thought they'd get away with a hit on Faulkner. Lindorff himself provides a clue, writing that Deputy Police Commissioner James Martin was "overseeing that entire department" and was responsible for all major investigations, "a responsibility that included the case of Officer Faulkner and Abu-Jamal."

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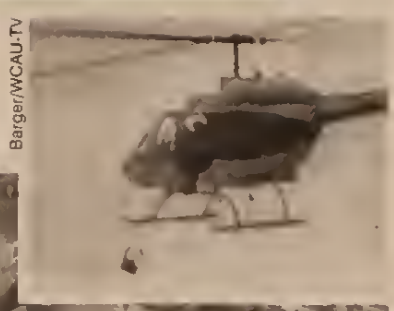
We Will Not Forget!

Philadelphia, 13 May 1985: Police helicopter dropping bomb on Osage Avenue MOVE home. Eleven people, including five children, were killed and an entire black neighborhood was destroyed.



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UPI

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BAY AREA

With an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Capitalist "Justice"...

(continued from page 9)

The same Martin was later convicted of extortion and sentenced to 18 years.

Mumia Is an Innocent Man!

Against all the evidence, Lindorff writes that Mumia could have "shot Faulkner, but simply as a matter of self-defense. It could he he wounded the officer and someone else finished the joh off.... If he was defending himself but overreacted after being shot, or after seeing his brother being beaten, it could he the charge should have heen manslaughter." He even accepts as a possibility the grotesque prosecution scenario that Mumia "stood over the officer and fired more shots at him." Schiffmann, in contrast, names Freeman as the likely killer and absolves Mumia of any involvement—sort of. In Schiffmann's scenario, upon hearing Mumia run up behind him, Faulkner turned and shot him "in putative self-defense," prompting Freeman to fire at Faulkner. But for good measure, Schiffmann echoes Lindorff in arguing that Mumia may have killed Faulkner, writing that "even if Abu-Jamal did fire the shot that killed Faulkner, he did so in self-defense."

Attacking Mumia's May 2001 declaration, Lindorff claims that his account of running toward the scene after hearing shots being fired and then being shot by a cop "flies in the face of much of the testimony at the trial and at the PCRA hearing—testimony which, rightly or wrongly, has already been affirmed hy state and federal courts as being credible and believable." Sanctifying a key component of the prosecution's lying account, Lindorff asserts that "all the main witnesses in this case, for both the defense and the prosecution, say that all of the shooting happened *after* Abu-Jamal began crossing the street or as he was crossing it to come to his brother's aid." Lindorff is so committed to "proving" that Mumia "could be" involved in the shooting that he relies on the coerced, fraudulent testimony featured at Mumia's frame-up "trial"—testimony that Lindorff's own hook lays out as false!

Schiffmann's account likewise goes against Mumia's testimony that he ran up only after hearing a gunshot. Schiffmann and Lindorff both accept as fact that Mumia was shot hy Faulkner as part of their contention that Mumia may have shot Faulkner in self-defense. This is all part of their appeal to those who are agnostic on Mumia's innocence and might rally around the call for a new, fair trial. The reformist left trumpets Lindorff and Schiffmann's "exposés" with the same intent.

As an idea of the bourgeois forces they seek to appeal to, look at Pennsylvania Democratic Congressman Chaka Fattah. Last December, Fattah voted along with 367 other Democrats and Republicans for a House resolution condemning the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street in honor of Mumia, a resolution intended to grease the skids for Mumia's execution. His vote evoked outrage among those of Mumia's supporters who recalled his earlier assistance in obtaining a Congressional Black Caucus resolution calling for a new trial. But as Fattah himself noted, there was no contradiction between these acts. In a statement posted on his Web site, Fattah declared: "While I remain unconvinced that justice has been served in this case, I am voting for the Resolution because the glorification of anyone who stands convicted of so terrible an offense is an affront to those who risk their lives on a daily basis to serve and to protect." He continued by reaffirming his "hope" for a new trial.

Lindorff criticized those who voted for the resolution "without any real knowledge about this complex case," but followed up with a jab at Mumia's supporters, who "sometimes equally ignorant of the facts, have lionized him and honored him with honorary citizenships and street names" (*CounterPunch*, 7 December 2006).

There can he no clearer display of the role played by Lindorff and Schiffmann in undermining the fight for Mumia's freedom than their attacks on the Beverly confession and those who have publicized it. Lindorff intones that the Beverly evidence "could risk losing some of the enthusiasm that had made Jamal something of a symbol of the national and international campaign to aholish capital punishment in the U.S." In fact, it was the liberal strategy of reliance on the capitalist courts that demobilized Mumia's army of supporters around the world. That outlook meant rejecting the very reasons that millions had taken up Mumia's cause: revulsion over the poverty, racial oppression, war and injustice that are inherent in the capitalist system. There was hroad identification with Mumia's fight against the "system"—rather than liberal concern for repairing the damaged reputation of the system.

WV Photo

South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal."

The claim that you cannot win widespread support for Mumia on the hasis that he is an innocent man is refuted by the many who have signed the PDC statement that says just that and cites the Beverly confession. Signatories include Nobel Prize winning author Nadine Gordimer, black intellectuals Manning Marable and Henry Louis Gates Jr., and numerous trade unionists around the world. (The statement appears in *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006; for a full list of signatories, see the PDC Web site, www.partisandefense.org.) The crux of this statement was echoed hy the March 2007 issue of *Shopsteward*, published by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which warned: "The state is as determined as ever to execute Mumia, an innocent man. .. Mumia's freedom will not he won through relying on the capitalist rigged justice system. What can really turn the tide is the power of united millions across the world—working people united in struggle to free an innocent man."

Indeed, labor's power must be hrought to bear on behalf of Mumia. But it is self-evident that this can only be done hy mobilizing independently of the forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man. Integrated unions representing millions of workers have gone on record in support of Mumia. That these millions have not been mohilized *in action* to combat this racist frame-up is the responsibility of the pro-capitalist lahor misleaders, who shackle the unions to the political parties and state agencies of the capitalist class. Serving to reinforce those shackles are Lindorff, Schiffmann and reformist leftists who would suhordinate Mumia's fight for freedom to reliance on the capitalist courts.

The fight to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners is an integral part of the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party. Acting as the champion of all the exploited and oppressed, such a party is the necessary instrument to lead the fight to overturn the capitalist order through socialist revolution and open the road to black liberation and the liberation of us all. ■

Free Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

misdirect the struggle for Mumia to a call for a "new trial" is a ***political program*** premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power for his freedom. This political program of tying the masses to their class enemies and pushing faith in the capitalist state demobilized millions who once filled the streets in support of Mumia.

Mumia's case lays bare the workings of the capitalist state. His frame-up conviction was not the act of one "rogue" cop or prosecutor or judge, but that of an entire system that cannot be reformed. Mumia's innocence has been attested to by mountains of evidence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. Arnold Beverly stated that he was hired to kill Faulkner, whose interference with prostitution, gambling and payoffs made him a problem for the mob and corrupt cops. More than five years ago, Mumia's attorney suhmitted this confession to the courts, hut to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about: a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. With the execution in December 2005 of Stanley Tookie Williams, over substantial popular opposition, the ruling class sent a signal that they are deadly serious that Mumia will soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty.

In the international fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, James P. Cannon of the International Labor Defense pointed out, as the rulers geared up in 1927 for the legal lynching of the two anarchist workers: "It is, of course, absolutely right to exhaust every legal possibility and technicality in the fight, provided—that the workers have no illusions." He emphasized: "We must appeal at the same time to the laboring masses of America and the whole world who are the highest court of all." This is the class-struggle defense strategy that the Partisan Defense Committee stands on.

The worldwide movement for Mumia must be revived on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man who must be freed now, that his conviction is a racist, political frame-up, that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. The capitalist state and its courts are not neutral institutions but organs of repression against the working class and the oppressed. Mumia's freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or on capitalist politicians, whether Democratic, Republican or Green.

The PDC, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down. That is why our contingents in Philadelphia and the Bay Area on May 17 are based on the need for ***class-struggle defense*** to free Mumia and the understanding that the capitalist state serves the interests of the racist ruling class. Labor must he mohilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man! The road to victory in Mumia's case begins with the understanding that the class enemy is determined to carry out his execution. The multiracial working class has every interest in fighting against that outcome, which would further holster the machinery of capitalist state violence whose ultimate target is the working class.

We are building contingents in Philadelphia and the Bay Area as a step toward the labor-centered, mass united-front mobilizations needed to free Mumia. Such mobilizations must send the court the message: We will not let Mumia die or rot another day in prison! Free Mumia Now! ■

Join the PDC Contingents at the Philadelphia and Bay Area Rallies!

Thursday May 17

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(Outside Third Circuit Court of Appeals)

For more information and round-trip transportation from New York City call the PDC: (212) 406-4252 or e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net

San Francisco: 4-6 p.m.
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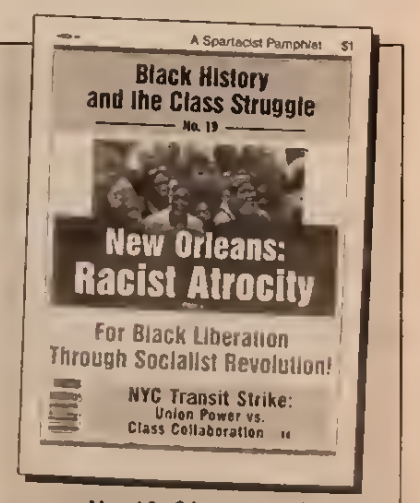
For Information on Bay Area contingent call: (510) 839-0852 or e-mail: pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

Visit the Partisan Defense Committee Web site, www.partisandefense.org



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Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

of troops in Iraq for "protecting" other U.S. forces, "training" Iraqi security forces or engaging in "targeted special actions" against terrorists.

In opposing Bush's policies, the Democrats are acting as the responsible alternative party of U.S. imperialism. Hillary Clinton and John Edwards, two of the Democratic presidential contenders, in different ways express regret over having voted to authorize the Iraq invasion. Barack Obama, meanwhile, can bask in the "antiwar" limelight since he had not been elected to the Senate at the time of the vote. But the Democrats' vote to attack Iraq was simply the logical extension of the blank check they had given the Bush administration to carry out the "war on terror," the rulers' pretext for imperialist rampages around the world and for a massive assault on democratic rights at home.

The Democrats who oppose Bush's Iraq occupation embrace the murderous occupation of Afghanistan as a "just" retaliation for the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In just one example of the devastation wrought by U.S./NATO forces in the name of fighting "terror," the U.S. military slaughtered more than 40 Afghan civilians and wounded 50 more in a bombing attack in western Afghanistan late last month, touching off furious protest. Meanwhile, Special Operations forces continue to terrorize villagers. We say: U.S. occupiers out of Iraq and Afghanistan now!

As Marxist revolutionaries, the Spartacist League took a side militarily in defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody capitalist regime and the Taliban cutthroats. We have a side in the current conflict in Iraq: against the U.S. occupiers, their allies and Iraqi lackeys. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their blows against the imperialist aggressors, we call for their *military defense* against U.S. imperialism. This entails absolutely *no political support* to Islamic fundamentalism or nationalism. We vehemently oppose the communal violence—kidnappings, car bombings, suicide bombings—racking the Iraqi population.

A number of bourgeois pundits are comparing the Iraq quagmire to the U.S. war in Vietnam. This comparison is also made by such reformist leftists as the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) and its ANSWER coalition—a main organizer of the March 17-18 national antiwar protests—who argue that it was the liberal peace movement that forced the U.S. to withdraw from Vietnam.

The crucial difference with Iraq is that in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists, beginning with the Democratic Kennedy and Johnson administrations, fought against the forces of the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, whose historic victory over U.S. forces resulted in social revolution in the South. It was the battlefield victory of the Stalinist-led forces that defeated U.S. imperialism, not the peace crawls "at home." The Spartacist League at the time raised the call: All Indochina Must Go Communist! We unconditionally defend the Vietnamese deformed workers state, as well as those of China, Cuba and North Korea, against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

CasleInuovo/NY Times

AP

Above: Residents of Baghdad's Sunni Adhamiya neighborhood march on April 23 to protest attempt by U.S. occupation forces to seal them off with wall (left) and checkpoints.

In Iraq today, the insurgent forces are composed of religious reactionaries and bourgeois nationalists who are more likely to attack other religious or ethnic populations than the U.S. occupation forces. In one stark example, gunmen in northern Iraq on April 22 stopped a bus of textile workers, checked their identifications and identified 23 members of the Yazidi religious minority. The Yazidi were then lined up against a wall and shot.

When the Iraqi proletariat, which has been largely decimated by the occupation, raises its head, it will come up against not only the imperialist forces but the domestic forces of reaction. In Iraq and throughout the Near East, Marxist workers parties must be forged in combat against imperialism and in opposition to all manner of nationalism and religious reaction. We fight for workers revolutions to overthrow all the bourgeois regimes of the region, not least including the Zionist state: For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Essential to this perspective is the understanding of the necessity of socialist revolution in the centers of imperialism. In our opposition to the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, we have stressed the need for ***class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers at home.*** Imperialist wars and occupations are the concentrated expression of a profit system that daily slaughters workers on the job, that consigns millions of the jobless to the scrap heap, that metes out brutal cop repression against racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants. Imperialism is capitalism in its death agony, where a handful of advanced powers compete for control of markets, raw materials and access to cheap labor. This, and not particular governments or government policies, is the cause of imperialist war. To rid the world of war, poverty and oppression, the entire capitalist profit system must be torn up by its roots, through proletarian revolutions in the U.S. and internationally.

Reformist Left: Water Boys for Democrats

The Democrats' November Congressional victory, from which they aim to launch a run for the White House, was assisted by the "antiwar movement" built by the reformist left. The various antiwar coalitions built and supported by the PSL, Workers World Party (WWP), International Socialist Organization (ISO), Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Socialist Action et al. pleaded with the imperialist rulers to bring peace to the Near East and to reorient their priorities. With their timeworn calls for money for schools and jobs and not war, these reformists demand that the rulers of the capitalist profit system serve the interests of those they exploit and oppress.

The reformists' groveling appeals to the bourgeoisie were exemplified by the signs carried by the WWP's Troops Out Now Coalition reading: "Attention Congress! Don't Manage the War—End It! Cut Off the Funding!" As always in the U.S., this program boils down to promoting the "liberal" party of American imperialism. And in fact, the clearest message delivered by the protests was the call to impeach George Bush, with the RCP taking the opportunity to peddle the book, *Impeach the President*.

As is usually the case, the ISO provides the crudest expression of the reformists' pressure politics. The ISO's *Socialist Worker* (4 May) applauds that "the Democrats—all too quiet about the war even a year ago—are finally giving voice to the frustration" in the population about the war but "need to feel more pressure from outside Washington before they act." Along these lines, at a February 11 rally for Obama at the University of Illinois-Chicago, protesters including ISO members unfurled a banner that read: "Obama: Stand Up! Cut the Funding!"

Those taken in by the ISO's appeals to this "antiwar" candidate might look at how Obama addressed the political elite assembled at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs on April 23, where he called for the "strongest, best-equipped military in the world," including "by adding 65,000 soldiers to the Army and 27,000 Marines." Obama stated that "more American forces are needed" in Afghanistan and bemoaned the fact that Iran "has been strengthened by the war in Iraq." He threatened that "the world must prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons and work to eliminate North Korea's nuclear weapons program," declaring, "We must never take the military option off the table."

Obama, Hillary Clinton and John Edwards have all insisted on keeping such "options" open—a scarcely veiled reference to possible nuclear attack. We say that Iran *needs* nuclear weapons, one of the few ways for a country to deter imperialist attack. In the event of a military attack by the U.S. or any country acting on its behalf, we call for military defense of Iran while giving no political support to the mullah regime. We also support the development and testing of nukes by China and North Korea as part of our unconditional military defense of those workers states.

The only way to get rid of the barbaric capitalist-imperialist system is through the revolutionary mobilization of the social power of the working class—independent of and in opposition to all capitalist parties. And that requires a struggle to break the political chains forged by the labor misleaders, and reinforced by the reformist left, that tie the working class to the class enemy, chiefly through support to the Democratic Party. In the belly of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party—section of a reforged Fourth International—that is necessary to lead the proletariat to power.■

JetBlue...

(continued from page 2)

Officials at other industry unions, including the Machinists and Teamsters, AMFA's main rivals, also openly imbibe in this national chauvinism. The AMFA strike article calls for unions to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and to organize the unorganized, citizen or not. It goes on to say: "The America-first protectionism pushed by the union tops, which promotes the lie of a commonality of interests between the U.S. working class and its exploiters, is utterly suicidal in an industry that is inherently international in scope."

Unlike at Northwest Airlines, JetBlue mechanics have never performed heavy maintenance on the company's aircraft. According to JetBlue, most of its major overhauls are done in El Salvador or in Canada. Still, JetBlue's contracting out this work is an issue for many workers across the industry. It is part of what makes JetBlue a "low-cost" carrier, and its example is often used by other airlines as the pretext to accelerate the outsourcing of their own maintenance work.

Much of the objection to maintenance in developing countries like El Salvador is presented in the guise of safety considerations, since mechanics there are not required to have an FAA license (or the equivalent) and safety oversight relies heavily on company supervisors and quality control personnel. So there is a safety issue. But the bureaucrats' solution is not to aid in organizing mechanics in other countries and in enforcing union-run training and safety rules, but to instead rely on U.S. government "safety" inspectors and promote protectionist legislation. This chauvinist outlook and program divides the working class, setting it up for defeat, and is an obstacle to successful union organizing. It should at least have been mentioned in the article.

Comradely,
Steve H.

Spartacist Forums

With updates on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

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VANCOUVER

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!

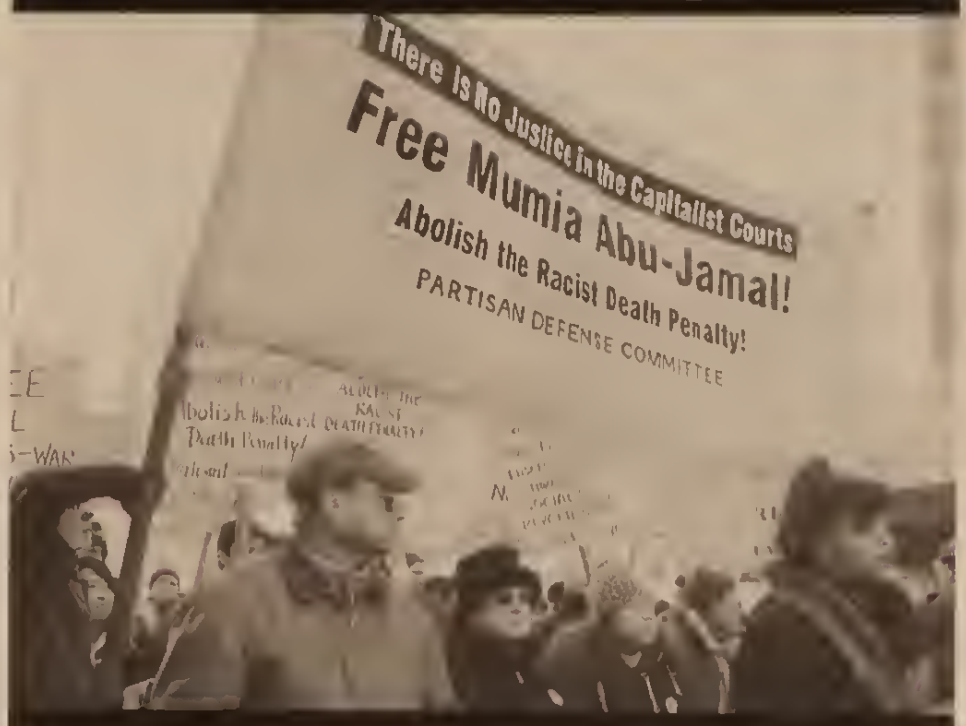
The following leaflet was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 26.

On May 17 in Philadelphia the Third Circuit Court of Appeals will hear oral arguments in what could well be the final legal appeal in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Shot and arrested on 9 December 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal—a talented journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and an outspoken opponent of racist oppression—was framed and falsely convicted for the murder of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Any ruling by the Third Circuit, which could come within weeks or months, will likely be appealed to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court.

Mumia is the victim of the forces of racist capitalist "law and order," who see in him a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. In the last week, the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) harassed and made threats of terror that forced a change of venue for a birthday celebration for Mumia in Philadelphia on April 24, as well as of a hip-hop event for Mumia in New York City on April 15. The state's determination to carry out his execution is a warning to all who challenge cop repression, to workers who stand up for their rights on picket lines, to those who protest U.S. imperialist depredations in Iraq and elsewhere around the world.

From the unions to the campuses, all out to support Mumia's fight on the day of oral arguments! The kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now. It is with this understanding that we are mobilizing Partisan Defense Committee contingents for the May 17 rallies which are called by Mumia supporters, including, in Philadelphia, International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the New York Coalition to Free Mumia and, in San Francisco, the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Join the PDC's contingent under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent—For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Him Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

Join PDC Contingents!



Philadelphia & San Francisco
Thursday, May 17

WV Photo

PDC contingent at Philadelphia march on 25th anniversary of Mumia's arrest, 9 December 2006.

In August of 1995, Mumia won a stay of execution based on worldwide protests, crucially involving the labor movement. From 1995 through 1999, new evidence was revealed in his case that further blew the state's frame-up to bits. All the evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the testimony of William Singletary and Veronica Jones who saw the shooter run away, was rejected by the courts. Around this same time a number of reformist socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization and the Revolutionary Communist Party (and their front groups), raised the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. Instead of mobilizing to free Mumia as an innocent man and victim of a political and racist frame-up, these groups mobilized on the basis that Mumia could get a new and fair hearing in federal court, leading to a new and fair trial in the same Philadelphia courts that sent him to death row. These fake socialists promote illusions that Mumia can get justice from the same capitalist state that killed some 38 Panthers under its murderous COINTELPRO operations, and that massacred eleven black people, including women and children, in the 1985 firebombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home in Philadelphia.

Many of these so-called socialist organizations now raise "Freedom for Mumia" in conjunction with calls for a "new trial." However, their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state. Behind the attempts to

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NYC Transit: Murder by Speedup

Robert Kalfus

Daniel Boggs

WABC-TV News

Marvin Franklin

On the night of April 24, 41-year-old subway track worker Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks beneath Columbus Circle in Manhattan, hit by a rerouted No. 3 train. Just five days later, 55-year-old track worker Marvin Franklin was struck and killed by a G train entering a station in Brooklyn; his co-worker Jeff Hill was hit by the same train and seriously injured. These were not "accidents" but *industrial murders*, caused by the bosses' relentless drive for greater "productivity" through speedup in an antiquated subway system maintained by triage.

Boggs, who was of Irish descent and grew up in the Bronx, had worked since 1992 in the transit system. He was popular with his workmates, the go-to guy who could get the tough jobs done. Shortly before Boggs died, management had rerouted a train but did not bother to alert his crew. Believing service had been stopped for the night, Boggs stepped out onto the express tracks to place a warning lantern and was struck by the unexpected train. He was dragged, still alive, and wedged against the third rail. When the train stopped, workers desperately sought to cut off third-rail power but could not. The nearest emergency box was broken, as was a second one, so the workers had to run to a station booth—which the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) wants to eliminate systemwide—to try to cut power. Daniel Boggs died with 600 volts of electricity surging through his body. He is survived by his wife and three children.

On the afternoon of April 29, while other Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 members were attending the wake for Boggs, track work was being rushed to completion in the Hoyt-Schermerhorn station on the A and C lines in Brooklyn. NYC Transit president Howard Roberts was driving to get the project finished a week ahead of schedule. Franklin, a black worker with 22 years on the job and an accomplished painter who taught art at a Brooklyn school, was working overtime. He and Hill were ordered by a supervisor to retrieve a dolly across live tracks. Safety lights apparently had not been placed on the tracks to warn train drivers of their presence. A split second before the train struck the two, Franklin shouted his last words—"Man under!"—as much to get help for Hill as for himself. Franklin leaves behind a wife, a son and two stepdaughters.

Twenty-five NYC track workers have been killed in "accidents" since 1980. Government agencies like the Occupational

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 893 | GCU C-701 | 25 May 2007

PDC Statement on Appeals Court Hearing

Mobilize Labor's Power! Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Be Free!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, on May 19.

The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia heard oral arguments May 17 in what could be the final stage of legal proceedings for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. As more than 500 of Mumia's supporters rallied outside the courthouse and many others attended the hearing, prosecutors argued to reinstate the death penalty that was overturned in a 2001 decision by federal district court judge William Yohn, which otherwise upheld every aspect of Mumia's conviction on the false charge of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. Mumia's attorneys, headed by Robert Bryan, were allowed to raise only two of more than 20 legal challenges to Mumia's frame-up conviction—the racially biased jury selection and the prosecutor's prejudicial summary argument to the jury that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal," which undermined the "reasonable doubt" standard.

Also before the appeals court is the challenge to the grossly biased post-conviction (PCRA) hearings from 1995 to 1997 before the notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who presided over Mumia's 1982 trial and was overheard at the time saying he'd help them "fry the n----r." During the PCRA hearings, Sabo barred many defense witnesses, quashed defense subpoenas and arrested one of Mumia's attorneys at the time, Rachel Wolkenstein, for attempting to present evidence of the massive disproportion in death sentences handed to black people in Philadelphia compared to those handed to whites.

Following the Third Circuit hearing, Wolkenstein, who is counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, warned that "a decision could come within weeks, and whatever they decide will likely be appealed to the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court. This makes it all the more urgent to revitalize mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man and the victim of a racist, political frame-up." Wolkenstein continued, "There should be no illusions in these federal appeal proceedings. There is overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. But for more than 25 years, both the

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AFP

"War on Terror" Show Trial

Abducted, Tortured, Framed Up: Free Jose Padilla!

Five years after Jose Padilla was arrested on trumped-up charges of plotting to set off a radioactive "dirty bomb" on U.S. soil, he is on trial in a Miami courthouse on vague conspiracy charges that have nothing to do with the original accusation. Seized at Chicago's O'Hare airport in May 2002, Padilla was initially held as a "material witness" in the September 11 grand jury investigation. One month later, he was declared an "enemy combatant" and disappeared into a Navy brig in South Carolina. Padilla was trapped in a legal netherworld with no way to challenge his imprisonment, no contact with his family and—for almost two years—no access to lawyers. When the Bush administration finally brought criminal charges against Padilla in November 2005, the "dirty bomb" plot was dropped like yesterday's "weapons of mass destruction."

The indictment in the criminal case does not mention a single specific terrorist attack or plot, in the U.S. or anywhere else. Instead, Padilla and co-defendants Adham Hassoun and Kifah Jayyousi are accused of "conspiracy" to support "violent jihad" around the world by raising money for Islamic charities or traveling abroad. For this they face life in prison. In the words of the federal prosecutor, the accusations involve an "inchoate crime" rather than a "completed operation." He added: "It's very hard to particularize" (*Washington Post*, 23 April).

Indeed. This is a show trial, pure and simple, and one with the clear intent to help enshrine as permanent features of the legal system an array of repressive laws and measures enacted as part of the "war on terror." Thus, in announcing the frame-up charges against Padilla, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales credited the broad surveillance powers allowed under the USA Patriot Act with making the prosecution possible. The USA Patriot Act, which had the overwhelming support of the Democrats both when it passed following the September 11 attacks and again when it was renewed in early 2006, has shredded civil rights for immigrants and everybody else. Moreover, Gonzales' now widely discredited Justice Department has made clear that if Padilla wins an acquittal in his criminal trial, the Feds will *reinstate* his classification as an enemy combatant and throw him in the brig again!

The government's torture of "terror suspects" marks the Padilla case from beginning to end. The source of the "dirty bomb" tale was Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, whom the authorities have not dared to put in a courtroom. While Mohammed confessed to dozens of terrorist attacks and plots, he has stated that he falsely implicated several people as a result of his being tortured. According to a lawyer for Padilla, the sources for the original 2002 arrest warrant were Abu Zubaydah, a top Al Qaeda leader, and Binyam Ahmed Muhammad, who was being held at Guantánamo. Zubaydah, who was shot during his capture, was reportedly denied painkillers as an interrogation

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AP

WV Photo

Left: Jose Padilla being transferred to civilian custody, January 2006. Right: Spartacists at March 2002 protest in Brooklyn against detention of Arab and Muslim immigrants.

V.I. LENIN ON THE STATE

The question of the class nature of the state is a decisive dividing line between revolutionary Marxists and reformists. The understanding that the capitalist state—which at its core consists of the cops, military, prison system and courts—is the instrument for organized violence to ensure bourgeois rule over the proletariat, and that it must be smashed through socialist revolution, is elementary to Marxism. We reprint below key passages on the state from Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin's *The State and Revolution* (1917)—written shortly before the October Revolution—and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918) as well as the "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," drafted by Lenin and adopted by the founding congress of the Communist International in March 1919.

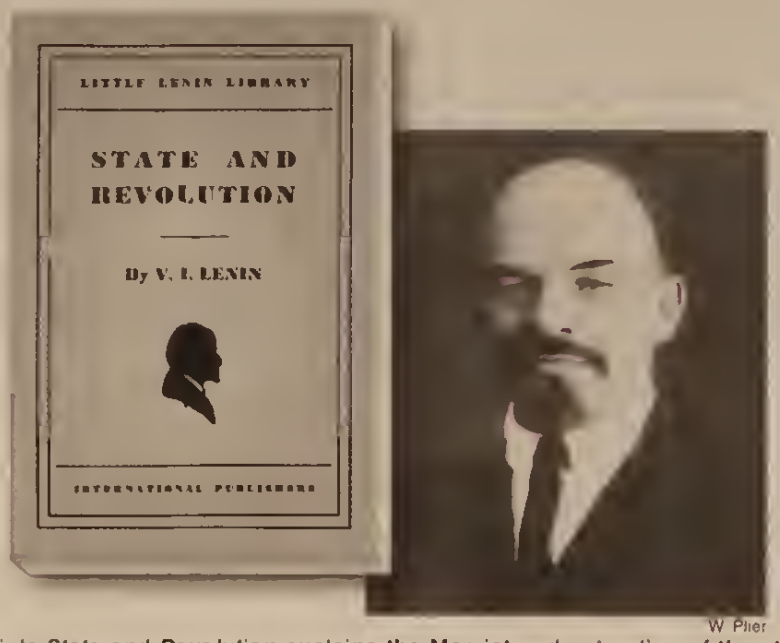
In these works, Lenin defends the Marxist understanding of the state against Social Democratic leaders, particularly Karl Kautsky, who obfuscated and falsified Marxism in the service of parliamentary reformism. Stripping bourgeois democracy of its class character—i.e., portraying the capitalist state as representing the interests of the classless "people"—inevitably leads to political support to the capitalist class and bourgeois nationalism. The German Social

Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader of October Revolution and commander of the Red Army, rallies soldiers of Soviet workers state, 1920.

Democracy graphically demonstrated this when, except for a revolutionary minority, the party supported its "own" bourgeoisie during the interimperialist First World War of 1914-18.

In his writings on the state, Lenin draws upon key works, such as Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) and Marx's writings on the 1871 Paris Commune. After France under the regime of Napoleon III was defeated by Prussia in 1870, a right-wing government was formed, acquiring a "democratic" sanction through the electoral support of the mass of peasant petty proprietors, then the majority of the populace. When that government sent the army into Paris to disarm the predominantly working-class National Guard, the proletarian forces drove out the army. This led to the formation of the Commune, which governed the city for nearly three months before the army crushed it, slaughtering over 20,000 people. Marx and Engels described the Commune as the first historical expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat.



W. Plier

Lenin's *State and Revolution* explains the Marxist understanding of the state as instrument of class rule.

* * *

Engels elucidates the concept of the "power" which is called the state, a power which arose from society but places itself above it and alienates itself more and more from it. What does this power mainly consist of? It consists of special bodies of armed men having prisons, etc., at their command....

A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power. But how can it be otherwise?...

Civilised society is split into antagonistic, and, moreover, irreconcilably antagonistic, classes, whose "self-acting" arming would lead to an armed struggle between them. A state arises, a special power is created, special bodies of armed men, and every revolution, by destroying the state apparatus, clearly shows us how the ruling class strives to restore the special bodies of armed men which serve it, and how the oppressed class strives to create a new organisation of this kind, capable of serving the exploited instead of the exploiters....

The state is a special organisation of force: it is an organisation of violence for the suppression of some class. What class must the proletariat suppress? Naturally, only the exploiting class, i.e., the bourgeoisie. The working people need the state only to suppress the resistance of the exploiters, and only the proletariat can direct this suppression, can carry it out. For the proletariat is the only class that is consistently revolutionary, the only class that can unite all the working and exploited people in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, in completely removing it....

The petty-bourgeois democrats, those sham socialists who replaced the class struggle by dreams of class harmony, even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has become aware of its aims. This petty-bourgeois utopia, which is inseparable from the idea of the state being above classes, led in practice to the betrayal of the interests of the working classes, as was shown, for example, by the history of the French revolutions of 1848 and 1871, and by the experience of "socialist" participation in bourgeois Cabinets in Britain, France, Italy and other countries at the turn of the century....

The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realise that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society," from communism. Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*....

To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics....

From this capitalist democracy—that is inevitably narrow and stealthily pushes aside the poor, and is therefore hypocritical and false through and through—forward development does not proceed simply, directly and smoothly, towards "greater and greater democracy," as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, forward development, i.e., development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the *resistance* of the capitalist exploiters cannot be *broken* by anyone else or in any other way.

And the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the organisation of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of suppressing the oppressors, cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. *Simultaneously* with an immense expansion of democracy, which *for the first time* becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists.

—*The State and Revolution*

* * *

Marxists have always maintained that the more developed, the "purer" democracy is, the more naked, acute, and merciless the class struggle becomes, and the "purer" the capitalist oppression and bourgeois dictatorship. The Dreyfus case in republican France, the massacre of strikers by hired hands armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic American republic—these and thousands of similar facts illustrate the truth which the bourgeoisie is vainly seeking to conceal, namely, that actually terror and bourgeois dictatorship prevail in the most democratic of republics and are openly displayed every time the exploiters think the power of capital is being shaken.

The imperialist war of 1914-18 conclusively revealed even to backward workers the true nature of bourgeois democracy, even in the freest republics, as being a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Tens of millions were killed for the sake of enriching the German or the British group of millionaires and multimillionaires, and bourgeois military dictatorships were established in the freest republics.

—"Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

* * *

The only "correction" Marx thought it necessary to make to the *Communist Manifesto* he made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

The last preface to the new German edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, signed by both its authors, is dated June 24, 1872. In this preface the authors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, say that the programme of the *Communist Manifesto* "has in some details become out-of-date," and they go on to say:

> "...*One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'*...."

...Marx's idea is that the working class must *break up, smash* the "ready-made state machinery," and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it.

—*The State and Revolution*

* * *

"We," the revolutionary Marxists, never made speeches to the people that the

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No. 893 **25 May 2007**

Pascagoula, Mississippi

Powerful Strike Sold Short by Labor Tops

After four weeks of struggle and sacrifice, union workers at Northrop Grumman's Ingalls shipyard in Pascagoula, Mississippi, voted to return to work on April 4. The powerful strike by this multiracial workforce shut down shipbuilding at Ingalls, where Navy destroyers and Coast Guard cutters are built, in the midst of U.S. imperialism's murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Workers emerged from the strike with pride in having held firm against the world's largest naval shiphuilder despite the ongoing post-Katrina economic hardship weighing down on them and other working people along the Gulf Coast. Several workers told *Workers Vanguard* that they are determined to fight again when the new contract is up in three years.

The settlement was widely opposed hy the workers interviewed by *WV*. It includes a pay increase of $1.68 per hour the first year, only 28 cents higher than the contract offer that was overwhelmingly rejected in early March. The agreement means "28 cents for 28 days" on strike, as some Ingalls workers put it. For many, the wage increase will not even cover the post-Katrina jump in the cost of gas. Meanwhile, family health care premiums will increase hy $50 per month over three years and still will not cover dental or vision care. But workers did take satisfaction in making Northrop Grumman CEO Philip Teel "eat his words" after he had said he would not give more in wages, even as the company is rolling in billions of dollars of profits and handouts from the Navy.

There is anger and frustration at how the union officials ran the strike, which included giving the workers less than 24 hours' notice to show up for the contract vote. As a boilermaker at Ingalls told *WV*, "Any time you rush a vote, it is better for the company." With Ingalls workers spread over four states, and many having to work temporary jobs to make ends meet, less than half of the strikers were able to make it to the vote. Nonetheless, nearly 40 percent voted to reject the contract and continue the strike.

Others reluctantly accepted the settlement out of financial distress. Several of the 14 unions' strike funds were never replenished after the money was used for post-Katrina emergency relief. The company also cut off the workers' health insurance on April 1, three days before the strike's end. On April 3, the Secretary of the Navy, in a major speech, pledged "tough love" in reining in shipbuilding costs, fueling fears of Navy intervention against the strike.

It is an indictment of the pro-capitalist union tops that they did not take steps to restore the strike funds. Eleven of the Ingalls unions are in the Metal Trades Council, a department of the AFL-CIO, and all are part of international unions. But, as several workers complained to *WV*, at no level did the labor officials give financial support to the Ingalls workers or mobilize concrete acts of solidarity for the strike. This stands in stark contrast to the record tens of millions of dollars both the AFL-CIO and Change to Win spent to "get out the vote" for mostly Democratic Party politicians in the 2006 midterm elections, or the money they have earmarked to boost the fortunes of the Democratic candidate in the upcoming presidential elections. What is required is a political fight in the unions to break the influence of the "labor lieutenants of capital," who tie workers to the parties of their exploiters in the service of containing class struggle. This requires a political expression: a workers party that fights for a workers government.

Fitzhugh/Sun Herald

Pascagoula: 2,000 striking union workers of Northrop Grumman Ship Systems demonstrate in March.

Since the settlement seven weeks ago, city officials in Pascagoula have voted to shut down four FEMA trailer parks, once again displacing their residents, including a number of Ingalls workers. The racist atrocity in the Gulf Coast in the face of Hurricane Katrina should have been met with union mobilizations demanding a massive rebuilding effort that would have provided every unemployed person with a job at union wages, as well as decent housing and health care. But the heads of the labor federations did virtually nothing. And now when Ingalls strikers attempted to combat the ravages of Katrina—and the capitalist rulers' criminal indifference—the union tops sold them short. Ingalls workers were not powerless victims of Katrina—they showed their muscle in the strike, which could have sparked a wider struggle on behalf of the Gulf Coast's population and pointed the way forward to organizing the open shop South.

One of the groups active at the Ingalls picket lines was Black Workers for Justice, which is headed by Saladin Muhammad (who is also lead organizer of UE Local 150 in North Carolina). In a 21 April article printed in several publications, "Ingalls Workers' Strike, Lessons on Labor Resistance in U.S. Gulf," Muhammad wrote that the strike "can serve as an important catalyst for building a united and more conscious labor movement to strengthen the Reconstruction Movement throughout the region."

The first step toward building a "more conscious labor movement" is a political break with the capitalist rulers and their parties. However, Muhammad's criticism of the Democrats is that they did not support the strike, lamenting "this failure hy the Democrats to challenge the injustices of this major U.S. defense contractor." Meanwhile, his "Reconstruction Movement" calls for "state and local government constitutional provisions that ensure basic rights." For all his criticisms of the labor bureaucracy, including for not supporting the strike, Muhammad is at one with the union tops in promoting the lie that the capitalist system, through the agency of the Democrats, can be made to serve the interests of working people.

The Democratic Party is the ***other*** party of American capitalism, committed to maintaining this system of exploitation and racist oppression. As one Ingalls worker told *WV*: "Politicians go with the company." The Democrats are as responsible as the Republicans for the decades of neglect of the Gulf Coast's infrastructure—and the resulting devastation—and for perpetuating the misery of those displaced.

Revitalizing the labor movement in the South will require a level of class and social struggle that challenges the very foundations of the American bourgeois order, not least the racial oppression of black people. It will mean taking on anti-union "right to work" laws, championing the struggle for black rights and fighting for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and "guest workers," such as the workers from India who in effect have been trapped in indentured servitude at the Signal shipyard in Pascagoula. To prepare for these battles ahead, there needs to be a fight to replace the labor bureaucracy with a leadership committed to mobilizing labor's power independently of the capitalist state and politicians, in the interests of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

City of Pascagoula

Pascagoula devastated after Hurricane Katrina.

Kautskyites of all nations love to make, cringing before the bourgeoisie, adapting themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, keeping silent about the *bourgeois* character of modern democracy and demanding only *its* extension, only that *it* be carried to its logical conclusion.

"We" said to the bourgeoisie: You, exploiters and hypocrites, talk about democracy, while at every step you erect thousands of barriers to prevent the *oppressed people* from taking part in politics. We take you at your word and, in the interests of these people, demand the extension of *your* bourgeois democracy *in order to prepare the people for revolution* for the purpose of overthrowing you, the exploiters. And if you exploiters attempt to offer resistance to our proletarian revolution we shall ruthlessly suppress you; we shall deprive you of all rights; more than that, we shall not give you any bread, for in our proletarian republic the exploiters will have no rights, they will be deprived of fire and water, for we are socialists in real earnest, and not in the Scheidemann or Kautsky fashion.

—The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

* * *

Only the soviet organization of the state can really effect the immediate breakup and total destruction of the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial machinery, which has been, and has inevitably had to be, retained under capitalism even in the most democratic republics, and which is, in actual fact, the greatest obstacle to the practical implementation of democracy for the workers and the working people generally. The Paris Commune took the first epoch-making step along this path. The soviet system has taken the second.

—"Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" ■

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

Originally appeared as a series in *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 23-30, 22 June to 12 October 1973.

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German Trotskyists on World War II

GERMAN IMPERIALISM AND THE LIE OF "COLLECTIVE GUILT"

This article is an edited translation from Spartakist *No. 163 (Summer 2006), publication of the Spartakist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The article was based on a 2005 SpAD educational presentation.*

PART ONE

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the liberation [of Germany from Nazism], there was widespread debate in society about the Third Reich and World War II. The German bourgeoisie and their SPD [Social Democratic Party]/Green government took the opportunity of the various commemorative ceremonies to advance the interests of German imperialism. In contrast to the Japanese ruling class, which honors its butchers every year—as Kohl and Reagan also did in 1985 with the SS murderers in Bitburg—the German bourgeoisie prefers, in view of their indescribably terrible crimes, to shed a few crocodile tears at commemorative events.

Other examples include building the Holocaust memorial in the center of Berlin or displaying a bit of anti-fascism every couple of years by organizing an "uprising of decent people," whenever the daily racist terror, which is promoted by the state, threatens to damage Germany's image once again. The central ideological means they resort to is preaching that all Germans are guilty of the Nazis' crimes—collective guilt—in order to let those who are really guilty off the hook: the German bourgeoisie, the ruling class at that time and today. The issue was and is that the German bourgeoisie wants to play a role on the world stage; to promote this goal it cynically manipulates the memories of its crimes.

With capitalist reunification and the counterrevolutionary destruction of the [East German] DDR deformed workers state in 1990 and the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, German imperialism has become stronger. It is now undertaking the first steps to compete against the global hegemony of U.S. imperialism. "German interests" are again represented in the Balkans, in Afghanistan, on the Horn of Africa, and soon they will also be represented in Congo. In 1999, [SPD Chancellor Gerhard] Schröder and [Green Party Foreign Minister Joschka] Fischer proclaimed, "Never again Auschwitz," which served to justify participating in the U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia. The sole purpose of this was to carry through the first military intervention by German imperialism since the end of World War II, give the Bundeswehr practical experience and station troops in the Balkans. The hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz then and now only serves to pave the way for the next round of dangerous resurgence of German nationalism. *"Collective guilt" chains the working class to its own bourgeoisie and prevents it from calling the bourgeoisie to account for its crimes.*

Yevgeni Khaldei

Soviet Red Army troops march in Austria, April 1945.

The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!
Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Victims of the Holocaust!

On 8 May 2005, at the Berlin demonstration by the so-called Spasibo [Russian for "thank you"] alliance against the Nazis, Peter Gingold, a Jewish Stalinist and fighter in the bourgeois French resistance, made a speech (which got more than a little applause). What he said corresponded to a contribution he made in the South Baden *Stattzeitung* (March 2005) under the title: "For the Majority of the German Population, the Defeat of the Nazis Was Their Own Defeat." Gingold "confirmed" this infamous assertion when he said that the Germans "didn't prevent 1933," that is, the seizure of power by the Nazis. But the overwhelming majority of the German proletariat was in the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] and SPD and in the unions, which at the end of the 1920s were led mostly by Social Democrats. The bourgeoisie brought the fascists to power because it feared workers revolution. The fascists were based on the petty bourgeoisie (peasants, students, the intelligentsia, civil servants, etc.) that had been ruined by the world economic crisis at the end of the 1920s, on the cops and on the lumpenproletariat, that is, the long-term unemployed and totally impoverished who had lost any connection to the working class. Fascism was the last means of rescuing bourgeois class rule.

In the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October Revolution alongside Lenin, exposed the lies of the Stalinists and, comparing the defeat in Germany in 1933 with the experience of Russia in 1905, showed who bore the responsibility for the Nazi victory:

> "The Bolshevik faction had at that time [1905] not celebrated even its third birthday. It is completely otherwise in Germany, where the leadership came from powerful parties, one of which had existed for seventy years, the other almost fifteen. Both these parties, with millions of voters behind them, were morally paralyzed before the battle and capitulated without a fight. History has recorded no parallel catastrophe. The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, and perfidy of its own parties. Small wonder then that it has lost faith in everything in which it had been accustomed to believe for almost three generations....
>
> "The protracted failure of revolutionary work in Spain or Germany is but the reward for the criminal politics of the Social Democracy and the Comintern."

The Revolutionary Tradition of the German Workers Movement

With the outbreak of World War I, the SPD went over openly to the side of its own bourgeoisie by voting for war credits to the Kaiser on 4 August 1914 and then herding the working class into the slaughter of World War I. Lenin called the SPD a bourgeois workers party, that is, a party with a bourgeois program entirely in the framework of capitalism, but with a proletarian base. It was strategically necessary to split the working-class base of the SPD from its bourgeois leadership. The SPD bears the responsibility for the defeat of the postwar revolutionary wave; their betrayal was the key to rescuing bourgeois rule. The SPD drowned the [1918-19] revolution in blood and had the leadership of the KPD—Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches and Eugen Leviné—murdered.

As for the young, recently founded Communist Party, it was too inexperienced. In 1923, the KPD leadership, discouraged by Stalin from fighting for power, recognized the revolutionary crisis too late. They made the call for an uprising dependent on the agreement of the left wing of the SPD, which was equivalent to giving the revolution a third-class burial (see *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001). Since the attempts of the German working class to find a way out of the capitalist crisis through proletarian revolution—inspired by the 1917 October Revolution—were unsuccessful, the situation resulted in a right-wing radicalization of the petty bourgeoisie.

The defeat of the 1923 revolution in Germany sealed the isolation of the young Soviet workers state at the time. The devel-

AP

no credit

Left: West German chancellor Kohl and U.S. president Reagan honor Nazi SS war dead in Bitburg, Germany in 1985. Right: German Bundeswehr troops visit Auschwitz in 1999. SPD/Green government proclaimed "Never Again Auschwitz" to justify German imperialism taking part in U.S./NATO air war against Serbia.

Der Spiegel

Der Spiegel

Panorama DDR

Left: Social Democratic leader Friedrich Ebert reviews counterrevolutionary shock troops. German Social Democrats drowned 1918-19 Revolution in blood and instigated the murder of revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (right).

oping Soviet bureaucracy took advantage of the disappointment and apathy that spread among the exhausted masses, and, under Stalin's leadership, seized control and power over the Bolshevik Party at the end of 1923 to early 1924. Stalin replaced Bolshevik internationalism and the struggle for world revolution with the dogma of "building socialism in one country." The Communist International, founded as the party of world revolution, was transformed into an instrument to foster illusions in peaceful coexistence between the Soviet Union and imperialism, which was decisive in chaining workers to the bourgeoisie.

This counterrevolution was political, not social; the Stalinist bureaucracy was based on the collectivized property forms that had been created by the October Revolution. Thus the state remained a workers state, although bureaucratically degenerated, and it was the duty of the international proletariat to defend it against the class enemy. For many years, the Trotskyist International Left Opposition carried out a struggle against Stalin & Co. and against the destruction of the party in order to return the Comintern to its revolutionary program.

The Betrayal by the SPD and KPD in 1933

The defeats of workers revolutions and the world economic crisis at the end of the 1920s enabled the Nazis to grow. But the workers wanted to fight and the bourgeoisie was no longer in a position to stem the danger of revolution through bourgeois democracy. There was a mass radicalization, and three consecutive bonapartist regimes—Brüning in 1930, Papen in 1932, Schleicher in 1932-33—could not get the crisis under control for the bourgeoisie, which increasingly counted on Nazi terror against the workers movement and saw the smashing of the workers movement as the only possibility to save its rule. The SPD leadership feared mobilizing the workers against the Nazis because workers would become more radicalized and slip out of the control of the SPD and its class-collaborationist program. The KPD leadership under [Ernst] Thälmann, as well as Stalin, refused, however, to force the SPD into a united front, even declaring the SPD "social fascist." The KPD instead came up with the slogan "After Hitler, us." In the face of the threatened destruction of the workers movement and the fascist seizure of power, this was nothing other than a declaration of capitulation.

In contrast, the Trotskyist Left Opposition warned of the danger of the Nazis taking power and fought to organize the workers in proletarian united fronts in order to smash the Nazis. The betrayal by the Stalinists and Social Democrats was enormous: while workers, organized by the hundreds of thousands into party militias, had waged street battles against the Nazis, sometimes overcoming their political divisions, the Nazis were able to come to power without a shot being fired. ***The betrayal of the KPD weighs twice as heavily because it was seen as the party of the Russian Revolution in which the vanguard of the proletariat was organized.***

Nothing is more demoralizing than a defeat *without a fight*. When, following this historic betrayal, no criticism was raised in the ranks of the Third [Communist] International, the Trotskyists began to fight to build a new revolutionary International. Meanwhile, in 1935 the Stalinists came out for building popular fronts—alliances of workers parties with sections of the bourgeoisie—against fascism. Based on class collaboration, the popular front—an obstacle to class struggle against the capitalist system that produces the Nazis—in reality paves the way for the Nazis. This was expressed most clearly in the mid 1930s when the Stalinists treacherously strangled the Spanish Revolution, which resulted in Franco's fascists taking power.

It was the Red Army that smashed the Nazi regime and brought to an end the Holocaust—the industrial murder of millions of Jews, Roma and Sinti [Gypsies]—and the persecution and murder of Communists and countless others. After the victory of the Red Army, the lie of the

Bundesarchiv

Nazi stormtroopers march on German Communist Party headquarters in Berlin, January 1933.

"collective guilt of all Germans" for the Holocaust and the other Nazi atrocities was a central means of defending the rule of the German bourgeoisie in West Germany. Thus the responsibility of the bourgeoisie, which had brought Hitler to power in order to smash the working class, was shifted to "the people." And if everyone was guilty, then no one, in particular the bourgeoisie, really was. In his memoirs, *And Red Is the Colour of Our Flag*, the German Trotskyist Oskar Hippe powerfully described the purpose of the lie of collective guilt after World War II:

> "The declaration that there is a 'collective guilt' in the German people also belongs to this struggle against the proletariat, since from the outset they want to discriminate against the proletariat, the overwhelming majority of the people. They want to drive home the idea that their failure was due to their inferiority, and to explain once and for all that the proletariat is incapable of taking a grip on its own fate and revolutionising society."

After the war, the KPD and SPD leaderships had their own reasons for adopting the lie of collective guilt. It enabled them to shift the responsibility for their own betrayal—their cowardly capitulation to the Nazis in 1933 without a fight—onto the shoulders of the German working class which they had betrayed. Today DKPers [members of the present-day German Communist Party] seek to blame the Nazi seizure of power on the unwillingness of the "German people" (i.e., the workers) to fight. This is an outrageous whitewash of the betrayal of the KPD leadership. What is behind this is the program expressed in an 11 June 1945 call issued by the KPD:

> "In our opinion it would be wrong to impose the Soviet system on Germany, because this road does not correspond to the current conditions of development in Germany.
>
> "Our opinion is rather that the decisive interests of the German people in the current situation dictate another path—that of an anti-fascist, democratic regime, a parliamentary-democratic republic with all democratic rights and freedoms for the people."

So they stood for the rule of the bourgeoisie—democratic, of course. An article in the DKP paper *unsere zeit* (10 June 2005) explained: "The call of the Central Committee of the KPD of 11 June 1945 is one of the most brilliant and creative texts published by the German communists in their history."

In fact, however, Nazi leaders and the bourgeoisie fled from East Germany, where the Red Army was in power, to the imperialist West. The increasing confrontation between the Soviet Union and its imperialist "democratic" wartime allies culminated in the first Cold War. Consequently, in the late 1940s in East Germany, as in the rest of East Europe, the bourgeoisie was expropriated and a deformed workers state, the DDR, was erected on the model of the bureaucratically degenerated workers state of the Soviet Union.

World War II—An Imperialist War

One central point in the Stalinist and social-democratic propaganda on World War II, as well as in the collective-guilt propaganda, is to present World War II as a war between democracy and fascism. But World War II, like World War I, was an imperialist war; in fact it was simply the continuation of the earlier war. With regard to the Soviet Union, the Trotskyists had a side—with the Soviet Union. They also supported uprisings of oppressed colonial peoples if these were directed against imperialist domination, whether in India against Britain, in China against Japan *and* the U.S., in Indochina against France, etc.

After World War I, the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia left its mark on the consciousness of all classes in Europe. And both the bourgeoisie and the Trotskyists expected revolutions as the outcome of a new world war. The capitalist rulers had drawn *their own* lessons from the Revolution. For example, the fraternization of German and Russian soldiers on the Eastern Front in December 1917 was initially seen by the Reichswehr merely as a sign that the Russian army was disintegrating. In the Museum of the Red Army exhibition in the Berlin district of Karlshorst, next to a photo titled "Fraternization of German and Russian Soldiers," there is the following comment:

> "In hindsight, after the November Revolution [1918] in Germany, this rapprochement of the soldiers was regarded as the beginning of subversion by Bolshevism. Later, this understanding influenced the orders of the National Socialists in the war strategy against the Soviet Union."

The Trotskyists had prepared very thoroughly for the occurrence of a new world war. Their model was the struggle of Karl Liebknecht and of the Bolsheviks in World War I. Their principled position was presented in the decisive programmatic document, Trotsky's 1934 "War and the Fourth International." The "general strategic task to which the whole work of a proletarian party during war should be subordinated" is to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. It explains:

> "18. The sham of national defense is covered up wherever possible by the additional sham of the *defense of democracy*. If even now, in the imperialist epoch, Marxists do not identify democracy with fascism and are ready at any moment to repel fascism's encroachment upon democracy, must not the proletariat in case of war support the democratic governments against the fascist governments?
>
> "Flagrant sophism! We defend democracy against fascism by means of the organizations and methods of the proletariat... And if we remain in irreconcilable opposition to the most 'democratic' government in time of peace, how can we take upon ourselves even a shadow of responsibility for it in time of war when all the infamies and crimes of capitalism take on a most brutal and bloody form?
>
> "19. A modern war between the great powers does not signify a conflict between democracy and fascism but a struggle of two imperialisms for the redivision of the world."

Only one point was added to the revolutionary program for World War I: the

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German Imperialism...

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duty of the world proletariat to fight for the unconditional military defense of the gains of the October Revolution, despite the usurpation of political power by the bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin:

> "*Defense of the Soviet Union* from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization."

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, the Soviet Trotskyists who were imprisoned in Stalin's camps volunteered to defend the Soviet Union with arms in hand. And when the Stalinist bureaucracy refused out of fear, the Trotskyists relinquished some of their rights and extended their working day to 12 hours to help the Soviet Union win the war.

On the question of the defense of the Soviet Union there were fights within the Fourth International; the clearest and best-documented fight was in the American section, the Socialist Workers Party. Under pressure of petty-bourgeois public outrage over the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Soviet-Finnish war, the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman, Burnham and Abern wanted to give up defense of the Soviet Union. In 1940 they split the party, taking 40 percent of the membership with them.

In 1938, in "A Fresh Lesson—After the Imperialist 'Peace' at Munich," Trotsky answered the central question of what bourgeois democracy actually is:

> "Democracy can be maintained only so long as class contradictions do not reach an explosive state. In order to mitigate social frictions the bourgeoisie has been compelled to provide feed for a broad layer of petty-bourgeois intellectuals, and the bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor. The bigger the feeding-trough the more ardent is social patriotism. The reformist feeding-trough has nowadays been preserved only in those countries which were able in the past to accumulate vast wealth, thanks to the exploitation of the world market, and their pillage of the colonies. In other words, in the condition of capitalist decay a *democratic* regime is accessible (up to a certain time) only to the most *aristocratic* bourgeoisie. The basis of social patriotism remains colonial slavery."

The Stalinists, entirely in line with their popular-frontist politics and their support for the bourgeoisies of the "democratic" imperialist allies of the Soviet Union in World War II, laid the blame for the war on Germany. But there was never "German guilt" for the war, because it was an imperialist war. As Lenin already explained in World War I, for Marxists the question of who shoots first is irrelevant for evaluating a war. Germany and Japan made it into the ranks of major imperialist powers only at the end of the 19th century. When it came to dividing up the world, they were too late. Since they had less reserves, they had designs on the colonies being plundered by Britain and France. The U.S. was waiting to skim the cream at the end. It went to war against Japan above all to resolve who would get to exploit and enslave China and Asia.

The Defense of the Soviet Union

The Stalinist, popular-frontist fairy tale of an anti-fascist war of the democracies served only to chain the American and West European working class to their own bourgeoisies. In 1917, the Bolsheviks had seen the extension of the Russian Revolution to the advanced imperialist countries as its only road to survival. In particular, they counted on the German working class, the strongest and best-organized in Europe. But the German proletariat had been defeated by its bourgeoisie, and young German workers, now stuck in Wehrmacht uniforms, were deployed against the Soviet Union. At the time, only the Trotskyists fought for independent class politics in the tradition of Lenin and Liebknecht. James P. Cannon, leader of the American Trotskyists, spoke to this point in 1942:

> "We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its 'democratic' allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a *progressive war*."
>
> —"A Statement on the War," *Fourth International*, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1942 (emphasis in original)

It was the Soviet Union that had to bear the brunt of this war. Even when it was in an alliance with the U.S. and Britain, the Soviet Union almost always faced 90 percent of the German troops (and at no point in the war was it less than two-thirds). As for the economic support the Soviet Union received, especially from the U.S., it amounted to at most 10 percent of its own industrial output. And it was the Red Army that smashed the Nazi regime. It brought the Holocaust to an end. It liberated Europe from enslavement and bloody oppression by the Nazis.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

International Solidarity With the German Proletariat

Statement issued by main European sections of the Fourth International following defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II denounced lie "that the entire German people bear the guilt for Hitler's crimes."

Sovfoto

Auschwitz survivors, liberated by Red Army, tell Soviet soldiers about horrors of the death camp, 1945.

The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling over the Soviet state, and preventing any initiative by the masses, led to the devastating loss of 27 million Soviet citizens. Three million died in the first three months alone. Stalin trusted his 1939 pact with Hitler, even though he had been warned, for instance by the heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi. You can also find out a lot about this in Khrushchev's secret speech at the 1956 Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the strange title, "On the Cult of Personality." (Except that he does not answer the question: "Where were *you*, Khrushchev?") In this speech, he showed that Stalin was demoralized and hid like a coward for the first ten days following the German attack.

One of the main ways that Stalin had weakened the Soviet Union was by exterminating almost the entire officer corps three or four years earlier, including Tukhachevsky, for example. Rokossovsky, one of the most important generals in the Soviet struggle for the liberation of Europe, had fortunately not been murdered but only transferred, and was therefore able to become active again. Even Zhukov had been purged, but he was reinstated because there were not enough officers. A gigantic myth was created that Stalin led the "Great Patriotic War." In actual fact, however, it was his generals and the soldiers of the Red Army who won the war, in spite of Stalin. Stalin's favorite general was Vlasov, who later betrayed and went over to Hitler.

Wide World

Der Spiegel

Heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge (left) and Ozaki Hotsumi, executed by Japanese imperialists in 1944.

When the Stalinist bureaucracy propagated the notion that the war against Germany was a "Great Patriotic War" to defend Mother Russia, it represented a politically decisive turn. The invasion of the Soviet Union took place on 22 June 1941. Stalin made his first speech on July 3, declaring:

> "The war against fascist Germany cannot be regarded as an ordinary war.... At the same time it is the great war of the whole Soviet people against the fascist German troops. This patriotic people's war against the fascist oppressor has as its goal not only to rid us of the danger approaching us, but also to help all the peoples of Europe."
>
> —Exhibition catalogue, *Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941-1945* [The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945]

So, right from the beginning the war was waged under the motto of Russian nationalism. And that hindered the mass desertion of German units going over to fight alongside their Soviet class brothers against the common class enemy, the German bourgeoisie. With this, the Stalinists also managed to displace the October Revolution as the goal the Soviet working class identified with and to replace it with the Great Patriotic War. This went along with the elimination by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the entire layer of Bolsheviks who had led the October Revolution.

According to the propaganda spread in the Red Army and the working class, the Germans were all fascists, the Wehrmacht was a fascist army, etc. That is why at Stalingrad there were posters and inscriptions in Russian (also documented in the museum in Berlin-Karlshorst) such as: "How Many Germans Did You Kill Today?" and "No German Should Leave Stalingrad Alive." Later the Red Army distributed leaflets to the German soldiers to get them to capitulate, but the example of capitulation they gave was that of Hitler-loyal, arch-reactionary General Field Marshal Paulus, who had commanded the German troops in Stalingrad. They also founded the National Committee for a Free Germany, with Graf [Count] von Einsiedel at its head, in order to demonstrate, in line with the popular-front policy, that they did not want revolution but a settlement with the bourgeoisie. Other leaflets said that soldiers who did not surrender would be killed.

This had nothing to do with revolutionary internationalist propaganda, which would have exploited the fact that the soldiers they faced were German workers who may have been the children of Communists, or perhaps even Communists themselves. There was a big anti-German hate campaign by Ilya Ehrenburg, a Jewish Soviet author, who became the mouthpiece for Stalin's own nationalist campaign. Although it was dropped after the Red Army reached Germany, the content of the Stalinist policy did not significantly change.

Although it was very difficult to defect, some did. Gerhard Bögelein, for example, was a German worker who changed sides and became a soldier in the Red Army. Right after the reunification in 1990, he was thrown into jail by the vindictive West German courts in Hamburg. Karl Kielhorn organized an anti-fascist committee in a Soviet prisoner-of-war camp, where they read Marx and he

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Padilla...

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device. Binyam Muhammad was reportedly whipped, hung from the ceiling of his cell and later taken to Morocco where he was tortured with a razor. "Binyam was told all along that his job was to be a witness against Padilla, Abu Zuhaydah and Khalid Shaikh Mohammed," said his lawyer, adding that his client "has no conscious knowledge that he ever met" Padilla (*New York Times*, 4 January).

For three years and eight months, Padilla was tortured by extreme sensory deprivation—the windows of his tiny nine-by-seven-foot cell were blacked out, and he could only leave his cell wearing blinkered goggles and headphones. This was punctuated by blasts of harsh light and loud, pounding noise. A motion filed by Padilla's lawyers last fall demanding that the criminal charges be dismissed "for outrageous government conduct" described treatment that echoes the horrors of Abu Ghraib: Padilla was "hooded and forced to stand in stress positions for long durations of time" and "threatened with imminent execution." He was also injected with drugs believed to be LSD or PCP. However, while Padilla's lawyers presented evidence showing that he had been broken under torture and was incompetent to participate in his own defense, their motions were rejected.

As we wrote in "'War on Terror': Torture, Spying, Imperialist Butchery," (*WV* No. 890, 13 April) concerning the government's detaining and "disappearing" those it deems enemies:

> "This has been the fate of hundreds, if not thousands, of foreign 'terror suspects' around the world who have been kidnapped and disappeared, kept in CIA secret prisons where they are subject to 'enhanced' interrogation—the new Orwellian term for old-fashioned torture. The kidnapping and unlawful detention of Jose Padilla exemplify how measures first enacted against non-citizen 'terror suspects' can be expanded to encompass citizens as well."

The transparent motivation behind Padilla's indictment in 2005 was to avoid a decision in the U.S. Supreme Court on his "enemy combatant" designation. The previous year in the case of Yaser Esam Hamdi, a U.S. citizen captured in Afghanistan and imprisoned without charges as an "enemy combatant," the Court had ruled that "a state of war is not a blank check for the president" and that Hamdi must have a "fair opportunity to rebut the Government's factual assertions." At the time, however, the Court refused to hear Padilla's case, supposedly because his *habeas corpus* petition was filed in the wrong court.

Padilla's lawyers duly filed a new writ for *habeas corpus* and the South Carolina District Court in February 2005 granted the petition, ordering that Padilla be released from military custody. The Bush administration appealed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which sided with the administration. Citing the 18 September 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support, the court declared: "Those powers include the power to detain identified and committed enemies such as Padilla." When Padilla's lawyers then appealed that decision to the Supreme Court, the government quickly moved Padilla from military to civilian custody and brought criminal charges against him, arguing that his Supreme Court appeal was moot. In this way, the White House sought to preserve the legal precedent giving the government the right to declare U.S. citizens "enemy combatants" and to lock them up indefinitely.

Washington Post

Sadistic prison guard Charles Graner beats Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad.

A crucial element in the prosecution's current case against Padilla is what it calls a "data form" that allegedly represented his attempt to be admitted to an Afghan *mujahedin* training camp. A covert CIA agent, using a false name and partial disguise, told the jury of receiving the five-page document as part of a mass of material in a pickup truck delivered by some unnamed person in Kandahar, Afghanistan. But the "data form" does not mention Al Qaeda nor indicate what purpose it supposedly served. In fact, Padilla's name is not even on it.

The charges against Padilla's two co-defendants are just as bogus. Apart from setting up various Islamic charities, they are alleged to have been overheard on phone calls referring to "playing football" or going on "picnics," which the government claims is coded language referring to violent plots. According to the *New York Times* (4 January), Padilla's voice is heard in only seven of the tens of thousands of recorded conversations, and they deal with things like the death of Hassoun's grandmother and Padilla's marital problems. ***We call for the charges against Padilla, Hassoun and Jayyousi to be dropped and for their immediate release!***

The criminal indictment against Padilla has its roots in the prosecution of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric who was convicted in 1995 of conspiring to carry out attacks against New York City landmarks. Wiretaps on Sheikh Abdel Rahman's phone brought Hassoun and Jayyousi to the attention of the Feds, who began to eavesdrop on them. Eventually, phone conversations with Hassoun brought Padilla into the web of surveillance. When the government decided to transfer Padilla to civilian custody, his name was simply added to the existing indictment of Hassoun and Jayyousi! Such are the convenience and utility of conspiracy charges for the government.

The U.S. capitalist rulers under both Democratic and Republican administrations have a long history of using conspiracy prosecutions against their perceived opponents. The early trade unions in this country were outlawed as "criminal conspiracies." Leftists, union organizers and opponents of the U.S. imperialists' entry into World War I were imprisoned on charges of "seditious conspiracy." Eighteen Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union were thrown in jail in 1943 under the Smith Act for conspiracy because of their opposition to U.S. imperialism in World War II.

The draconian policies enacted by Bush & Co. under the pretext of the "war on terror" were built upon laws enacted under the Democratic Clinton administration, such as the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. While campaigning on the basis that they are best suited to wage the "war on terror," the Democrats do get exercised when the Bush gang fails to limit such powers to going after the workers and oppressed at home and abroad and starts picking on its bourgeois rivals (e.g., the Justice Department purge). Reflecting the sentiment of an increasingly large section of the ruling class, the Democrats also tactically differ with the incompetents of the Bush regime over how best to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism—for example, how soon to effect the extrication from the quagmire of the Iraq occupation in order to more effectively pursue the occupation in Afghanistan, moves against Iran and counterrevolutionary machinations against the deformed workers states of China and North Korea.

As opposed to the "Anybody but Bush" swamp of liberals and so-called leftists who seek to pressure the Democrats to "fight" all the way to the White House in 2008, we understand that the *system* of capitalist imperialism has been and will continue to be enforced by barbaric measures of repression. As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a July 2003 *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief, the case of Jose Padilla "poses the evisceration of the rights and privileges of citizenship embodied in the first ten Amendments to the Constitution and secured on the battlefield of the Civil War and in class and social struggle over the past hundred and more years. If the imperial President is upheld, Padilla's detention threatens to become the Dred Scott case of our time, a declaration that 'Citizens have no rights that the government is bound to respect'."

While using every legal means at hand to defend such rights as exist, we fight for the revolutionary transformation of this country—for a proletarian socialist revolution that will put the capitalist class out of business once and for all and replace it with workers state power. Our purpose is to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead that struggle.■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

failure to deliver services while victimising the most vulnerable sections of the working class and the poor—immigrants, prostitutes, hawkers, etc. *Workers Vanguard* No. 748 (15 December 2000) published an article from *Spartacist South Africa* protesting the use of three Mozambican immigrants as training bait for police dogs.

As under the old apartheid system, in the "new" South Africa the cops are agents of capitalist organised violence against the working class and the whole of the oppressed population. The police obey only one master: the capitalist class. We oppose the inclusion of police or security guards in the unions and the broader workers movement. For example, COSATU includes the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), and the SACP recruits cops into their own organisation. Any talk about "democratic control of the police," "winning over the police" or "raising the consciousness of the police" has nothing to do with revolutionary Marxism and everything to do with reformism. All reformist left organisations in South Africa, namely Keep Left, the Democratic Socialist Movement (formerly the Marxist Workers Tendency in the ANC), and the Workers International Vanguard League, support the membership of cops and security guards in trade unions.

The police are not "workers in uniform." In *What Next?* (January 1932), Leon Trotsky—chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, co-leader of the October 1917 Revolution with Lenin and organiser of the Red Army—had this to say in response to illusions that the Social Democratic Prussian police were going to defend the constitution against Hitler: "The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless.... The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker."

In order to hide the capitalist class nature of the ANC regime, the reformist labour leaders of the SACP and COSATU argue that "the post-1994 democratic state is not inherently capitalist, it is in fact, a sharply class-contested reality" or a "democratic breakthrough." But there is no such thing as a "multi-class state." There is either a capitalist state or a proletarian state—the capitalists and the proletariat, the two main classes in capitalist society, have historically irreconcilable interests. It is impossible to have more than one class playing a dominant role in the state. The ANC/SACP/COSATU nationalist popular front represents the subordination of the class interests of the proletariat to those of the capitalists. Illusions in the state are greatly reinforced by bourgeois nationalism, with the SACP and COSATU tops validating the ANC's "liberation" claims and painting the regime as "our" government.

Spartacist South Africa calls to break the Tripartite Alliance—for the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois parties and its state! What is necessary is the building of a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party, part of a reforged Fourth International, which can lead the proletariat and all the oppressed forward to achieve workers rule, as part of world socialist revolution.■

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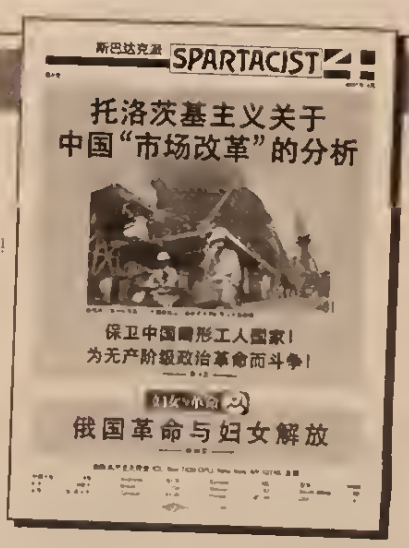

PDC Statement...

(continued from page 1)

Pennsylvania state and federal courts have rejected or even refused to consider this evidence. The cops, prosecutors and courts—with the support of capitalist politicians, Democrats as well as Republicans—see in Mumia, former Black Panther Party spokesman and a MOVE supporter and outspoken journalist, the spectre of black revolution. The state is determined to carry out Mumia's legal lynching or bury him in the living hell of life in prison. This must not happen!"

The Third Circuit panel—Chief Judge Anthony J. Scirica and Judges Thomas L. Ambro and Robert E. Cowen—peppered the prosecution with questions about the instructions and verdict form given the jury considering the death penalty as well as the prosecutor's remarks during his closing argument at the trial that they should convict Mumia because he would have "appeal after appeal." Many spectators commented afterwards that the judges appeared favorable to Mumia on these issues, which could lead to affirming the reversal of the death sentence and granting a new trial. Offering a more realistic view of the court, Ramona Africa, who spent seven years in prison for being the sole adult survivor of the May 1985 police/FBI bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home, commented after the hearing on the "legal mumbo jumbo": "They can sit there and look very attentive and appear to be leaning toward the defense and all of that. But it doesn't mean anything. They can come back with a decision completely opposite." Wolkenstein observed, "In Mumia's 1988 Pennsylvania state appeal hearing, the chief judge of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court unequivocally told the D.A. that it was a violation of due process and the court's own precedents for the prosecution to have made the 'appeal after appeal' arguments. This is the same issue now before the federal appeals court. Yet the state Supreme Court decision unanimously denied every defense claim."

Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Daily News

Winters/Philadelphia Daily News

Philadelphia Tribune

Key players in racist frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal (clockwise from top left): Prosecutor Joseph McGill, Judge Albert Sabo, D.A. Lynne Abraham and former prosecutor Ed Rendell, now governor of Pennsylvania.

Most of the questions from the judges during the two-hour proceeding focused on the issue of racial bias in the prosecution's selection of the jury. Bryan said that prosecutors struck 15 potential jurors from the jury pool, ten of whom were black and five white. That, he said, constituted "prima facie evidence" of racial discrimination. But the judges sharply questioned whether Mumia's attorneys had previously tried to establish a pattern of racist bias in his 1982 trial, including by determining the racial makeup of the more than 100 people who made up the jury pool. Wolkenstein pointed out, "The legal argument made on May 17 by Mumia's attorneys was incomplete. At the 1995 PCRA hearing, we subpoenaed the Philadelphia County Commissioner of Jurors to establish the racial composition of the entire jury pool, but Judge Sabo quashed that subpoena with the agreement of the prosecution!"

Wolkenstein continued, "We also fought to get additional evidence before the courts. In April 1997, we submitted a supplemental PCRA petition after a ten-year-old videotaped training lecture by then-assistant D.A. Jack McMahon was made public which confirmed that it was the policy and aim of the D.A.'s office to exclude black jurors. This racist practice was also confirmed in a study by David Baldus, documenting that during a ten-year period blacks were 5.2 times as likely as whites to be thrown off Philadelphia juries. The Philadelphia D.A. vociferously opposed the introduction of this evidence, and both the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and Judge Sabo refused Mumia's petitions to even hold hearings. Contrary to the D.A.'s position argued on May 17 and the statement of Mumia's current lawyer, Robert Bryan, that the defense was 'a day late and a dollar short' in presenting evidence of the racist jury-rigging, ***it was the D.A. and the courts*** that prevented this evidence from being heard during the PCRA hearings." She summed up, "Characteristic of this ***injustice*** system, particularly as seen throughout the history of Mumia's case, the D.A.'s blocking of this evidence previously is now cited as the basis for the court to refuse to even consider it."

As a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999, Wolkenstein uncovered the confession of Arnold Beverly and other key evidence. In a June 1999 affidavit, Arnold Beverly says that he was hired to kill Faulkner, who was reportedly interfering with prostitution, gambling, drugs and police payoffs, and that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting." Wolkenstein stressed that "no court, including the Third Circuit, has ever considered this or any other piece of the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence and of the state frame-up." Wolkenstein resigned from the legal team when Mumia's lead attorney at the time, Leonard Weinglass, suppressed the Beverly confession. After Mumia fired Weinglass two years later, his next team of lawyers submitted Beverly's affidavit to both state and federal courts, as well as a declaration by Mumia in which he stated: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent." The courts refused to even consider these statements.

Wolkenstein explained that "the courts have suppressed the Beverly evidence because it demonstrates that the injustice done to Mumia was not the work of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the workings of a 'justice' system whose purpose is to repress the working class, minorities and the poor on behalf of the capitalist ruling class. Meanwhile, the police and prosecutors have stopped at nothing in their attacks on Mumia: intimidation of witnesses, suppression and falsification of evidence of Mumia's innocence, and campaigns against any who stand in defense of Mumia." In the weeks leading up to the May 17 court hearing, the Fraternal Order of Police harassed and threatened Mumia's supporters, forcing a change of venue for a birthday celebration for Mumia in Philadelphia, and New York City cops harassed a hip-hop event for Mumia.

Addressing the race and class bias inherent in the U.S. capitalist legal system, Wolkenstein stressed that "the kind of pressure that can have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that this innocent man be freed now." The PDC mobilized contingents for the May 17 protests in Philadelphia and San Francisco under the slogans: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent—For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Him Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" The rally in Philadelphia was organized by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the New York Coalition to Free Mumia, while in San Francisco it was organized by the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson commented, "We support utilizing every legal recourse on Mumia's behalf, but without illusions in the capitalist court system." He pointed out, "It was mass international protest, crucially including trade unionists, that stayed the executioner's hand in August 1995, after a death warrant for Mumia had been signed. The multiracial labor movement—those who create the wealth of this society and who can shut it down—must be mobilized independently of the forces of the capitalist state." He contrasted this class-struggle perspective to "those groups who have focused on calling for a new trial for Mumia. This means relying on the same racist courts that railroaded Mumia to death row. It means sowing illusions that Mumia can get justice from the same capitalist state that killed 38 Black Panthers as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations, and that massacred eleven black people, including women and children, in the 1985 firebombing of MOVE." Herson added, "If successful, the fight for Mumia's freedom would strike a blow against the government's evisceration of democratic rights in the name of the 'war on terror.' It would give labor a sense of its own power. The fight for Mumia is the fight for black liberation, for the liberation of us all, part of the struggle for socialist revolution."

Speaking for the New York Labor Black League at the Philadelphia rally, Tom Cowperthwaite said that the "prosecutors, racist cops and politicians of both Democratic and Republican parties" have targeted Mumia "because he speaks the truth about bloody U.S. imperialism and the brutal system of exploitation and racial oppression that is capitalist America." Cowperthwaite, a member of New York City's Transport Workers Union Local 100, addressed the crucial need to mobilize labor's power on Mumia's behalf. He noted, "When we brought the

WV Photo

PDC contingent at May 17 Mumia demonstration in Philadelphia.

Free Jamal Hart!

Class-War Prisoner Thrown into Solitary

The Partisan Defense Committee has recently learned that class-war prisoner Jamal Hart has been placed in solitary confinement. The PDC sent the following May 5 letter of protest to Ronald Holt, the warden of FCI Schuylkill prison in Minersville, PA.

Monique Code

We are writing to protest the latest harassment and persecution of Jamal Hart. We have been informed that Mr. Hart has been thrown into solitary confinement for a month and denied all personal visits and phone calls for six months. While his *habeas corpus* petition is before the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, Mr. Hart is currently denied access to his legal documents.

Mr. Hart, who is imprisoned only because he sought to highlight the case of his father, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, should not have spent even one day in jail. He was sentenced to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges in 1998. Mr. Hart's petition argues that his draconian sentence is based on an assault charge that does not exist. If his *habeas corpus* petition is granted, Mr. Hart would receive a reduced sentence and would finally be released for time served.

The harassment of Mr. Hart is an outrage! We demand that he be freed from solitary confinement immediately and that he have access to all his legal correspondence. Stop the persecution of Jamal Hart now!

International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!

Workers Hammer

Spartakist

Left: Paul Moffat of the Communication Workers Union speaking at May 5 London Mumia rally organized by PDC. Right: Mumia rally called by Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) in IG Metall union building in Berlin, May 12.

As Mumia Abu-Jamal's May 17 appeals court hearing approached, the Partisan Defense Committee's fraternal organizations in Britain and Germany held rallies demanding Mumia's freedom, drawing an impressive range of participants from the trade-union movement, civil libertarians and leftists. The May 5 Partisan Defence Committee rally in London and the May 12 Berlin rally organized by the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) were part of an international campaign to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on behalf of Mumia—an innocent man and America's foremost class-war prisoner—as he enters what could be the final stage of legal appeals (see article, page 1).

Despite their wide range of views, speakers at the rallies agreed on the call to free Mumia on the basis that he is innocent of the December 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and that his life remains in danger. The rallies also demanded: Down with the racist death penalty! Within this framework, both rallies featured spirited debate over the way forward in the struggle for Mumia. At bottom, the debates boiled down to one's attitude toward the capitalist state and its cops and courts, which have stolen 25 years of Mumia's life and still hold out the threat of his execution.

It took an outpouring of mass protest internationally, crucially including trade unionists, to stay the executioner's hand in August 1995 as Mumia faced a death warrant. But the masses who raised their voices for Mumia at that time were soon politically ***demobilized*** by bourgeois liberals and reformist leftists who subordinated the fight for his freedom to the demand that he receive a new trial. That demand expressed a program of reliance on the very courts that railroaded Mumia to death row for a killing they know he did not commit. Throughout this period, we have politically fought against this course, counterposing a policy based firmly on the class struggle.

As the main speaker at the rallies, Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the U.S. Partisan Defense Committee (associated with the Spartacist League/U.S.), emphasized the state's determination to kill Mumia or lock him away for life. The capitalist rulers, she explained, see in Mumia defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. "This means quite literally that Mumia is a dead man on leave as far as the state is concerned." As a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999, Wolkenstein, along with Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, was instrumental in uncovering evidence of his innocence. Most notably this included the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

With Mumia's case on a legal "fast track," liberal and reformist forces have been increasing their activity around his case, seeking in the main to block developments toward class-struggle defense based on a Marxist understanding of the capitalist state and its legal system. As we reported in "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice'" (*WV* No. 892, 11 May), such types include the writers David Lindorff and Michael Schiffmann, who have issued books that profess to support Mumia's legal battles but challenge key evidence of his innocence, centrally the Arnold Beverly confession. These authors also cast doubts on Mumia's unambiguous May 2001 statement: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

Our article noted that the core purpose for Lindorff and Schiffmann is "to *undermine* the fact of Mumia's innocence and the extent and depth of the frame-up carried out by the forces of the state, who want to see him dead." The statements by Beverly and Mumia, along with a July 2001 affidavit submitted by Wolkenstein to state and federal courts and other supporting affidavits, are included in the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* (now available in French and German as well as English). As Wolkenstein told the rallies, "the Beverly evidence exposes the fraud that the American bourgeois legal system can provide justice." Wolkenstein put the issue squarely:

> "To free Mumia now, to save him from execution or the slow death of a lifetime in prison, it is necessary to organize on the basis of a class-struggle defense. While that means utilizing all possible legal proceedings, class-struggle defense is based on an understanding of the nature of the capitalist state that puts no reliance on its courts but relies on the power of the mobilization of the working class and its allies."

London

The May 5 rally, held at the University of London Union, drew more than 90 people. Speakers included three trade-union

continued on page 10

Mumia's Greetings to London and Berlin Rallies

Ona Move!

I want to thank the PDC and all supporters of our freedom struggle for coming together, for struggling, for fighting for people like myself, and, of course, myself. It has been a long and often bitter struggle, but it is not over yet. I thank you for everything you have done, and I thank you for the work we are about to embark upon. The struggle ain't over until we all are free.

Ona Move! Long Live John Africa!

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
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P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
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Big Apple to a grinding halt for three days in December 2005, we weren't just striking for ourselves but for everyone ground down by the racist, greedy, labor-hating bosses. An injury to one is an injury to all! There's no substitute for the class struggle!"

As the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions wrote in the March 2007 issue of *Shopsteward*: "Mumia's freedom will not be won through relying on the capitalist rigged justice system. What can really turn the tide is the power of united millions across the world—working people united in struggle to free an innocent man." Indicating the potential for mass, labor-centered protest, hundreds of trade unionists and prominent individuals internationally have signed a PDC-initiated statement titled: "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man." The statement, which cites the Arnold Beverly confession, has appeared in the *Nation* magazine and a number of major black newspapers in the U.S. and leftist publications in Europe. Recently adding its voice to this call is the Metro Detroit chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Other signatories include Nobel Prize winning author Nadine Gordimer, Manning Marable, Henry Louis Gates Jr., Cornel West, New York City councilman Charles Barron, Illinois Congressman Danny K. Davis and former Georgia Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney.

Rachel Wolkenstein emphasized, "The ruling class is deadly serious that Mumia Abu-Jamal may soon be another victim of the barbaric death penalty. The frame-up of Mumia symbolizes what the racist death penalty in the U.S. is all about: a legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. We oppose the death penalty on principle—we do not accord the state the right to say who lives and who dies. Mumia must be freed, now!"■

Mumia Rallies...

(continued from page 9)

representatives: Paul Moffat, Eastern Region Secretary of the Communication Workers Union; Glenroy Watson, Chair of the Finsbury Park branch of the Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union and General Secretary of Global Afrikan Congress; and Stephen Hedley, also an RMT member. Moffat stressed the "duty to expose the conspiracy to commit cold-blooded, premeditated murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal." Indicating the wide resonance for Mumia's case among trade unionists, the Scottish Trades Union Congress passed a motion in April declaring "That this Congress believes that Mumia Abu-Jamal should be freed immediately from prison, as he is innocent, and the inherently racist death penalty should be abolished."

Other speakers included civil liberties lawyers Gareth Peirce and Matthew Ryder. The two are particularly known today for opposing repression carried out in the name of the "war on terror," under whose rubric the U.S. and British rulers have waged devastating wars in Afghanistan and Iraq while taking the ax to democratic rights "at home."

The rally, chaired by the PDC's Kate Klein, began with taped greetings from Mumia and a showing of the PDC video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Klein explained that in Britain the PDC was launched in 1989 with the campaign to raise funds for the civilian victims of Jalalahad in Afghanistan following Mikhail Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet troops, which left the civilians to face the revenge of the CIA-backed *mujahedin*. In regard to Mumia, Klein stated, "the kind of pressure that will have an impact on the courts is the social power of the multiracial workers movement worldwide demanding freedom for this innocent man." Later in the program, Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League/Britain stressed that campaigning for Mumia is an opportunity to deal a blow against both the U.S. ruling class that wants to see him dead and the "special relationship" that unites British and U.S. imperialism.

Several speakers drew parallels between Mumia's case and the anti-Irish frame-ups conducted by the British capitalist state. Gareth Peirce noted that she has "sent many faxes in the middle of the night on behalf of Mumia in the past. Not just for myself. I've added the names of Gerry Conlon, Paddy Hill, Billy Power, Paddy Armstrong," referring to the Guildford Four—innocent people framed up in Britain in the 1970s for an IRA bombing—whom Peirce defended. She added that the campaign for Mumia could not have sustained itself over all these years "if there was not an absolute understanding of the integrity and truth and justice of what it was saying, and of the man it was saying it about."

Stephen Hedley commented, "I come from the north of Ireland, which is still occupied under British rule." The Mumia video, he said, "reminded me of home." Hedley noted that the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland was inspired by the black civil rights movement in the U.S. and that the American state's intent to kill Mumia is similar to the British state's treatment of anyone who raises his head above the parapet. In Northern Ireland, this includes "collusion between the police and the Loyalist paramilitaries to take out not only political activists but also lawyers who defended those activists." While making clear that he has political differences with the PDC, Hedley commended the rally as "a very, very good example of awareness raising."

A number of speakers hammered on the need to fight the rulers' equation of political opposition with "terrorism." Wolkenstein pointed out that the PDC took up Mumia's case some 20 years ago because of both its opposition to the death penalty on principle and its struggle against the state's branding of political opponents as "terrorists." Both the Black Panther Party, of which Mumia was a leading member in his youth, and the MOVE organization, which he supports, were considered the "terrorists" of their time, which meant that the state could simply blow them away in the dead of the night or frame up their supporters on vague conspiracy charges. Matthew Ryder, who was among those who spoke out for Mumia in 1995, noted that invoking terrorism "creates a permanent state of emergency and a permanent state of fear. Under the guise of fighting terrorism, the most extreme forms of state political action can be sanctioned."

It was the question of relying on the capitalist courts for justice for Mumia that sparked controversy during the discussion period. Wolkenstein had noted in her presentation that when the bulk of the opportunist left in the U.S.—the Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the International Socialist Organization (affiliated at the time with the Socialist Workers Party in Britain)—took up Mumia's cause, particularly during and after the mass protests in 1995, they rejected mobilizing around the call to free him. Instead, they organized centrally around the demand for a new trial. Many of these "socialist" groups now raise "freedom for Mumia" in conjunction with demanding a new trial. But their politics remain in the framework of reliance on the bourgeois state, a program directly counterposed to mobilizing working-class power for Mumia's freedom.

Speaking from the floor, Niki Adams of Legal Action for Women argued that she and others "are calling for a new trial because we are taking our direction from Mumia, who is working very closely with his lawyer, Robert Bryan." Adams made clear who this call is geared toward when she told a May 17 protest in London, held on the day of Mumia's court hearing: "The demand for a new trial brings in people that may not be convinced about Mumia's innocence but can see the trial was deeply unjust."

Adams' comments were a pristine expression of the strategy that had earlier demobilized Mumia's supporters. We pointed out last issue in "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice'" that the reformist left years ago adopted the approach argued by Adams in a bid for a "mainstream" audience and for allies in the capitalist Democratic Party. We wrote: "At bottom, the 'new trial' slogan is an appeal to liberals who see Mumia's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated 'miscarriage of justice'.... These groups *obstruct* the development of a defense movement based on the understanding that it is the class nature and racial bias of the capitalist state that is behind the cops' and courts' virulent hatred of Mumia, and that the road to winning his freedom lies in class-struggle defense."

At the rally, Wolkenstein replied to Adams that while we vigorously oppose the strategy of reliance on the capitalist state, we have always supported scrupulous legal work on Mumia's behalf. In fact, she said, "The current legal actions in Mumia's case come from the work that I and Jon Piper did—the people on the legal team who are associated with the Partisan Defense Committee." Refuting Adams' claim that those who call for a new trial are "following Mumia's lead," Wolkenstein stated, "I have known and worked with Mumia Abu-Jamal since February 1987. I visit him regularly—before I became his lawyer, when I became his lawyer, after I stopped being his lawyer, including a week ago. He knows perfectly well every word I said here." She continued, "He sent greetings to this rally, brief though they were, making the point that he was fighting for his freedom. That is not an accident."

Wolkenstein pointed out that in earlier struggles on behalf of class-war prisoners, the call wasn't "New trial for the Guildford Four, or for Angela Davis, or Huey Newton." In regard to calls for unity, she explained that we advocate united-front defense—common actions around agreed-upon slogans with full freedom of criticism. "In our opinion," she continued, "the unifying theme is 'Free Mumia. Mumia is an innocent man. Abolish the racist death penalty!'" It was around such slogans that the PDC mobilized a contingent for the May 17 demonstration outside the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square, making up almost a third of the 100 people there.

Spartakist

KfsV contingent at Berlin May 12 demonstration calls for Mumia's freedom.

Berlin

More than 100 people turned out for the May 12 rally at the IG Metall union hall. The political debate actually began at a protest for Mumia just hours earlier, when supporters of the KfsV and the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) mobilized a contingent that included at its peak a third of the crowd of 300. A principal leader of the protest was Michael Schiffmann, who made clear that the class-struggle views of the KfsV and SpAD were not to be heard from the stage of the rally. A banner placed prominently near the stage read: "Stop the Execution of Mumia—For a Fair, New Trial."

Many came right from the protest to the KfsV rally, which drew several political exiles in addition to trade unionists and leftists and heard greetings from the Democratic Kurdish Center (Berlin Brandenburg). No stranger to bourgeois repression, the Kurdish group could not come because it was staging a protest at that time in defense of Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdish nationalist PKK who is imprisoned in Turkey.

In explaining the KfsV's aim of class-struggle, non-sectarian defense, Werner Brand pointed to its history of defending anti-fascist militants and victims of the anti-Communist witchhunt that followed the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990, including Markus Wolf, Heinz Kessler and many others. His comments drew applause, including from former members of the East German Stalinist party, the SED.

Gert Julius, chairman of the Tempelhof/Schöneberg local of the DGB union federation and a representative of the Coalition for Social Justice and Human Dignity, referred to a statement by Karl Marx that the prevailing opinion in society is always the opinion of the rulers. Julius went on, "He should have added that the prevailing legal decisions are always the legal decisions of the rulers." He applauded the work of Mumia's present lawyer, Robert Bryan, and advocated using "all humanly possible forms of defense," a sentiment shared by all in the room. From its reformist standpoint, an article in the leftist newspaper *junge Welt* (14 May) used Julius' remarks as a counterpoint to the speech by Rachel Wolkenstein which, it reported, "polemicized unmistakably" against the demand for a new trial and the "reformist left" that tries to "limit the protests by appealing for support from bourgeois-liberal forces."

At the protest earlier that day, German Communist Party (DKP) representative Michael Czech informed our comrades that he was ordered by his party not to address

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German Imperialism...

(continued from page 6)

was recruited to the CP. We Spartakists defended Bögelein and Kielhorn against the vengeance of the Fourth Reich. Heinz Kessler, who was later a founder of the National People's Army in the DDR, and who became an army general and then Minister of Defense, had gone over to the Soviet Union when he was a Wehrmacht soldier. We are proud to have defended him against the anti-Communist witchhunt after the capitalist counterrevolution.

The invasion of the Soviet Union spurred massive resistance, which is the main reason why the Soviet Union was able to prevail in the end. The Nazis and the Wehrmacht command believed they would win within four months. The Wehrmacht command thought that by winter the Soviet Union would already have collapsed like a house of cards; that's why the German soldiers supposedly didn't need any winter clothing.

There was a difference between the defense of Leningrad and the rest of the Soviet Union. In Leningrad there existed a high degree of consciousness that they were defending the birthplace of the October Revolution. And it is precisely because of the October Revolution that Hitler and his Wehrmacht leadership wanted to completely wipe out Leningrad and let the population starve to death, even if they attempted to surrender. The order was to accept no surrender. The siege lasted 900 days, and the number of people who died in the defense of Leningrad and in the city itself—about one million—was higher than the number of soldiers of American and British imperialism killed in World War II, which was a total of 800,000. But the Nazis did not succeed in taking Leningrad.

Spartakist

Berlin: Sixtieth anniversary commemoration of Red Army victory over Nazi Germany, May 2005. Spartakist placard (center, foreground) reads: "'Collective Guilt' Amnesties Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz—Workers Revolution Will Avenge the Holocaust!"

The victory at Stalingrad was a psychological turn in the war, and the military turn was the battle of Kursk in 1943. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the war against the Nazis and was able in the end to beat back the German armies. The Western Allies were counting on their imperialist rival Germany and the Soviet degenerated workers state to destroy each other on the battlefield. This is why the Allies opened the "second front" only in June 1944, with the invasion of Normandy. The only reason the Western Allies opened a second front was to push back Soviet influence in Europe, fearing that the Red Army would liberate the whole of Germany.

The reports by the SD (Security Service of the Reichsführer SS) in the catalogue for the exhibition, *The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945*, give a good example of the attitude of the German population toward the Soviet Union. There is a document there on the population's reaction to the campaign against "Soviet *Untermenschen* [subhumans]." There had been a Nazi exhibition on this theme in Berlin, at which the resistance group led by Jewish Communist Herbert Baum planted a bomb.

The Nazi propaganda tried to paint a picture of Jews, Slavs and Communists as "subhuman," and with that aim they exhibited pictures taken in concentration camps of people they themselves had almost starved to death, as typical examples of the peoples they wanted to wipe out. An April 1943 SD report noted that the way the Germans viewed these people had changed, because now hundreds of thousands of workers from the East as well as prisoners of war were working in Germany. The report gives examples of how the population supported the forced laborers, who included many highly skilled workers, so that later the death penalty had to be imposed for helping forced laborers or workers from the East. Nevertheless, support for them continued. There are examples of Polish and other forced laborers in the countryside basically being taken in by families.

Another example is when the Nazis tried to capitalize on the shooting of 4,000 Polish officers at Katyn. They dug up the graves of the Polish officers, who had been captured by the Red Army in Eastern Poland during the German-Polish war in 1939. The Polish officers were certainly hardened counterrevolutionaries, but it does not mean that we support their execution by the NKVD [Soviet secret police]. In any case, the Goebbels propaganda machine tried to capitalize on this. The SD reported that in Germany people would say: "We have no right to complain about this Soviet action, because on the German side Poles and Jews were wiped out on a much larger scale." Of course that doesn't fit into the distorted picture presented by collective-guilt propaganda, that all Germans were somehow Nazis and supported them.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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the KfsV rally on the spurious grounds that "Mumia fired Rachel" and that the Beverly confession was our "invention"—lies that were sharply refuted at the rally. Speaking in his own name, Fritz Ditmar, a member of the Hamburg district leadership of the DKP, declared, "I don't believe a revolutionary can get a fair trial from a bourgeois court." He said that what is possible "is to achieve a fair decision" by mobilizing "pressure on the street, outside of the courts," until that pressure is so great that "the court, with clenched teeth, desists from bending the law."

Representing the SpAD Central Committee, Steffen Singer placed the fight to free Mumia in the context of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party and the fight for new October Revolutions. He recounted the proud record of the SpAD and the International Communist League in East Germany and the Soviet Union, where we fought to mobilize the proletariat against capitalist counterrevolution and for workers political revolution. These comments drew some catcalls from individuals demanding to know what this had to do with Mumia's cause. Singer responded:

> "What we are talking about here is also the so-called 'death of communism,' this ideology that has had such a massive impact on the left and stamps the whole struggle for Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom. Can you imagine that before the destruction of the Soviet Union the leftists would have called for 'a fair trial,' which is a retreat from the tradition of the workers movement from the time of the Haymarket martyrs?"

An important debate took place over the role of the police in capitalist society and whether they should have any place in the unions. In his summary comments, Gert Julius intoned that from his "trade-union standpoint" one "shouldn't use the blanket label of *Bullen* [cops] for the police." Admitting that he saw "few possibilities" of advancing class consciousness in the proletariat at this time, Julius stated that "trade unions are for everyone." He finished with "my call: Leftists of the world, don't curse each other but unite."

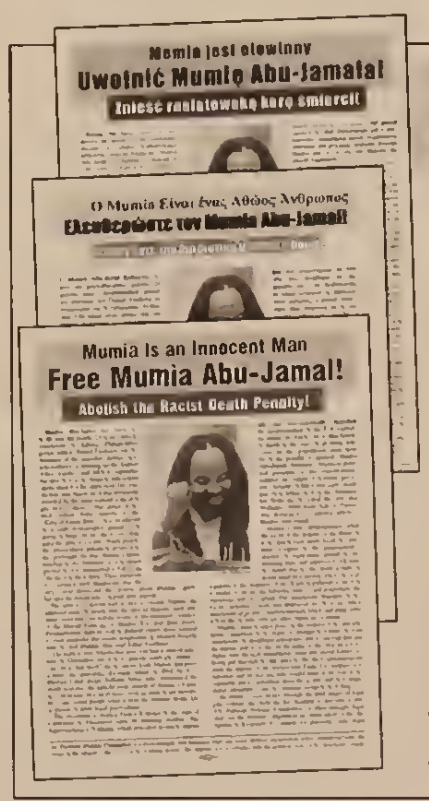
Singer responded: "As Marxists, we understand that being—that what you do—determines consciousness. And the task of the police is indeed to carry out, with arms, the laws of the bourgeoisie, its rule. In practice, you can see that in any strike." Singer observed that at a recent strike against the Infineon company in Munich, the cops advanced "with weapons drawn" against the picket lines. "These are the paid, trained strikebreakers for the bourgeoisie. That is their job." He continued: "Who carries out deportations? Who breaks strikes? Who beats up demonstrators? Who carried out the raids [earlier in May] against the G8 leftists [who had been planning protests against the Group of Eight imperialist summit scheduled for early June in northern Germany]? The police! That is the organized violence of the class enemy. They have no place in the workers movement!"

In response to questions raised at the rally, Rachel Wolkenstein shot down the rumors that she was fired in 1999 by Mumia from his legal team, which was then headed by Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams, and that Mumia rejected the Beverly evidence. The key issue then was that Weinglass and Williams refused to put the Arnold Beverly testimony and related evidence before the courts. Wolkenstein remarked, "Mumia was made promises by Len Weinglass and Dan Williams" about "pursuing this evidence, and they violated those agreements." There was nothing she could do about it, Wolkenstein continued, "except remove myself from the case in the hopes that it would come forward. Otherwise I would have been a party to this massive betrayal of Mumia."

After Mumia fired Weinglass and Williams, his new attorneys at the time tried to put the Beverly confession before the courts. Wolkenstein recounted, "Since 2001, when this *was* presented in court, *every* court—state court, federal court—has refused to hear *anything* about the evidence."

The importance of waging a *class-struggle* fight for Mumia's freedom based on the massive evidence of his innocence was underscored in the discussion by the comments of a trade unionist who supports the views of the SpAD. Describing the resonance of Mumia's case among his co-workers, he pointed out that the plant's apprenticeship council, which is politically close to the Social Democratic Party and the union leadership, sabotaged a statement for Mumia by arguing that they were not sure he did not kill a cop, and that the statement could backfire against the union...and the company!

The current campaign to renew the fight for Mumia's freedom has met with important expressions of support among trade unionists in the U.S. and internationally. Wolkenstein pointed to the need to turn such sentiments into labor action. "Part of the importance of the fight for Mumia," she said, "is to bring that understanding to the working class—that Mumia's fight is their fight, and has to be a fight against the capitalist state. Parallel to the reformists in the 'movement,' who stop people from understanding what Mumia's case is about, is the labor bureaucracy, which actually has faith in the bourgeoisie to give them more workers' rights and everything." She concluded: "The fight for Mumia is the fight for black liberation, it's the fight for socialist revolution."■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

South Africa

Protest Apartheid-Style Police Brutality Against Union Bus Drivers!

JOHANNESBURG—According to a *City Press* (5 May) article, a Johannesburg police unit is being probed for carrying out "apartheid-style torture" of members of the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) who had been on strike for more than two months earlier this year against the Metrobus system controlled by the local African National Congress (ANC) government. The *City Press* reports:

> "According to (Dumisani) Langa [the SAMWU branch secretary], their 12 members were picked up at their houses in the early hours of separate days last month and taken to the Germiston police station. Once there, police officers allegedly tied their hands behind their backs. They then allegedly beat them up, attached live electric wires onto their bodies and doused them with water. The cops then allegedly covered their mouths and noses with an old tyre tube to starve them of air."

Langa continued that the SAMWU members "were gruesomely tortured and forced to make confessions linking them to the deaths and violence that marred the Metrobus strike and after failed attempts to get our members to sign prepared incriminating statements, they were just released without even being charged or taken to court."

Langa confirmed the story to *Workers Vanguard*. The union suspects that the employer colluded with the police by giving them a list of names of workers on strike and their addresses. Langa said that workers were arrested in different parts of Johannesburg, including the city centre, Krugersdorp, and Soweto, and were later taken to Germiston, where they were told on arrival that they had no rights and were going to be beaten if they did not confess or identify those responsible for attacks on scabs.

Examples of this brutalisation included cops forming a boxing ring around one of the victims. One large cop announced he was boxing champ Mike Tyson and said they would fight it out—but only the cop had the right to hit! One of the strikers, arrested earlier and then released, has now been taken into custody again, facing unspecified charges. This is ***detention without trial!*** Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, demands that the union comrade be released immediately: Cops and courts—hands off the Johannesburg bus drivers!

The reason why the bosses are so hostile to the SAMWU bus drivers is that their strike was a powerful example of class struggle that shut down bus operations, in contrast to relying on "conciliation" and arbitration in the bourgeois courts. The strike won real gains, including the reversal of an arrogant move by the employer to stop a long-existing policy of paying workers for accumulated sick leave. The strike also won the reinstatement of three dismissed shop stewards and the rehiring of 19 other workers.

Police: enforcers of capitalist rule. Left: Cop attacks anti-apartheid demonstrator in Bloemfontein. Right: Under ANC-led government, police brutalize demonstrator protesting water and electricity fees at Soweto township.

Corbis

Members of South African Municipal Workers Union on strike in Johannesburg, 2005.

In South Africa it is easy and very cheap to describe the old, white-supremacist apartheid state as reactionary. The fact is that it is the current, "new" South African state under the bourgeois-nationalist ANC—joined by the Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in a popular front—that is responsible for maintaining the wage-slave system. That system benefits the new black elite as well as the same old white capitalist class responsible for the Soweto and Sharpeville massacres and other crimes against the non-white majority.

A massive explosion of workers struggle in the 1980s was a key factor contributing to the negotiated end to apartheid rule. Another was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, whose existence had provided the ANC room to manoeuvre in the Cold War divide between the USSR on the one hand and the U.S. and other imperialist powers on the other, with the Soviets providing military aid to the ANC. The white rulers, backed by the imperialists, became confident that capitalist profits could be maintained by installing a black government. The demise of apartheid significantly altered the legal and political superstructure but preserved capitalist property relations and the capitalist state. While it is the ANC and no longer the white racist government that calls the shots, the post-1994 system of neo-apartheid capitalism has kept the overwhelming mass of the population in poverty and maintained intact racial and national oppression.

The police atrocities—committed by black cops—are well in line with the Marxist understanding that the cops are part of the capitalist state, together with the military, courts and prisons. Police are enemies of the working class and defenders of capitalist wage slavery. As Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution* (1917), "The state is an organ of class ***domination***, an organ of ***oppression*** of one class by another." The bourgeois state cannot be reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of the working people and the oppressed. The capitalist system must be overthrown through workers socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state. One's attitude toward the bourgeois state is what draws the final line between reform and revolution.

The fact that the state, including the police forces and the army, contains many more black faces does not mean that it is any less an institution for capitalist oppression. In an effort to propagate the nationalist lie that the only oppressors are white, the ANC goes to considerable lengths to rewrite history. One example is the memorial in the Orlando West section of Soweto to Hector Petersen, a student slain by the apartheid regime during the 1976 student revolt in Soweto, which shows only white cops and soldiers. In fact, numerous black cops were involved in this massacre.

It is the ANC-led government's police that today act as guardians of capital. Writing after the brutal murder of two miners by security guards at the black-owned East Rand Proprietary Mines in October 2002 following a two-day general strike by COSATU, we warned that "the murders on the picket lines are the face of what's to come" (*Spartacist South Africa* No. 3, Summer/Autumn 2003). Today, as a possible strike of several hundred thousand public sector workers looms, the National Intelligence Agency—whose boss is SACPer Ronnie Kasrils!—ominously visited the offices of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in a naked attempt at intimidation (*Sowetan*, 10 May). The government attacks impoverished township residents protesting the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 894 — C-701 — 8 June 2007

Germany: For Mass Working-Class Protest Against State Repression!

The following statement was issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

BERLIN, June 3—The Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands strongly condemns the brutal police attacks on the leftist demonstrators who protested against the robbers of the imperialist G8 [Group of 8] yesterday. This brutal police terror was foreshadowed three weeks ago with nationwide raids against leftist opponents of the G8. Five thousand cops along with more than a dozen water cannons and armored vehicles were mobilized in Rostock to intimidate and terrorize the leftist demonstrators. Many hundreds of demonstrators (officially over 500) were injured, some so badly that they had to be admitted to the hospital. The cops particularly targeted the leftist Autonomes of the "Black Block" and immigrant organizations. Well over 100 were arrested and are threatened with charges. They are talking about summary trials. We say: ***Down with police terror against anti-G8 demonstrators! Free all those arrested! Drop all charges!***

We are outraged that the reformist and liberal organizers of the anti-G8 demonstration are denouncing the *victims* of the police attack! Thus, Manfred Stenner (Netzwerk Friedenskooperative

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Down With Police Terror Against Anti-G8 Demonstrators!
Down With the Witchhunt Against the "Black Block"!

Public Services Strike Shakes South Africa

June 4—In one of the biggest strikes in South African history, at least 700,000 hospital workers, teachers and other workers in 17 public service unions went out on June 1. Led by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), strikers are fighting for a desperately needed 12 percent raise in wages and improvements in medical and other benefits. Most schools were shut down, particularly in the townships, and picket lines went up at the largest hospitals in the country, from Durban to Johannesburg to Cape Town. Workers rallied in every major city, with 10,000 marching through downtown Johannesburg, shutting down the city center. Victory to the public workers strike!

The strike is just one indicator of the broad anger among the impoverished South African masses. For the past several years, waves of protests have swept South Africa's townships and shantytowns protesting lack of water, electricity and decent housing. Unemployment stands at a staggering 40 percent, at least. School classes in rural areas are still held under trees. With more than 10 percent of the population infected with HIV, Minister of Health Tshabalala-Msimang still offers garlic, lemon and beetroot as treatment options while hospital workers struggle every day in vastly understaffed public hospitals and clinics, fetid hellholes for patients and staff alike. It is no surprise that on the first day of the strike, patients at Johanneshurg General Hospital who were waiting hours to see doctors expressed support for the strikers.

President Thaho Mbeki of the African National Congress (ANC) and the capitalists he serves crow that the South African economy is "booming." Thirteen years after the election of the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and the end of the hated apartheid system, the fundamental basis

AFP

June 1: Thousands take to streets of Johannesburg on first day of COSATU public workers strike.

Workers Fight Neo-Apartheid Misery

of South African capitalism is still the superexploitation of black labor by the white capitalist class and its senior partners in the City of London and Wall Street. The white bourgeois rulers have subcontracted out the task of administering neo-apartheid capitalism to the nationalist ANC-led government—the popular-front Tripartite Alliance that includes the South African Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU.

While a thin layer of black businessmen and politicians reaps the rewards, the conditions of the working class, rural toilers and township and shantytown masses continue to be miserable. As key components of the ANC-led regime, the leadership of the COSATU federation, whose unions are striking against government-enforced austerity, provides the labor face for bourgeois rule.

As the public service strike began, cops fired stun grenades at strikers picketing Tygerberg Hospital in Cape Town. Today, police in Durban fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd of striking nurses, arresting 20. According to the National Education Health & Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU), the cops in Cape Town threw tear gas into the crowd, injuring workers, including one who had to be hospitalized in intensive care. COSATU spokesman Patrick Craven issued a June 1 press release condemning the cop attacks that stated: "It is all the more shocking that the attacks were allegedly perpetrated by police officers whose unions are fully involved in the strike."

There should be no "shock." The cops were merely doing their dirty job for the bosses. It runs directly against the interests of the working class that the COSATU union federation includes the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU),

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Death on the Tracks: Toronto

May 28, 2007

Dear *WV*,

I am writing in solidarity with the article in *WV* 892 "NY Transit: Murder by Speedup." On April 23, one day before NYC Transit worker Daniel Boggs was killed on the tracks, Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) maintenance worker Anthony (Tony) Almeida died. He was crushed to death when scaffolding on a flatbed car caught on a cable dangling from a tunnel wall and careened on top of the subway work car Almeida was operating. An eleven-member maintenance crew had just finished its shift removing asbestos in an underground tunnel. This job is known as one of the most dangerous at TTC. Two other workers were treated for severe but non-life threatening injuries as well.

Tony, 38 years old, had worked for TTC for the past five years. He was known by his co-workers as a model employee and leaves behind his wife and two children—an eight-year-old son and a five-year-old daughter. About 1,000 family, friends and co-workers gathered at his funeral to pay tribute. Hundreds of TTC workers walked out of the Hillcrest maintenance complex, lining both sides of the street for several city blocks as the funeral procession passed by.

With vastly insufficient government funding and increased cutbacks, the number of TTC workers injured on the job has jumped significantly in the past four years. In February of 2006, a carbon-monoxide poisoning incident in a tunnel made eight workers and four firefighters seriously ill and served as one of the sparks for the wildcat strike in May of last year.

Like in NYC, Toronto Transit bosses are blaming the victims. Hypocritically talking about a "culture of safety," the TTC plans to hire an external company to assist in a total overhaul of the TTC's "safety programs." But it is the bosses' speedups and cuts that have created these unsafe conditions. At least two maintenance crews have refused to work since Almeida's death, citing safety issues.

Grotesquely, one of the companies expected to bid on the safety contract is DuPont, the number one producer of toxic dioxins in the U.S. To cover its crimes, it has a division that specializes in "safety." DuPont's program blames the worker for on-the-job hazards and its goal of zero accidents encourages a system of non-reporting (i.e., covering up). The United Steel Workers (USW)—which represents 1,800 workers at six DuPont facilities—has protested unsafe conditions and brought to light DuPont's failure to report industrial accidents. In contrast, the USW research has shown that multiple root causes related to hazards and unsafe conditions, not unsafe behavior by workers, cause accidents.

It is only through the mobilization of union power that safety can be enforced on the job. Local 113 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing over 8,000 transit workers in Toronto, gave a taste of their social power when they defied their contract and walked out on strike last year. This is why labour needs a leadership based on class struggle, not the sell-outs who work with the bosses and capitalist politicians to sow class peace.

Yours in Struggle,
A Toronto transit worker

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotskyist Opposition to World War II

Writing shortly after U.S. imperialism's entry into World War II following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, James P. Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, issued a 22 December 1941 statement, which we excerpt below.

The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation.

We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved—Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain—as an *imperialist war*.

This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist—oppressing other nations or peoples—or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan change nothing in this basic analysis....

This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its "democratic" allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian-political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a *progressive war*....

We are the most irreconcilable enemies of the fascist dictatorships of Germany and Italy and the military dictatorship of Japan. Our co-thinkers of the Fourth International in the Axis nations and the conquered countries are fighting and dying in the struggle to organize the coming revolutions against Hitler and Mussolini.

We are doing all in our power to speed those revolutions. But those ex-socialists, intellectuals and labor leaders, who in the name of "democracy" support the war of United States imperialism against its imperialist foes and rivals, far from aiding the German and Italian anti-fascists, only hamper their work and betray their struggle. The Allied imperialists, as every German worker knows, aim to impose a second and worse Versailles; the fear of that is Hitler's greatest asset in keeping the masses of Germany in subjection. The fear of the foreign yoke holds back the development of the German revolution against Hitler....

Our aim is to convince the majority that our program is the only one which can put an end to war, fascism and economic convulsions. In this process of education the terrible facts speak loudly for our contention. Twice in twenty-five years world wars have wrought destruction. The instigators and leaders of those wars do not offer, and cannot offer, a plausible promise that a third, fourth and fifth world war will not follow if they and their social system remain dominant. Capitalism can offer no prospect but the slaughter of millions and the destruction of civilization. Only socialism can save humanity from this abyss.

—James P. Cannon, "A Statement on the War," *Fourth International*, January 1942

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is June 5.

No. 894 **8 June 2007**

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Britain

Defend Róisín McAliskey!

An Phoblacht

May 24: Róisín McAliskey (far right) leaving courthouse with her mother, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, and sister.

The following protest letter, addressed to British Labour government Home Secretary John Reid, was issued by the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain on May 26.

We are writing to protest the outrageous arrest on 21 May of Róisín McAliskey, on the basis of a European arrest warrant, which has all the signs of a frame-up, for alleged involvement in the 1996 IRA mortar attack on a British Army base at Osnahrück in Germany. The German prosecutors have revived their demand, first raised in 1996, for her extradition "for attempted murder in conjunction with the initiation of explosives," according to their lawyer Stephen Ritchie (*Irish Times*, 22 May) although no-one was even injured at Osnahrück.

Pregnant and ill, McAliskey was dragged through the British prison system and brutally treated in both Holloway and Belmarsh prisons during 1996-98, even though there never was a shred of evidence linking her to the Osnahrück events. In January 1998 then Home Secretary Jack Straw ruled that she was too ill to be extradited and in July 2000 the Crown Prosecution Service admitted there was not enough evidence to justify trying her.

The McAliskey family have not only been targeted over the years by the British state as part of its continuing repression of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland but former MP [Member of Parliament] Bernadette McAliskey (Róisín's mother) has also been the target of a murderous attack by Loyalist paramilitaries. As the *Irish Post* reported in 1996: "Many believe that the charges against Roisin McAliskey are a politically motivated bid to silence her mother's criticism of the peace process" (14 December 1996).

The renewed persecution of Róisín McAliskey, a mother of two children, based on an eight-month-old arrest warrant, illustrates the brutal oppression of Catholics that is inherent in the Orange statelet, including under Tony Blair's imperialist "peace process" that is premised on the British Army's presence. It is indicative of the British system of capitalist *injustice* that it systematically colludes with Loyalist paramilitaries and frames up Irish people, as it does Muslims under the racist "war on terror."

We demand: *No extradition of Róisín McAliskey! Drop the charges!* ■

Again on Why China Is Not Capitalist

Dear Workers Vanguard

Responding to my letter arguing that China has become a capitalist state, you say that: "The 1949 Revolution smashed bourgeois rule in China, and that remains the case today. At some point, likely when bourgeois elements in and around the bureaucracy move to eliminate Communist Party (CCP) political power, the explosive social tensions of Chinese society will shatter the political structure of the ruling bureaucracy. And when that happens, the question will be starkly posed: either proletarian political revolution to open the road to socialism or a return to capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation". (WV no. 890)

But why do you assume that "bourgeois elements" will need to "eliminate Communist Party political power", rather than using the CCP to implement a policy of restoring capitalism? The CCP is the party of the bureaucracy; but the bureaucracy is not a reliable defender of the workers state.

Discussing the future of the Soviet Union, Trotsky wrote: "Let us assume—to take a third variant—that neither a revolutionary nor a counterrevolutionary party seizes power. The bureaucracy continues at the head of the state. Even under these conditions social relations will not jell.... [The bureaucracy] must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations. One may argue that the big bureaucrat cares little what are the prevailing forms of property, provided only they guarantee him the necessary income. This argument ignores not only the instability of the bureaucrat's own rights, but also the question of his descendants.... Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class". ("The Revolution Betrayed", Pathfinder Press 1972, page 253-4)

In China the transformation of the bureaucracy into "a new possessing class" is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule of the CCP.

You point out that state-owned enterprises remain dominant in certain strategic industrial sectors and in the banking sector. But historically it has not been unusual for a capitalist state to have a strong state-owned sector of the economy. The British Labor Party nationalised the coal mines and railways in the 1940s. Iraq's Baath Party nationalised the oil industry.

Today, with the dominance of neoliberal ideology, the privatisation of formerly state-owned industries is occurring in nearly all capitalist countries. China too has been privatising rapidly. But it has so far refrained from privatising certain key sectors. The imperialists are not satisfied: they want more rapid and complete privatisation, and unfettered access to all areas of China's economy.

This conflict may indicate that the Chinese regime wishes to maintain a certain degree of independence from imperialism, like past bourgeois-nationalist regimes such as those of Nasser, Saddam Hussein, etc, or like Iran today.

You point out that "during the incipient proletarian political revolution in China in 1989, the People's Liberation Army initially refused to move against the workers of Beijing and the military leadership itself began to split, before new units were brought in to crush the rebellion. Such splits are hardly characteristic of the armed forces of capitalist class rule. But they do reflect the contradictions inherent in a workers state under bureaucratic rule".

I would argue that the crushing of the incipient political revolution in 1989 (and the ensuing purge of the state apparatus) prepared the way for the restoration of capitalism. By early 1992, less than three years after the Beijing massacre, Deng Xiaoping was urging the whole of China to imitate Guangdong province, where capitalist economic relations were the most highly developed.

You point out that the Chinese economy has been growing rapidly, unlike the former Soviet Union whose economy collapsed after the restoration of capitalism. This rapid growth is partly due to the huge influx of foreign capital which has selected China as a key location for production of commodities for the world market, and partly because China still retains a strong state sector, and has not so far implemented the neoliberal model in full.

World Journal

Shenzhen, October 2004: Workers at Computime, a Hong Kong-mainland joint venture company, protest low wages, harsh working conditions.

(Incidentally, I should correct an error in my original letter. I said that China had become "the world's biggest recipient of foreign investment". This should read "third biggest". In 2005, the flow of foreign direct investment into China was $US 72 billion, which was exceeded only by Britain and the United States, according to the OECD).

You argue that: "Should China succumb to counterrevolution, the results would be catastrophic". The results have already been "catastrophic" for the millions of workers sacked from state-owned enterprises, and the millions being ruthlessly exploited in capitalist sweatshops. But it is true that things could get even worse if the neoliberal agenda is implemented in full.

Workers are fighting back against the attacks on their job security, living standards and working conditions. This is not only a deterrent to the full implementation of the neoliberal program; it indicates the potential for a new socialist revolution.

Chris Slee
Melbourne
Australia

***WV* replies:** In replying to Chris Slee's previous letter (*WV* No. 890, 13 April), we noted that he abuses revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky's writings on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the former Soviet Union to prop up the anti-Marxist notion that capitalist rule has been restored in China through an accumulation of "market reforms" implemented by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) regime. Now Slee cites a passage in *The Revolution Betrayed* in which Trotsky discussed the inherent tendency of the Stalinist bureaucracy to generate capitalist-restorationist elements from within its own ranks. This, Slee writes, supports his assertion that "in China the transformation of the bureaucracy into 'a new possessing class' is proceeding apace, despite the continued rule of the CCP." Here, again, is a fundamental distortion.

We noted in our earlier reply that in *The Revolution Betrayed* and other works, "Trotsky explained that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state." Summing up the section from which Slee (selectively) quotes, Trotsky laid out what was historically posed in the Soviet Union: "on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break the resistance of the workers"; "on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena."

There is no question that elements in the bureaucracy and especially among their offspring have enriched themselves through China's economic "reforms." But as was true in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, for the "right of testament" and the "right of property" to become dominant in China would require a ***counterrevolution*** that ***destroys*** the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state. Trotsky ***categorically rejected*** the notion that the Stalinist bureaucracy could transform itself into a capitalist class through the gradual privatization of the collectivized economy. As he wrote in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933):

> "The Marxist thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history sweeps madly ahead, but also to the periods of counterrevolution, when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been ***gradually*** changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism." (emphasis in original)

Trotsky projected that the "inevitable collapse of Stalinist bonapartism" would pose directly and immediately the historical alternatives of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. And that is what ***actually happened*** first in East Europe and then the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1992. In every case, the restoration of capitalism required ousting the Stalinist governments and replacing them with imperialist-backed, anti-Communist regimes. The militaries were reconstituted, their officer corps purged of pro-socialist individuals; Boris Yeltsin banned the Communist Party; anti-Communist witchhunts raged through those societies (and still do). Contrary to Slee's assertions, nothing remotely similar transpired in China following the brutal suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests. While that incipient political revolution was crushed, the working class was not smashed. In fact, the power it has shown in massive defensive struggles indicates the potential "to overthrow the bureaucracy" through proletarian political revolution.

Here we would note that Slee does not deign to mention his longtime affiliation with the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), whose forerunners during Cold War II ***enthusiosticolly supported*** imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces in the former Soviet sphere, from Lech Walesa's Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin's "democrats" in Russia. It is simply cowardly for Slee to evade answering the polemics in our first reply against the DSP's track record of support to capitalist counterrevolution.

These are not abstract historical disputes. The counterrevolutions that swept across the Soviet sphere following the collapse of Stalinist bonapartism were not historically inevitable. The fall of the "hardline" Stalinist regime of Erich Honecker in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in October 1989 precipitated an ***incipient proletorian political revolution***. At this critical moment in history, our international tendency mobilized all its available resources to intervene in the DDR in order to provide revolutionary leadership for the striving of East German workers for a genuinely socialist society.

Opposing the drive for reunification with the capitalist-imperialist West German state, we fought for the replacement of the disintegrating Stalinist regime in the DDR by a government based on democratically elected workers and soldiers councils. Such a workers government would have been a decisive step toward the revolutionary reunification of Germany, opening the road for proletarian

continued on page 13

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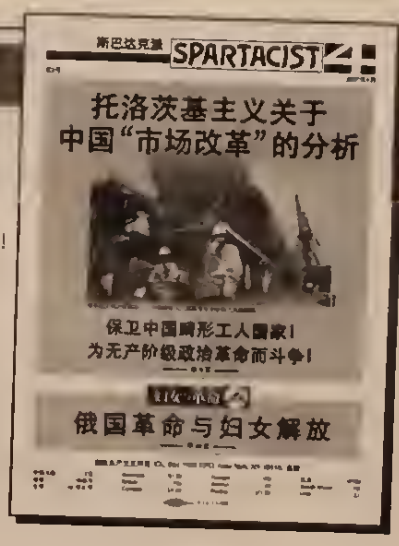

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Young Spartacus

EPA

Riot police attack March 8 student protest in Athens.

Trotskyists Say: Down With Government Attacks on Higher Education!

We print below a translation of an April 23 leaflet issued by the Tratskyist Group of Greece, sympathizing section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Since May-June 2006 student protests have shaken Greek society. Big demonstrations have taken place all over Greece, and around 400 campuses were occupied by angry students. Thousands have marched in weekly demonstrations, and the university teachers union supported their students with strikes. After the Easter break, two more demonstrations took place in Athens and Thessaloniki. Students have been protesting a broad range of changes in higher education which would amount to the privatization of the universities and increased social discrimination. The aim of these changes is to deny working-class and plebeian youth the right to higher education. We, the Trotskyist Group of Greece, protest these attacks. ***For free, quality education with decent living stipends for all!***

These "reforms" are a direct attack on the working class and poor who simply cannot afford to pay for their kids to get a proper education. According to the bourgeois newspaper *Eleftherotypia* (14 March), Greek households spent over 4.3 billion euros on education in 2006; this is equivalent to 2.2 percent of the gross national product. Almost every family pays for after-school lessons to help their children pass the university entrance exams. At the same time, the Greek state budget for education was just over 7 billion euros, equivalent to 3.5 percent of the GNP. "Free education" actually does not exist in Greek reality. With the decay of capitalism, there are increasingly fewer skilled jobs available, so the bourgeoisie sees less and less reason to spend money on higher education for working-class youth. Now the government obscenely plans to draft all youth into the army at age 18, keeping them out of the universities! We say: ***Down with conscription! Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army!*** However, so long as conscription exists, we also oppose any special privileges or exemptions, such as deferments, which are available mainly for petty-bourgeois students but not for working-class youth.

Attacks on Education and the Destruction of the "Welfare State"

The attacks on education in Greece are paralleled everywhere in Europe. They are accompanied by massive hikes in tuition, increased social discrimination and accelerated exclusion of working-class youth who have made it into the lower grades of university education, as well as the closure of departments teaching subjects which offer no increase in profits for the bourgeoisie. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union 15 years ago, the bourgeoisies of Europe consider that the costly concessions previously granted to the working class and oppressed, including in education, are no longer necessary to placate the working class and dissuade it from fighting to overthrow capitalist rule. Everywhere, the capitalist rulers have been slashing pension rights, health care, unemployment benefits. The so-called "welfare state" was a response to the threat to the bourgeoisie posed by the existence of the Soviet Union, which inspired class-conscious workers who saw in it a viable alternative to capitalist exploitation and misery.

Athens Indymedia

Workers demonstration in Athens during general strike in May 2005.

Just as we fought to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, we fight tooth and nail to defend the gains of the working class that are on the chopping block today. But our program is not to return to the status quo ante of the "welfare state." Our program is to fight for new October Revolutions! The capitalist system in its death agony is simply incapable of providing a decent education, a decent living and a decent future for mankind. It must be overthrown. Only the working class has the social power and historic interest to accomplish this because, through its labor, it creates the profits that are the motor force of the capitalist system. We fight to build the revolutionary, internationalist workers party, like Lenin's Bolshevik Party, that the workers need to carry out a successful proletarian revolution. ***For a workers republic of Greece as part of a socialist federation of the Balkans! For the Socialist United States of Europe! Down with the capitalist European Union!***

The government's "reform" package includes a draft law and a proposed change to Article 16 of the Constitution, which stipulates the public character of higher education. The conservative New Democracy government, led by Kostas Karamanlis, aims to change this clause. It intends to turn universities into privately sponsored, competing institutions, limiting the number of study years [to complete a degree] and restricting government funding.

The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), a bourgeois party that from its birth in 1974 has been fully committed to defending the capitalist order in Greece, initially supported the change to the Constitution as well as the other attacks on higher education. As a result of the massive student and teacher mobilizations over the past year, PASOK has momentarily changed tack and abstained from the vote in parliament. However, PASOK is just as committed as New Democracy to streamlining public education to the detriment of the working class. The EU's "Bologna process," which coordinates attacks on higher education at the European level, was initiated at the end of the 1990s when all the major European countries were governed by social democrats—and the supposedly "left-wing" bourgeois PASOK governed in Greece.

The universities are capitalist institutions. As the Russian revolutionaries Bukharin and Preobrazhensky wrote in *The ABC of Communism*:

> "In bourgeois society the school has three principal tasks to fulfill. First, it inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime. Secondly, it creates from the young of the ruling classes 'cultured' controllers of the working population. Thirdly, it assists capitalist production in the application of sciences to technique, thus increasing capitalist profits."

And also:

> "Similarly, the capitalist State maintains specialists to stupefy and subdue the proletariat: it maintains bourgeois teachers and professors, the clergy, bourgeois authors and journalists. In the State schools these specialists teach children from their earliest years to obey capital and to despise and hate 'rebels.'... In the churches, the priests, who are salaried by the State, preach that all authority comes from God."

And the Greek priests do this in schools, as in tsarist Russia. The current Article 16 of the Greek Constitution further stipulates:

> "Education constitutes a basic mission for the state and shall aim at the moral, intellectual, professional and physical training of *Greeks*, the development of *national and religious consciousness*, and at their formation as free and responsible citizens." (emphasis added)
>
> —Greek Constitution, point 2 of Article 16

For the separation of church and state! Priests out of the universities! Close the theology departments! For free, scientific and secular education!

Capitalist exploitation entails oppressing and dividing the working class along ethnic and religious lines. The same state oppresses women, youth, gays, national minorities, immigrants and others. The working class in Greece today is multi-ethnic. There are workers from many nationalities, including a strong component of Albanian workers particularly in the building trades. As elsewhere in the world, the bourgeoisie uses racism to divide the working class and weaken it in the face of capitalist attacks. We fight to organize the unorganized, including immigrant and minority workers, into the unions. We put forward a program for ***full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their children***. This would include bilingual education as appropriate.

For the Class Independence of the Proletariat Against the Bourgeoisie! Down With the "Popular Front"!

The struggles over education in Greece started a year ago, in part inspired by the victory of French students that forced the Chirac government to back down on its CPE (First Employment Contract) scheme to generalize job insecurity for all

SYC Campus Protests Demand: Free Mumia Now!

Los Angeles

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in the case of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, the object of a vicious racist frame-up. The day before, the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout at UCLA under the slogans: "Mumia's Life Is in Danger—Mobilize Now! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Mumia Is an Innocent Man!" The speakout coincided with Black Wednesday, a weekly gathering of black students in response to the drastic decline in black enrollment at University of California campuses that was caused by skyrocketing tuition costs and the gutting of affirmative action. We drew attention from these black students, and other students stopped to hear about Mumia's case.

Our speakers described Mumia's history as a lifelong fighter against racial oppression, which is the background for his political frame-up by the cops and courts. We explained that the cops and courts are part of the bourgeois state, an instrument for the violent repression of the working class and the oppressed. The SYC emphasized the need to forge a revolutionary workers party, independent of the Democrats and all capitalist parties, that would fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. Students got a sense of why Mumia was known as "the voice of the voiceless" when we played the recorded greetings Mumia sent to the 2005 rallies that the Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black Leagues initiated in his defense and in defense of Lynne Stewart and Assata Shakur.

A representative of the African Student Union addressed the speakout, saying, "We stand in solidarity with the Partisan Defense Committee to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. It is critical that we look at political struggles and we understand that there are still political prisoners in this country." A supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) also spoke. Although the RCYB spokesman said, "We can't let the system kill this brother," the RCYB and its affiliate, the Revolutionary Communist Party, have actually helped to demobilize what was once a powerful international movement.

The Partisan Defense Committee's speaker, Valerie West, explained: "In January 1999 representatives of various reformist groups, including Workers World Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party's Refuse & Resist...along with the International [Concerned] Family and Friends of Mumia and others, joined to reject the call to free Mumia and to oppose the racist death penalty in favor of calling for a new trial." This was done as an appeal to bourgeois liberals who view Mumia's case as an aberration in an otherwise "fair and impartial" justice system. It meant rejecting the reason so many were drawn to Mumia's case—revulsion against the injustices inherent in capitalism: poverty, racial oppression, war.

West further explained that the mountains of evidence of Mumia's innocence make clear "that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, not a bad prosecutor or a racist judge, but of an entire so-called 'justice system' in which the cops, prosecutors and courts act to uphold the class interests of the capitalist rulers." The SYC seeks to mobilize students behind the social power of labor to fight to free Mumia as part of the fight to get rid of this racist capitalist system.

Chicago

On May 3, the Chicago SYC organized a speakout on the Main Quad of the University of Chicago demanding, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Chants including "Labor has the power to make the courts bow! Mumia is innocent—Free him now!" and "Execution is the legacy of chattel slavery—Abolish the racist death penalty!" drew students and campus workers to find out more about the case. The MC encouraged all those outraged by Mumia's frame-up to join the campaign: "Mumia is an innocent man, and every hour he sits in jail is an outrage.... We look to the power of the working class to bring its fist down on the capitalist court benches and demand his freedom."

Peach Indravudh/Daily Bruin

Young Spartacus

SYC-initiated speakouts: May 16 at UCLA (top) and May 3 at University of Chicago.

youth. The lessons of that struggle are particularly important to understand. Students can spark broader social struggles, but by themselves they don't have much social power. The French students won because the working class—including rail workers, energy workers and even contingents from private industry—struck and took to the streets in increasing numbers and determination. The mobilizations vividly showed the social power of the proletariat. [See "France: Workers, Students Beat Back Government Attack," *WV* No. 868, 14 April 2006.]

However, the victory in France was squandered by the union bureaucrats who, as soon as the CPE was dropped, immediately ordered the workers to abandon the protests and strikes. This was despite the fact that the other clauses of the same law that included the CPE—clauses that intensify the racist segregation of youth from the *banlieues* [suburban ghettos]—were maintained. The aim of the union bureaucrats and reformist parties was to channel the struggle against the CPE toward promoting a new popular front in the current French elections. A popular front is a capitalist alliance between capitalist parties and reformist parties of the working class —what we call bourgeois workers parties, such as the Greek Communist Party (KKE). We are for the independence of the working class from its class enemy, the bourgeoisie. We unconditionally oppose any support to any popular front. Now [the French Socialist Party's] Ségolène Royal, the chief candidate of the popular front, is proposing, among other attacks, the "CPC," which is a watered-down version of the CPE!

In Greece, too, the popular front has been the vehicle through which the KKE has tied the working class to its "own" bourgeoisie, whether with the Venizelists in the 1930s, when the popular front paved the way for the Metaxas coup; or in 1989-90 with the "great coalitions" between the KKE and the bourgeois parties, New Democracy and PASOK; or in recent years through the KKE alliance with the Democratic Social Movement (DIKKY), a nationalist split from PASOK. Leon Trotsky aptly described the popular-front policy of the treacherous workers parties as the biggest crime against the working class.

In Greece the little social-democratic tails of PASOK that have been active in the student movement (SEK—affiliates of the SWP [British Socialist Workers Party], Xekinima—affiliates of the CWI [Committee for a Workers' International] and others) have been agitating for a general strike. They complain that unlike in France, the unions have barely lifted a finger to defend the students when the right of working-class youth to a decent education is at stake. The leadership of the trade unions is based on a relatively privileged layer of Greek workers. They get a few crumbs thrown to them by the bourgeoisie. Based on this, they spread the illusion that workers have common interests with their "own" capitalists and thus should join them in partnership against foreign competitors.

Thus the union bureaucrats in Greece mostly support PASOK or the KKE, *both of which initially opposed the students' mobilizations*. While the General Federation of Greek Workers (GSEE), the All-Workers Fighting Front (PAME [affiliated with the KKE]) and the Highest Administration of Unions of Public Servants (ADEDY) did participate in some mobilizations, they didn't mobilize the organized working class in defense of the students' struggle. At bottom, the union leadership shares the view of the bourgeoisie that Greek universities must be "modernized." GSEE even applied to open its own private university as soon as privatization goes into effect!

ahistoryofgreece.com

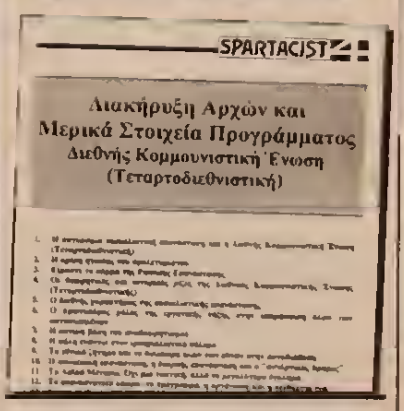
Tank patrols Athens street following crushing of 17 November 1973 student uprising at Polytechnic School.

Down With Police Repression Against Student Demonstrators!

The most recent wave of student demonstrations has faced the most vicious cop

continued on page 9

Available in Greek



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German Trotskyists on World War II

German Imperialism and the Lie of "Collective Guilt"

This part concludes this article, which was translated from Spartakist *No. 163 (Summer 2006), published by our comrades of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands. Part One appeared in* WV *No. 893 (25 May).*

PART TWO

The Trotskyists put up resistance under Nazi occupation during World War II (see *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'," February 1989). There are a few examples of resistance in Oskar Hippe's book [*And Red Is the Colour of Our Flag*]. Political questions arose in this context and frequently caused problems for the Trotskyists. Some capitulated politically to the bourgeois national resistance, others broke with the Trotskyist program in the opposite direction by denying that any aspect of the national question existed in Nazi-occupied Europe. Others, like the Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists (CRM), avoided these mistakes, and their struggle is exemplary.

The CRM recognized that there was an aspect of national oppression but firmly and correctly rejected any political cooperation with the organizations that wanted an Allied victory. They explained that the task of the proletariat in an occupied country is to struggle, together with the proletariat of the oppressor country, against every kind of social and national oppression and for the right of national self-determination. The CRM condemned the politics of the CPN (Communist Party of the Netherlands) as nationalist:

> "They carry the basest nationalist propaganda and try to pretend that their infamous traitorous policy is 'Leninist.' These shameless agents of Allied imperialism carry on a propaganda which openly supports British imperialism. They make propaganda for an English 'liberation' and intervention. All that Lenin wrote about American and English imperialism is ignored.... Together with the national bourgeoisie they try to obscure class antagonisms."

Against illusions in the nationalist resistance movements, the CRM stood for proletarian internationalism:

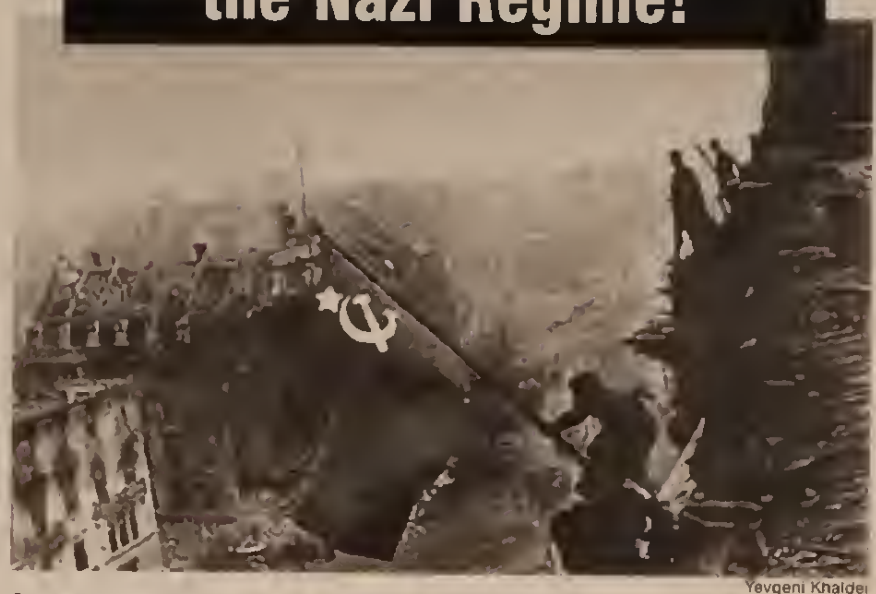
> "Always it was a joint and common conviction that only the working class through struggle with its own strength can reach victory, the Socialist society. That is why we did not, and will not, take an anti-German, but an anti-fascist stand. Not as fighters for the National Liberation of the Netherlands, but as fighters for the International Liberation of the World Proletariat through Socialist Revolution did our comrades fall. From that they take their great significance. It is in this spirit that our new paper *De Rode October* will write and the proletariat will gain the victory."
>
> —*De Rode October* [Red October] No. 1, June 1942; quoted in Wim Bot, "Generals Without Troops," *Revolutionary History* (Winter 1988-89)

And the CRM always saw the rebirth of the German workers movement as central:

> "A sound spirit of resistance is alive in the Dutch proletariat. The coming events will decide whether the German revolution or the Allied counterrevolution will utilise this spirit."
>
> —Political Declaration of August 1943, *De Rode October* No. 14

Another model for this revolutionary internationalism was the work of the French Trotskyists among the Wehrmacht soldiers in Brest. With their German-language newspaper *Arbeiter und Soldat* [Worker and Soldier], they fought for the fraternization of French workers and the German workers who had to serve in Hitler's armies. There is an enormous difference between the proletarian internationalism of the Trotskyists and what the French Stalinists did. The Stalinists' propaganda can only be translated as "The only good German is a dead German," or "Everyone gets his Kraut." This ugly nationalism could only serve to strengthen the control of the German ruling class and the Nazis over the German proletariat. The chauvinist policies of the Stalinists, who supported their own bourgeoisie in the name of democracy, were an obstacle to breaking German workers and soldiers from nationalism and an obstacle to the revolutionary Socialist United States of Europe, for which the Trotskyists fought.

The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!



Yevgeni Khaldei

Soviet soldiers raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 2 May 1945.

The Wehrmacht: An Imperialist Army

In discussing the question of the Wehrmacht, the decisive thing is that in the course of the war 18 million Germans were drafted into it. This means that at any point during the war, every second German man was in the Wehrmacht. Five million German soldiers died. The Wehrmacht was a compulsory army, an imperialist army that carried out bloody massacres from the very start. But in this it was ***not*** different from the other imperialist armies.

Ulrich von Hassel, who took part in the 20 July 1944 officers' plot against Hitler, described some of it. This resistance was made up mainly of some of Hitler's officers who were disappointed that they could not win the war with him. But some of them—the best known being von Treskow and von Stauffenberg—were also motivated by human outrage at the crimes in the East. On 18 August 1941, two months after the invasion of the Soviet Union began, Ulrich von Hassel wrote:

> "The whole war in the East was dreadful, general savage destruction. A young officer received the order to mow down 350 civilians who had been led into a barn, and among whom were women and children. At first he refused. He was then notified of what would happen if he refused to obey orders. He requested ten minutes to think it over. Finally he did it together with some others, opening machine-gun fire on the crowd through the open barn door."
>
> —Exhibition catalogue, *Der Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941-1945* [The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945]

This officer then incurred a light injury to ensure that he would never again return to the front. There is also an army mail services letter from a noncommissioned officer who wrote:

> "They say that an order was given by the Führer that prisoners and anyone who surrenders can no longer be executed. This makes me happy. At last!"
>
> —Ibid.

And then he described the horror that all this had meant for him. The letters by soldiers that are quoted show that many also shared Nazi ideology. This is not at all surprising, as the Nazis were a petty-bourgeois mass movement; and it would be simply illusory to expect that opponents of the Nazi regime would express their opposition openly in letters from the front, which were subjected to military censorship. The soldier Kurt Vogeler was horrified by the brutal war: "What a disastrous war it is, this massacre of people in eastern Europe! A heinous crime against humanity!" And this is how Helmut Altner described the alternative for soldiers: "There were only two possibilities. Death by a bullet from the enemy or by the 'thugs' of the SS" (quoted in Stephen G. Fritz, *Frontsoldaten: The German Soldier in World War II*).

But the Wehrmacht leadership fully shared the whole policy of genocide and was completely interwoven with the Nazis. Even before the attack on the Soviet Union, there was a "Commissar Order" issued by Wilhelm Keitel [head of the German Armed Forces High Command] on 6 June 1941 that said:

> "The troops must be aware that:
>
> 1) In this battle, mercy and considerations of international law are wrong with regard to these elements....
>
> 2) The political commissars are the instigators of barbarous Asian methods of combat. Measures against them must therefore be taken immediately, summarily and with utmost severity.
>
> They are therefore, when caught in combat or resistance, always to be executed immediately."
>
> —*The War Against the Soviet Union 1941-1945*

The duty of revolutionaries was to win the soldiers of the Wehrmacht to a revolutionary program. It was a draft army, and in World War II there was no chance of escaping the draft. At first the Wehrmacht did not draft politically unreliable people, but later it did. Political prisoners from the concentration camps were also sent to the front in so-called punishment battalions. They were given only light weapons and usually had to search for

During Nazi occupation of France, Trotskyists fought to organize among Wehrmacht soldiers. Martin Monat (top) initiated *Arbeiter und Soldat* (Worker and Soldier) and was shot by Gestapo in 1944. Robert Cruau (above) organized cells in Brest and was shot by Nazis in 1943. Above left: Mimeographed *Journal for the Soldier and Worker in the West* put out by German soldiers recruited to Fourth International.

mines in front of the German lines, which was a deadly job. The historian Omer Bartov illustrated these contradictions in his impressive book, *Hitler's Army*:

> "While the Kaiser's armies in World War I only executed 48 soldiers from their own ranks, in World War II between 13,000 and 15,000 soldiers were executed by their own army.... Leaving aside the many thousands transferred to punishment battalions between the end of August 1939 and mid 1944, no fewer than 23,124 soldiers had been sentenced to long prison terms, 83,346 for over a year and another 320,042 for under one year."

Others report that 20,000 Wehrmacht soldiers were executed for desertion or refusal to obey orders.

In light of these huge numbers, also bear in mind that the pressure on the soldiers was increased further by the fact that, as Bartov notes, those who had been executed lost their citizenship, so that their dependents could not claim a pension. Many rightly feared that their families would suffer repression. This powerfully illustrates that the contradictions of a society are always found in concentrated form in the army. The class line between soldiers, who were workers in uniform, and officers, who carry out the interests of the bourgeoisie, could not be clearer. This does not, however, prevent Bartov from arguing for collective guilt at the end of the book. But to do this he has to rely mainly on statements made by the Nazi brass and on pure moralism. He does not succeed in proving his claim that all the soldiers stood behind the Nazi regime.

One of the most important collective-guilt campaigns in recent years, at least with regard to the Wehrmacht, was the exhibition, "War of Extermination. Crimes of the Wehrmacht, 1941-1944." In his 2004 book *Vom Verschwinden der Täter* [The Disappearance of the Culprits], Hannes Heer, who directed the first exhibition, supports the statement by Jan Philipp Reemtsma:

> "And the director of the Institute underlined this notion of the Wehrmacht being the quintessence of the *Volksgemeinschaft* [one united people] and *the* point of intersection between the population and Nazi crimes. He explained at the opening of the exhibition on 5 March 1995 that its explosive nature came from the fact that it does not show the criminal role of the elites in the Nazi period, as has become common, but rather the 'potential crimes of ordinary people, of everybody's husband, father, brother, uncle, grandfather.' The exhibit therefore provided an answer to the question of how 'perfectly normal people' (usually men, but not only) could do 'something like that'."
>
> —*Krieg ist ein Gesellschaftszustand* [War Is a State of Society], edited by the Hamburg Institute for Social Research, Hamburg 1998

The purpose of the Wehrmacht exhibit was the same as that of Daniel Goldhagen's 1996 book *Hitler's Willing Executioners—Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*: to put the blame for the Nazi crimes on the so-called "ordinary people," the "perfectly normal people." That's collective guilt. But unlike Goldhagen, the exhibit did not try to torment people with a boring, thousand-page-long pseudo-academic paper. Instead it displayed appalling photos of crimes, in which soldiers were sometimes shown. It reached a wide public, not just a few scholarly historians. From its opening on 5 March 1995 until it was finally closed down on 31 March 2004, it was shown in 34 German and Austrian cities. Almost a million people visited it, and even more read and argued about it. The exhibit deeply polarized the whole country, much more so than did Goldhagen's book (see also "The Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism," *Spartacist* [German edition] No. 20, Summer 1998 [*WV* Nos. 697, 698 and 699, 25 September, 9 October and 23 October 1998]).

The exhibition basically tries to prove collective guilt by saying that the Wehrmacht participated in the Holocaust and therefore there was no difference between the ordinary soldier and the Wehrmacht officers or the SS. One section of the exhibition showed pictures of mass shootings of more than 30,000 Jewish women, children, old people and men in 1941 at Babi Yar. In this case it was the Security Service (SD) of the SS which carried out the massacre and not Wehrmacht soldiers. The Wehrmacht did carry out massacres against civilians and took part in the "combat against partisans" whether in the Soviet Union or in Greece, Serbia and other places. But the real question is what was the unique character of the Holocaust—because it was indeed unique.

FSU Holocaust Institute

1941 Nazi mass murder of Jews at Babi Yar in Ukraine. Only workers revolution can eradicate the fascist menace once and for all!

Of course, in a certain sense Babi Yar marked the beginning of the Holocaust, because the Jewish minority of the Kiev population was singled out to be murdered. On the other hand there have been massacres of innocent civilians in many imperialist wars—for example, the massacre of Filipinos by U.S. troops at the beginning of the 20th century. One of the most horrible examples, where the numbers were even larger than at Babi Yar, was the Nanjing massacre by the Japanese in 1937. Three hundred thousand Chinese civilians were butchered, 80,000 women were raped. There have been other horrible crimes, such as the massacres in India by the British army, or the war by the U.S. in the Pacific, which was waged in a racist fashion against the Japanese (the "yellow peril" in World War II).

But what is specific and unique about the Holocaust is that the extermination *of whole peoples*, Jews, Roma and Sinti [gypsies], *was organized on an industrial scale*. In the course of World War II, German imperialism under Nazi leadership killed eleven million people. And many of those were killed with industrial methods. They could not have achieved this any other way. Scientists, administrators, technical specialists and civil engineers, in sum a huge administrative apparatus, was used to organize the death factories. That is a crime which to date is unique—*to date*, because it is basically an expression of capitalism in its death agony. And the Nazi ideology about the *Götterdämmerung* [twilight of the gods] and *Weltuntergang* [end of the world] was just an expression of the fact that the bourgeoisie will not voluntarily give up its power, even if it means the end of all mankind.

The conservatives, up to and including the fascists, were up in arms against the Wehrmacht exhibition; there was hardly a city in which the exhibition was not met by a Nazi march. This peaked in Munich in 1997, when 5,000 people, mobilized by the respectable CSU [Christian Social Union] together with the Nazis, marched against the exhibition. Fifteen thousand protested against the Nazis in spite of an enormous police presence protecting the Nazis. It was clear that leftists defended the Wehrmacht exhibition against the provocations of the Nazis, who were denying that there was a Holocaust (or approved of it) and who mobilized for new genocide with banners such as "Victory and Honor to the Waffen SS!"

Left anti-fascist groups organized demos against the Nazi scum, but the political program of the anti-fascists, which is popular-frontist, is entirely bourgeois. And just like every bourgeois anti-fascist, they reject the working class. In this way, the anti-fascists objectively sow illusions in bourgeois democracy. Instead of looking to class-struggle worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash the Nazis, they rely on individual resistance. This also leads them to blame every German individual for the Holocaust. And that is precisely why the anti-communist, pro-Zionist forces known as "anti-Germans" can recruit from the anti-fascist milieu. It is not such a big step to go from rejecting a class-struggle perspective against fascism—and against the capitalist system that gives birth to fascism—to supporting an imperialist butcher like Bomber Harris [British Air Marshal during World War II who oversaw the firebombing of Dresden and other German cities]. And it is not a big leap either between spreading the lie of collective guilt and supporting Zionist terror against the Palestinian people by the Israeli state.

With its propaganda for "collective guilt," the left not only exonerates the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz but also prepares the ground for the Nazis. The Nazis attacked the Wehrmacht exhibition because it showed SS and Wehrmacht crimes in particular against the Soviet Union. To mobilize support for this in the population, the Nazis countered collective guilt with slogans such as "Grandpa was no criminal!" Because of its rejection of the proletariat, leftists like the Hamburg autonome group AVANTI could only counter that "our grandfathers were criminals!" (speech by AVANTI, 27 March 2004).

To claim that the drafted soldiers were counterrevolutionary scum and Nazis because they were forced to carry out massacres disappears the class line that runs through *every* imperialist draft army between the bourgeois officer corps and the ordinary soldiers, who mainly come from the working class. And it disappears the difference between the Wehrmacht, a compulsory army, and the voluntary elite units of Hitler's regime, such as the SS, SD and Gestapo. The German bourgeoisie counted on the Nazis to save their class rule. In an interview in the *tageszeitung* newspaper on 6 June 2006, the historian Ulrich Herbert welcomes the left's ideological rollback to collective guilt and has nothing but contempt for its criticism of capitalism in the '60s: "After 1968 the West German left no longer addressed the question of the Nazi past. Instead, they pursued an 'analysis of fascism' in the tradition of the communist left. The Nazi regime was made a variant of 'bourgeois rule.' You can call this a phase of secondary repression—this time by the left."

continued on page 8

Hulton-Getty

Japan Peace Museum

Left: Dresden one year after Allies' 1945 firebombing. Right: Hiroshima following U.S. A-bomb blast, August 1945.

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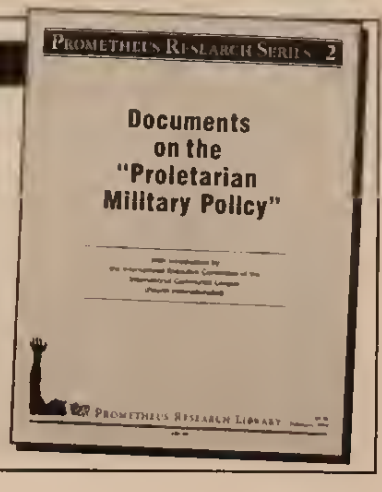

German Imperialism...

(continued from page 7)

Why does the bourgeoisie like collective guilt today? In order to cover up for its own real crimes: If everybody is guilty, then the bourgeoisie no longer is. And the German army was already terrible in World War I, as Karl Liebknecht had noted about the Prussian military. That was an imperialist war. The war against the Soviet Union 25 years later was a counterrevolutionary war, not qualitatively different from the imperialists' colonial wars. Just look at what imperialist Belgium did in the Congo. In the first few years of Belgian colonial rule, an estimated ten million people—about 50 percent of the original population—were murdered. In the fight against Algerian independence at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the French imperialists killed a million people, a tenth of the whole population. And in 1945, British and American imperialism reduced Dresden to ashes and the U.S. dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians in cold blood. All these are the crimes of the imperialist bourgeoisies and not of the working class of the respective countries.

Postwar Revolutionary Wave in Europe

As the bourgeoisies had feared, there was a revolutionary wave following World War II. In Italy, the PCI [Communist Party of Italy]-led partisan movement overthrew the Mussolini fascists and the working class was armed. But in line with its popular-front policy, the PCI cheered the Americans as their allies, disarmed the partisans and allowed a bourgeois state to be re-established. The revolution was prevented only thanks to the Stalinists' betrayal. In Greece, British imperialism bloodily suppressed the armed partisan movement.

In France, as in Germany, the bourgeoisie had lost all credibility in the eyes of the workers because it had thrown itself into Hitler's arms so that he would solve its problem with the working class. The great majority of the bourgeoisie had embraced the Vichy regime, which was put in place after the occupation of France and collaborated with the Nazis in the extermination of the French Jews, for example. Incidentally, in France as well as in Italy the Allies' attitude that fascism was something purely German was not very convincing. In these countries, the Stalinist CPs, strengthened by the authority of the Soviet victory, were instrumental in saving the rule of the bourgeoisie.

With regard to the postwar revolutionary wave, Germany was no exception. The key is to understand that the soldiers who committed the crimes were forced to do so. These weren't *their* crimes, as the collective-guilt moralists claim. Of course some of them had become insensitive butchers. But there was also another conclusion one could draw, namely rage—to come back with rage and smash this German bourgeoisie and its capitalist system. History is written by the victors, and the history told today about World War II came into being *after* the defeat of the postwar revolutionary wave in Europe, which also shook Germany; *after* the collective-guilt brainwash took place; and *after* the workers had been told by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] and PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] following the [1990] capitalist reunification that they could not change anything, they could not do anything and capitalism will exist forever. But the workers who came back from the war, and the workers who had lived through it, wanted socialism. After 1945, every party spoke of socialism, even the CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. Only the KPD [German Communist Party] spoke out against it.

no credit

Cahiers Léon Trotsky

Cahiers Léon Trotsky

Dietz Verlag Berlin

May Day, 1945: 15,000 prisoners celebrate liberation from Buchenwald concentration camp. At right from top to bottom: Marcel Beaufrère, Ernst Federn and Karl Fischer, prisoners who organized Trotskyist cell in Buchenwald.

There are a lot of reports about what was going on in Germany directly after the war, which you will not find in the official version of history. The historian Wolfram Wette, who mainly tends toward collective guilt, wrote a book about the Wehrmacht. This book is pretty useful because it also gives examples that contradict Wette's own collective-guilt line. On the one hand, he writes that millions identified with the Wehrmacht, even after the war, that the Wehrmacht really wasn't so bad and that it was all just Hitler and the SS. But then he writes, in complete contradiction to this:

> "The Wehrmacht was the force which embodied the war, so to speak. Those who welcomed the end of the terrible war did not shed any tears for the Wehrmacht, which had in any case been forced to disband. The millions of ordinary soldiers certainly were pleased that the officers who, by enacting military orders, had for years been the masters of life and death had this power taken away from them. Unlike World War I, when millions of people united under the slogan 'Never Again War!', many Germans now articulated a much more radical and concrete slogan. It was: Never Again the Military!"
>
> —Wolfram Wette, *Die Wehrmacht*

In 1949 there was an opinion poll in which people were asked if they were for a new Wehrmacht, for rearmament. Six percent were for, *71 percent were against*. But this pacifist opposition could in no way prevent the rearmament of German imperialism. To defeat German militarism, it is necessary to overthrow the German bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. Collective-guilt ideology, not least thanks to the SPD/Green government, ensured that the Bundeswehr could once again be sent to the Balkans [in 1999] and elsewhere.

In his contribution to the 8 May 2005 commemoration of the liberation of Germany from Nazism [mentioned in Part One of this article], Peter Gingold gave a further argument for collective guilt and the support that Hitler supposedly enjoyed until the end: "Not even once, when all of Germany except Berlin was liberated, not even then was there an uprising, or a call to stop the fighting! Thirty thousand Soviet soldiers still had to die to liberate this city." The December 1945 resolution of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International gives a good answer, in a direct way:

> "The German workers, despite the betrayal of their leadership, heroically defended themselves. The thousands of martyrs alone make the thesis of 'collective guilt' an insult to these heroes of the German proletariat. Even up to the end, when the Allied armies were laying carpets of bombs over the workers' sections and seriously paralyzing any full scale resistance against Hitler, the German revolutionary workers engaged in strikes and demonstrations against fascism. Deserters from the German army together with foreign workers rose against the SS. In some towns the workers in daring insurrections even seized power before the Allied armies arrived."

There is a whole series of examples of fighting between the Wehrmacht and the SS at the end of the war. In his autobiography, Oskar Hippe describes how he argued in his group that, together with other workers parties, it should "build up resistance groups of a military nature which, when the Allied troops had reached German soil, would be able to intervene in the fight against the German army." The intention was that the German proletariat would not passively wait for liberation—which was the policy of the Stalinists.

In 1945-46, there was a debate about the German working class in the Fourth International. Ernest Mandel [Germain], who was a genuine Trotskyist at the time, wrote a useful polemic. In 1953 he would become one of the leaders of the Pabloite tendency that broke with authentic Trotskyism. This tendency was characterized by political impressionism and the search for non-proletarian forces as substitutes for the working class; Mandel then denied the need for building revolutionary workers parties. But in a December 1945 article, in a section subtitled "The Legend of the Complete Passivity of the German Proletariat," he argued correctly:

> "We know that with the approach of the Red Army, the agricultural workers of Mecklenburg seized the land they had wanted for centuries. We know that at the same time the workers of Saxony hoisted red flags over their factories and elected genuine Soviets. (One of our Belgian Trotskyists took part in one of the factory committees created when the Russian troops entered Dresden. Included on this committee were several Left Communists opposed to Stalinism.) We know that local civil wars broke out almost everywhere, between the SS on one side and the Volkssturm [militia] or the Wehrmacht on the other. We know that as early as 1943, an attempted uprising was crushed at Hamburg. And finally, and most important of all, we know that the moment the Nazi apparatus collapsed, the imperialist armies and the army of the Soviet bureaucracy installed a far more stable and no less harsh police apparatus in all the sections of the country. Under these conditions, it would be truly shameful to label the courageous attitude of the German proletariat as 'universal passivity'."
>
> —published in English as "The First Phase of the European Revolution," *Fourth International* (August 1946)

Other examples are given, for instance, in the book by Richard Pritchard, *The Making of the GDR—From Antifascism to Stalinism*, which is worth reading. And in *Spartakist* No. 59 (November/December 1988) there is another example, of the Hamburg harbor workers who in 1938 helped Jews and organized collections for them. The article quotes from the book *Alltag der Entrechteten* [Everyday Life of the Voiceless] by Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer: "In Eimshüttel, the workers took back the goods which the National Socialists had stolen and gave them back to their owners."

The very important Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald of 20 April 1945, which was reprinted in both *Spartakist* and *Spartacist* [English edition No. 26, Winter 1979], put forward a program for workers revolution in Germany. It had, however, the important programmatic weakness of not explaining the necessity for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and left open the class character of the Soviet Union. Their slogans included:

> "Dissolution of the Wehrmacht and its replacement by workers militias!
>
> Immediate free election of workers and peasants councils throughout all of Germany and a convocation of a general congress of these councils!
>
> Not one man, not one penny for the war debts and the war reparations of the bourgeoisie!
>
> The bourgeoisie must pay!
>
> For pan-German socialist revolution! Against a dismemberment of Germany! Revolutionary fraternization with the proletarians of the occupying armies!
>
> For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils!
>
> For world proletarian revolution!"

In the tradition of the heroic internationalist struggle of the Trotskyists in World War II, we Spartakists want to build a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that fights to overthrow the rule of the hourgeoisie of Auschwitz through workers revolution.■

Keystone

Striking Renault auto workers in Boulogne-Billancourt, France, 1947. Class battles raged in Europe following WWII.

CORRECTION

Part One of the article "German Imperialism and the Lie of 'Collective Guilt'" (*WV* No. 893, 25 May) stated in regard to Stalin's massive purge of the Soviet officer corps in the lead-up to World War Two: "Rokossovsky, one of the most important generals in the Soviet struggle for the liberation of Europe, had fortunately not been murdered but only transferred, and was therefore able to become active again. Even Zhukov had been purged, but he was reinstated because there were not enough officers." In fact, K. K. Rokossovsky was imprisoned under brutal conditions in August 1937, released in March 1940 and promptly restored to military command. G. K. Zhukov, while questioned during the purges, was not himself purged.

Greece...

(continued from page 5)

attacks. On March 8, one of the largest demonstrations in the last decade drew around 35,000 students and teachers from all over Greece. The protest was brutally attacked by the police, who filled the center of Athens with tear gas for hours and the hospitals with the injured. The police arrested 61 people. Eight of them face misdemeanor charges and are out of jail on bail. Of those remaining, 49 appeared in court on April 16 where the charges were dropped. One of the protesters arrested, Vassily Stergiou, a 37-year-old construction worker, has been imprisoned since March 13. He is threatened with felony charges, including possession and fabrication of explosives, attempted homicide, forming a mob and resistance to authorities. We say: *Free Vassily Stergiou! Release all leftist prisoners now! Drop the charges against all those arrested at the March 8 demonstration and at the other protests in defense of education!*

What sparked the outcry from the government, the media and the left after the March 8 demonstration? A sentry box at the memorial for the Unknown Soldier—a national monument in front of the parliament—was burnt down by a group of anarchists during the demonstration. The same night, a Greek flag was burnt at a spontaneous protest in Thessaloniki in defense of those arrested. The TGG defends the anarchists against the witchhunt by the Greek capitalist state and its police forces. *An injury to one is an injury to all! Free Yotopoulos and the other detainees allegedly in "17 November"!* ["17 November" is a group that grew out of opposition to the rule of the military junta in Greece from 1967-74, was formed after the junta's fall and has generally targeted representatives of the bourgeois state and imperialism.]

For all their spectacular actions against symbols of the Greek capitalist state, the anarchists are not at all radical enemies of the bourgeois state. Their petty-bourgeois outlook is alien to the perspective of international proletarian revolution:

> "Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to 'all dictatorships,' including dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers."
>
> —Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain* (1938)

In the Spanish Civil War, the political outlook of the anarchists led them to enter the bourgeois popular-front government, along with the Stalinists, strangling the proletarian revolution and saving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What anarchists really hate is the dictatorship of the proletariat—past, present and future. Thus they hailed the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, which brought misery to the toiling masses in the former USSR and East Europe and emboldened the bourgeoisies of the world to increase their attacks on the working class, launch new wars and intensify their drive against the remaining deformed workers states. *We unconditionally defend the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack and counterrevolution from within. We fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and replace them with regimes based on proletarian democracy and revolutionary internationalism.*

Bettmann

Above: Communist-led ELAS anti-Nazi partisans in Piraeus, December 1944. Right: ELAS general Sarafis (at left) with British commander and anti-Communist Greek guerrilla leader in 1945. Stalinists disarmed working class, entered capitalist government.

Hulton-Deutsch

The resurgence of anarchism in recent years is the produet of the retrogression of working-class consciousness as a result of the eatastrophic defeat in the Soviet Union and the relentless "death of communism" campaign by the bourgeoisie. Many workers and youth today don't identify their struggles with the emancipatory ideals of communism.

However anti-communist they are, the anarchists may appear radical to some youth, given the wretched prostration of the rest of the Greek left before the bourgeois state. Most of the so-called left, starting with the KKE, takes a side *with* the Greek capitalist state by not defending the anarchists, calling them "hooded" and "*bachala*" (chaotic), and accusing them of provoking violent cop attacks by throwing Molotov cocktails and stones. As if without the stones, the cops would put away their clubs and cease being the armed fist to defend the private property of the bourgeoisie.

For example, Xekinima, sister organization of the CWI in Greece, wrote in its March newspaper:

> "What the student movement should deal with is how much is being damaged by these methods [of the anarchists].. We also have to prove that we are in the position of defending [academic] asylum as much against the forces of repression as against those who offer the best argument to the government for demolishing it. The slogan '[Academic] asylum belongs to all the people' cannot mean tolerance toward every bunch of anarchists that hides behind it."

This is no surprise from the likes of Xekinima, whose official line on cops is that they are "workers in uniform" (see the Spartacist pamphlet *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, 1994). But the recent repression has once again shown that the cops, as well as the army and prison guards, are an apparatus of violence designed to protect capitalist profits and rule against the exploited and oppressed. This apparatus of violence will be destroyed in a workers revolution and replaced by proletarian organs of power.

"Academic Asylum" and the Bourgeois State

Among other changes proposed by the bourgeois parliament is limiting "academic asylum." Academic asylum means that the armed forces (e.g., the army and police) can supposedly enter the campus only if duly authorized by the administrative council. Academic asylum originates from 1973, when a student uprising took place at Polytechnic School during the dictatorship of the colonels. The students were smashed when the army drove their tanks into the university. More than 34 students were killed. This event played an important role in the fall of the junta in 1974. Academic asylum was a concession granted by the Greek bourgeoisie at a time when they were thoroughly discredited by their support to the bloody colonels' regime. They sought to give a "democratic" mask to their murderous rule and to ensure a peaceful transition to the first Karamanlis government. Rolling back this asylum inevitably reminds people of the dark days of the colonels' police dictatorship.

We oppose the scrapping of academic asylum because we oppose any measure that reinforces the repressive powers of the bourgeois state. But the bourgeoisie, which preaches that its laws are sacrosanct as a way of keeping the workers and oppressed in line, will have no scruples about violating such laws if it sees the need. No scrap of paper will make it hesitate for a split second to defend its fundamental class interests by whatever means it finds necessary. The drive to scrap academic asylum is directed against radical students, particularly those from the anarchist milieu who have taken to fleeing into the Polytechnic in Athens when pursued by the police. It is in fact the capitulation by the left to the anti-anarchist witchhunt that has paved the way for the conservative government to limit academic asylum under the pretext of cleaning out anarchist "hoodlums" from Greek campuses. It is a measure of the underlying reformism of fake-socialist groups like SEK and Xekinima that they do not challenge the students' widespread illusions that the academic asylum law will really protect them from the organized violence of the bourgeois state.

The little social democrats à la SEK and Xekinima as well as the KKE are now busy trying to channel the movement into...student elections! Subsequently, after the Easter break, the turnout at protests and the number of occupied universities decreased. To carry out student elections you need to...stop occupying the campuses! One Nectarios Dargakis from the SEK-controlled "Genoa initiative" said bluntly in *Ergatiki Allilenghii* [Workers Solidarity] (28 March):

> "The basic objective is to isolate the DAP [New Democracy's student wing]. As we have done this through the movement let us do the same in the elections, which is much more difficult.... We are making this proposal to the whole occupation bloc [those who were in favor of occupying the campuses], and this means from the left PASP [PASOK's student wing] to the autonomes and the independent groups."

Whatever their meek criticisms of PASOK, at bottom the Cliffites of the SEK are working to restore its credibility in the name of "fighting the right."

We warn against illusions that the university was ever a safe haven free from encroachments by the bourgeois state. The administrative council, which is elected by the students and teachers, is a body dedicated to administering the university on behalf of the bourgeoisie. It follows a budget granted and controlled by the government, and its majority is firmly in the hands of senior professors. We are for worker, student, teacher control of the universities, not for the unions and students doing the dirty work of the capitalists. To fight to wrest the universities from the capitalists means a struggle to overthrow the whole system through a workers revolution.

The Trotskyist Group of Greece, sympathizing section of the ICL, stands on the side of the students in their fight against the attacks by the Greek bourgeoisie. We fight to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party that will fight for the interests of all the oppressed and exploited. Such a party would mobilize the power of labor to defend students, teachers and education for working-class, immigrant and minority youth. *Defend the students' fight! Mobilize the social power of the multiethnic working class!*

To come to the understanding of the need for socialist revolution—smashing the capitalist system and replacing the repressive machinery of the capitalist state with a workers state—the working class needs a revolutionary vanguard party. Such a party would consistently fight against the venom of bourgeois ideology and lead the proletariat to political power. *For new October Revolutions worldwide! For a revolutionary workers party, section of a reforged Fourth International!* ■

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 6.

Speech at Berlin Rally

Mumia Abu-Jamal: The Frame-Up of an Innocent Man

We print below an edited presentation by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, a member of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team from 1995 to 1999, at a rally in Berlin on May 12. Held in the lead-up to Mumia's May 17 federal appeals court hearing, the rally was called by the Committee for Social Defense, the PDC's fraternal defense organization in Germany, as part of an international campaign to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf. (For a report on the Berlin rally and a similar event in London on May 5, see "International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!" WV No. 893, 25 May.)

In the U.S. last month, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308 in Chicago reaffirmed its support for Mumia's freedom, and dozens of members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the ATU Black Caucus added their names to the PDC's call to free Mumia based on his innocence.

It's been 25 years since Mumia's conviction for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, a crime the police, prosecution and courts know Mumia did not commit. Mumia has been on death row all this time, isolated in a cell that he describes as living in a toilet. He was framed up for his political beliefs and activism, for having been a Black Panther Party (BPP) member, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who fought with passion and conviction against racial, ethnic and class bias, against cop terror, for social justice.

As Mumia said some 17 years ago in the interview in the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, he is "fighting to create revolution in America. Revolution means total change." Since then Mumia has not changed his political views. He has not been intimidated into silence.

To the capitalist rulers, Mumia represents the spectre of black revolt, of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. For them, Mumia is a dead man on leave. All elements of the "criminal justice system" supported by both parties of American capitalism, Democrats as well as Republicans, have colluded to kill this innocent man.

Why is Mumia's cause one that needs to be fought for internationally? The PDC took up Mumia's case in 1987, some 20 years ago, because Mumia's case is the fight against the ultimate weapon of state terror, the death penalty. We are opposed to the death penalty as a matter of principle. We do not accord to the state the right to determine who shall live and who shall die. In the U.S., the death penalty is the legacy of slavery, racist legal lynching.

We also took up Mumia's case as part of the fight against the state deeming perceived political opponents to be terrorists. The Black Panther Party and the MOVE organization were considered the terrorists of that time. And that meant it was legitimate for the state to blow them away in the dead of night, to frame them up on vague conspiracy charges. Mumia was targeted by the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), placed under daily surveillance at the age of 15 and put on the list of those to be rounded up and put in concentration camps. Mumia's conviction and death sentence were the continuation of the government vendetta against the Black Panther Party that led to the murder of 38 Panthers and the frame-up convictions of hundreds, and part of the crescendo of legal frame-ups and outright terror tactics directed at the MOVE organization.

WV Photo

Philadelphia, May 17: PDC contingent at rally for Mumia combatted illusions in capitalist courts sown by WWP's International Action Center and other reformists.

Spartakist

May 12: Werner Brand of Committee for Social Defense addressing Berlin rally calling for Mumia's freedom.

The fight for Mumia Abu-Jamal has everything to do with the fight against the post-September 11 "war on terror," which has led to witchhunts against immigrants, primarily Muslims, and provided justification for the evisceration of democratic rights and a massive increase in state surveillance and repressive measures, including the open use of torture. Mumia's fight is the fight for every immigrant, such as Oury Jalloh, a 21-year-old African refugee who on 7 January 2005 burned to death in his Dessau, Germany, prison cell with his hands and feet tied; for leftists such as Red Army Faction (RAF) member Wolfgang Grams, who was executed in 1993 by a shot to the head by the GSG-9 "anti-terrorist" cops, and for his RAF comrades imprisoned for decades in an anti-Communist witchhunt; for leftists rounded up and arrested across Germany earlier this week to preclude protest against next month's G8 meeting in Heiligendamm; for workers who face increased attacks on wages, benefits, rights.

Mumia's fight is against racist state terror, reflected in the video showing a Bundeswehr (German Army) instructor telling a soldier to envision machine-gunning blacks. The ultimate target of this state repression is the multiracial workers movement. The fight to free Mumia is part of the fight for black liberation, and the broader fight for socialist revolution and therefore for the liberation of us all.

Mumia's Trial: A Kangaroo Court

We are here on the eve of Mumia's appeal arguments in the federal court on May 17. In a matter of a few months, the court will decide what is next for Mumia—death, life in prison or possibly more legal proceedings. The U.S. federal appeals court is not required to consider all the issues that Mumia has raised—and virtually every democratic right, from freedom of speech and association to a trial based on due process, was violated in Mumia's case. The appeals court is deciding whether or not to uphold Mumia's death sentence. The court is ***not*** considering ***any*** evidence of Mumia's innocence or the state frame-up. The state and federal courts have refused to even consider the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner.

The federal court of appeals is "allowing" only three of Mumia's more than 20 legal issues. These are the racially biased jury selection and the D.A.'s prejudicial summary argument undermining the jury's role by stating that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal." Lastly, the court is hearing a challenge to the kangaroo-court, lynch mob post-conviction hearings from 1995 to 1997 before the notorious judge Albert Sabo, popularly known as the King of Death Row. Sabo outright stated at the time of the 1982 trial that "I'm going to help them fry the n----r."

In fact, the legal arguments before the appeals court are issues researched, developed and formulated in the lower courts by myself and Jon Piper, another lawyer associated with the PDC who was part of Mumia's legal team. In the abstract, considering the questions of law and fact applied to Mumia's case, there is no reason that Mumia should not win on appeal. But the reality is that the capitalist courts do not mete out impartial justice—and Mumia is a man the state wants dead.

To impact on that upcoming appeals court decision, a mass mobilization based on the international working class and its allies is necessary and urgent, now more than ever. The mobilization must be on the basis that Mumia is an innocent man, the "voice of the voiceless," a man on death row because of a political, racist frame-up. Mumia should never have been arrested, convicted, sentenced to death or spent one day in jail! Our fight—and demand—is to free Mumia, now!

But instead the fight for Mumia has been and continues to be demobilized by a policy pursued by liberals and the reformist left of impotent appeals to the justice and fairness of the capitalist courts, represented by the call for a new trial, a fairer process. To understand the politics behind this demobilization—and to turn this around—let's first examine the legal and factual issues in Mumia's case.

The Frame-Up

The prosecution's story is that in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, two people were on the street corner of Locust and 13th in Philadelphia—Billy Cook, who is Mumia's brother, and Daniel Faulkner. Mumia, then 27 years old, known for his mild manner and for being levelheaded, supposedly saw his brother being beaten by the cop and ran across the parking lot, shooting the cop in the back. As the cop was falling down, he supposedly shot Mumia in the chest. Then Mumia supposedly stood over the cop, then lying prone on his back, and shot directly down several times at his head, "execution style." This is all lies, a fantastical frame-up by the police and prosecution.

In the post-conviction court hearings in Mumia's case in 1995, '96 and '97, over ten years ago, the prosecution's evidence was exposed over and over as false—based on witnesses who were threatened or bought, nonexistent ballistics evidence and a totally fabricated confession invented by the police two months after the shooting.

As I will further explain, on a factual level, there is not a scintilla of evidence against Mumia. What is there for a jury to hear and consider?

Regarding witnesses: The prosecution produced at trial one supposed eyewitness, the prostitute Cynthia White, who, according to the police, is now dead. No witness, including Cynthia White, testified that Mumia shot Faulkner. At the 1982 trial, Cynthia White said she saw Mumia with a gun in his hand as he ran across the parking lot. But two prostitutes and one other woman who knew White have since sworn that White admitted this was false testimony under threats from

the cops. Two of these women stood up to vicious cross-examination in the post-conviction hearings. Two eyewitnesses, William Singletary and Dessie Hightower, testified that White wasn't on the corner during the shooting.

The other supposed key eyewitness, a cab driver named Robert Chobert, admitted at the post-conviction hearing to receiving favors from the prosecutors. And he admitted to a defense investigator that his cab was not parked where the prosecution asserted it was and that he was not in a position to see anything. This is confirmed in photos of the scene recently brought to light by Michael Schiffmann.

Regarding Mumia's supposed confession: The hospital confession supposedly made by Mumia the night of the shooting was decisively exposed in the 1995 post-conviction hearing to be a prosecution and police fabrication, invented at a D.A. roundtable meeting some two months after the shooting to prepare cops for their trial testimony. No police report from that night mentions Mumia's confession, and in fact a cop who was with Mumia all night directly said that Mumia "made no comments."

Regarding ballistics: The utter nonexistence of ballistics and other physical evidence is crystal clear. There is no evidence that Mumia's gun was even fired that night, let alone that the bullet in Faulkner's head wound matched Mumia's gun. There are recently uncovered photos showing the cop at the scene walking around with his fingers all over a gun. There are discrepancies in police reports regarding the type of bullets in Mumia's gun. There is a missing bullet fragment from Faulkner's wound and a missing medical examiner's X-ray of Faulkner's body. There is no physical evidence of Faulkner being shot as described by police—straight down at his head while lying on the sidewalk. There are no divots (marks) on the sidewalk. The bullets found at the scene do not support trajectories of Mumia shooting the cop, but rather that there was more than one shooter and that one came from a totally different direction than Mumia.

Moreover, there is evidence directly in support of Mumia's innocence already testified to in court hearings in '95, '96 and '97. Vietnam vet William Singletary was an eyewitness to the shooting and testified in '95 that Mumia arrived after Faulkner was shot and that the shooter, wearing a green army jacket, came from the parked VW and then ran from the scene. Singletary told this to police the night of the shooting, and he was repeatedly threatened, his gas station was vandalized, and he was driven from town during the 1982 trial. Other witnesses, including Dessie Hightower, who testified at the trial, said they saw someone run from the scene. At the post-conviction hearing in '95, Hightower told how he was singled out for a lie detector test and other coercion in an attempt to stop him from testifying at trial.

Veronica Jones testified in 1996 that she had seen someone run from the scene and that police threatened her with long jail time on robbery charges unless she testified differently at trial. In 1997, prostitute Pamela Jenkins testified that other cops were there during the shooting, including one Larry Boston. She also testified that prostitute Cynthia White was a police informant and performed sexual favors for cops. Another witness came forward who testified that he saw undercover cops on the scene at the time of the shooting.

The Beverly Confession

Even under the constraints of Saho's totally biased court, the D.A.'s evidence was smashed to smithereens over ten years ago. It would be reasonable to expect that as more and more evidence of the conscious police frame-up was brought out in court proceedings, a movement defending Mumia Abu-Jamal would embrace these legal developments. The new evidence from the court proceedings could only support a mobilization in defense of Mumia on the basis of Mumia's innocence and the fact that a black political activist was framed up

no credit

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Dietz Verlag

Martyrs of class war: Massachusetts anarchist workers Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco (above left), executed in 1927; Chicago Haymarket anarchists and workers leaders on way to gallows, 1887 (above right); German Communist leader Eugen Levine (left), executed in 1919.

by a state determined to see him dead. But in effect this legal evidence was rejected! The so-called left in the U.S. that belatedly took up Mumia's defense in 1995 and afterward did not take up the call to free Mumia now, which the PDC mobilized around, but *rejected* that demand as the basis for mass protests, centering their demands instead on the call for a new trial.

In early 1999, in preparation for a likely denial of the Pennsylvania court appeals and in preparation for federal *habeas corpus* proceedings, Jon Piper and I, with some other lawyers, intensely again combed over the records of the prior proceedings and the state's evidence and also renewed investigation efforts. In 1999, Mumia's brother admitted that the passenger in his VW, Ken Freeman, said that he was involved in the shooting of Faulkner and he ran from the scene after the shooting.

Arnold Beverly confessed that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. Moreover, Beverly stated that he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly states that he was wearing a green army jacket and that he himself was shot that night. The police connection for the hit, according to Beverly, was Larry Boston, who Pamela Jenkins stated in the '97 hearing had been on the scene at the time of the shooting.

At the time of Faulkner's murder in 1981, there were at least three ongoing federal investigations into police corruption in Philadelphia, including *police-mob* connections. I recently learned that the Justice Department had evidence against some 400 Philly cops from those investigations and wanted to bring indictments. But the federal judge overseeing the investigation said to pick only the top 20 or so. Of the police involved in Mumia's case, at least one-third were indicted sometime over the next few years on corruption charges.

An FBI informant who was key to those federal prosecutions confirmed that at the time of Faulkner's shooting, the word was out that the Feds had a police informant. A former federal prosecutor acknowledged that they had a police informant whose brother was also a cop, like Faulkner's. The commanding officer of the Central Police Division, where the murder of Faulkner took place, the chief of the homicide division and one Inspector Alfonzo Giordano were all under investigation on federal corruption charges. These cops were the *chain of command* in the frame-up of Mumia.

Inspector Giordano was the ranking officer on the scene—and the central witness against Mumia at the preliminary hearing after the arrest. He not only was one of the cops under investigation for corruption but had been the right-hand man for Frank Rizzo, the former Philadelphia police chief and mayor. Giordano was involved in the daily surveillance of Black Panther Party members, and he led the police Stakeout team in the 1970 attacks on the Philly Panthers. Giordano was the police supervisor of the yearlong 1977-78 siege of the MOVE Powelton Village house. He knew just who Mumia was.

It is with these facts in mind that the confession of Arnold Beverly must be considered. Remember the prosecution's lying evidence. Beverly states that there was more than one shooter and that they ran from the scene. This explains witnesses seeing a passenger in the VW and seeing the shooter running away. Beverly's confession explains the absence of ballistics evidence supporting the prosecution's scenario—how the shooting happened, the direction of the shots, the conflicts regarding the calibre of the weapon. Beverly states that Mumia was shot not by Faulkner but by another police officer on the scene. That fits with the trajectory of the shot to Mumia and the statement of a homicide cop at the scene who reported that Mumia was shot by an arriving police officer. It is also supported by a witness who said that Faulkner's gun was in its holster when he was taken away from the scene. The gun that was allegedly Faulkner's was likely a "throwaway"—it was inoperable and dirty.

Moreover, some five witnesses including *two cops* have said that *the shooter wore a green army jacket*. Both Beverly and Freeman were wearing green army jackets that night. But Mumia was wearing a red quilted ski jacket with wide vertical blue stripes on the front, and Billy Cook wore a blue Nehru-style jacket with brass buttons. This is incontrovertible evidence that there was at least one person there at the shooting who was not Billy Cook or Mumia. This fact, along with the bullet trajectories and the absence of ballistics evidence supporting either the shooting of Faulkner or the shooting of Mumia, is absolute refutation of the police and prosecution version.

Mumia's arrival on the scene gave the cops a two-for-one. Mumia was well known. It had been a short span of time, less than ten years, between Mumia's prominence as a Black Panther and his becoming a prominent MOVE supporter and journalist. And prosecutions of MOVE members, including trials following the Powelton Village police siege, had taken place just a couple of months before the Faulkner shooting.

At the scene after Faulkner was killed, the cops tried to kill Mumia. He was critically wounded from a gunshot in the chest, through his lungs and to his liver. He was rammed into a lamppost and thrown into a police van. Giordano himself beat Mumia in the police van and later said Mumia had confessed to shooting Faulkner and that he threw his gun on the ground. The other cop who was in the van said there was no such confession. Giordano arranged the supposed identification of Mumia by the cab driver, Robert Chobert, who was promised favors and protected by the police. Giordano was the cop who first reported that Mumia's gun was found on the street (according to the police radio records, some 14 minutes after hordes of cops arrived in the area). This contradicts the official police story that Mumia's gun was found within a minute. Giordano's intention was to finish Mumia off by taking him to police headquarters for further questioning. Mumia's crime that night was that he survived the cops' attempt to kill him, too.

To complete the picture: Despite Giordano being the senior officer at the scene who allegedly heard Mumia confess and found the murder weapon, he never testified at Mumia's trial. He resigned from the police force the day after the trial was over. In 1986 he copped a plea on federal charges based on his receiving tens of

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Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!
Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

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Berlin Rally...

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thousands of dollars in illegal payoffs during 1979-80. He didn't spend any time in jail.

Reformists Demobilize the Fight for Mumia

Thus, the proof of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up is overwhelming. But Mumia's former lawyers suppressed the Beverly confession and the totality of the supporting evidence. Longtime "movement lawyer" Len Weinglass rejected this evidence as too hot, unbelievable, and co-counsel Dan Williams said it would lead to arguing that the police knowingly framed up an innocent man! But this is not unbelievable, and to claim so denies the reality of the cops and the courts.

In fact, there is no limit to examples of the conscious frame-up of innocent people in the bourgeois courts. Before their convictions were exposed as complete government fabrications, the Guildford Four spent 15 years in prison, and the Birmingham Six were incarcerated for 16 years after being sentenced in the 1970s as part of British imperialism's war of terror against Irish nationalists. Before his release in 1997, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) spent 27 years in prison for a killing the FBI's own wiretap logs showed he could not have committed, while New York Panther leader Dhoruba bin Wahad was imprisoned for 19 years on frame-up charges before his release in 1990. "War on terror" repression has also taken many innocent victims.

Moreover, Mumia's case has been presented in court after court—each has denied the evidence of his frame-up and innocence. That includes three evidentiary hearings, plus three motions and two appeals to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, a federal *habeas corpus* petition filed in the U.S. District Court, a revised federal petition and yet another state court petition as well as three applications for hearing to the U.S. Supreme Court. A federal judge's reversal of Mumia's death sentence in December 2001 was immediately appealed by the prosecution, and Mumia has never been off death row since his conviction in 1982.

As a lawyer for Mumia, I had fought in the defense team to bring forward the evidence of the police frame-up and his innocence. When it was decisively clear with the rejection of the Beverly confession, Billy Cook's statement and all the other supporting evidence that Mumia's lead counsel, Len Weinglass, would not allow this, Jon Piper and I resigned from the legal team in July 1999. It was a betrayal of Mumia's legal defense to preclude bringing evidence of his innocence into the courts. And this betrayal is paralleled by so-called leftists who are behind the coalitions acting under the name "Free Mumia" but who mobilize on the basis of reliance on the justice and fairness of the courts and the call for a new, fair trial for Mumia.

To what end and for what purpose would leftists demand that this clearly innocent man be subjected to a new trial? As you can see, there is no evidence to be considered. Mumia himself submitted his own affidavit declaring his innocence when the Beverly confession and other evidence were finally submitted to court in 2001, with a new legal team. Mumia states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

The bogus argument has been raised that the Beverly evidence is "divisive." But since 1995, long before the Beverly confession, the so-called left rejected the evidence of the extent of the state frame-up and the political lessons to be drawn from that. This became explicit at a January 1999 "leadership meeting" of some 100 groups and individuals—including the Workers World Party, Socialist Action, Solidarity, Refuse & Resist (associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party)—who debated the question. The decision pushed by the reformist left, represented as well by the International Socialist Organization, was to "broaden" the movement and go to the "mainstream." They renounced the demands to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty in favor of the slogan: New trial for Mumia.

At all stages of the case, the reformists' political line is that the next court will be the just one. When the state courts ruled against Mumia, illusions were spread that the U.S. federal court would fairly rule on his petition. Now illusions are being spread in the fairness of the U.S. appeals courts since the U.S. federal court upheld Mumia's conviction. And in between court proceedings, the reformists undertook no significant mobilization.

These were political decisions, pure and simple. They were not based on fact—on Mumia's innocence and the enormity of the proven frame-up. Rather, the reformist left attempted to limit the political mobilization in defense of Mumia to an appeal for fairness in the courts. They appeal to bourgeois liberal forces who see Mumia's case not as the political and racist frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice," an aberration that threatens to stain the democratic process.

Even the legal papers that I filed in 1995-97, and agreed to by Mumia's lead counsel at the time, Leonard Weinglass, did not focus on the call for a new trial! We called for dismissing the charges because of the magnitude of the frame-up. Because if you want to deal solely on the plane of what the law in the United States says, the suppression of evidence and the falsification of evidence are such that the whole case should be thrown out. This is part of the reason that I say that calling for people to mobilize around the demand for a new trial is not guided by legal precepts, as is often claimed, but by a *political program*.

WV Photo

Witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at press conference during Mumia's March 1997 PCRA hearings.

The System of Capitalist Injustice

Mumia's case is a real-life case of police frame-up, an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state, which is not neutral. The state, with its cops and supported by the courts, is a machine of organized violence on behalf of one class, the capitalist class, defending the profit system against the working people, against minorities. The job of the courts is to mete out capitalist injustice. That is the lesson of the Haymarket martyrs, anarchists executed in 1887 in Chicago for leading struggles for the eight-hour day; of the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, framed up in Massachusetts on murder charges and executed in 1927; of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths arrested in 1931 who spent nearly two decades in Alabama prison hellholes on bogus rape charges, eight of them sentenced to death; of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 on espionage charges as part of the anti-Soviet Cold War.

In German history you have Eugen Leviné, a leader of the Spartakist uprising in Bavaria, executed in 1919 by the counterrevolutionary Social Democratic government. There is the case of Max Hoelz, a self-taught worker who organized a Red Army in the Vogtland area during the right-wing 1920 Kapp putsch and established a force of 2,500 partisans in Central Germany during the March Action in 1921, for which he was sentenced to life in prison. He was amnestied after seven years as the result of a mass movement on his behalf.

The slogan for a "new trial" represents a program of reliance on the racist capitalist courts that at every level have upheld Mumia's frame-up conviction. In the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case that sanctified slavery in the U.S., the Supreme Court said that a black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect. The capitalist state and its courts have made clear that *Mumia has no rights the courts are bound to respect*.

Thus the significance of the Beverly evidence and why it has been suppressed in the legal battles as well as on the political plane has a simple answer. The Beverly evidence exposes the fraud that the American bourgeois legal system can provide justice. It demonstrates the unity of purpose of the cops, prosecution and courts in upholding the capitalist rulers' interest. It makes it clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge ***but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice***. The role of the reformist left is to act as an obstacle to the development of that understanding. They promote the same illusions in the "justice of the courts" as liberal journalists David Lindorff and Michael Schiffmann, whose writings ostensibly on Mumia's behalf actually *undermine* the fight for his freedom (see "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice'," *WV* No. 892, 11 May).

Their purpose is to promote the notion of the inviolability of the bourgeois state. This means denying Mumia's innocence. It means denying the extent of the state frame-up and why. This all serves to politically disarm and demobilize those who are drawn to Mumia's cause. This political policy served to demobilize a mass international movement. It has meant rejecting the very reasons that millions around the globe took up Mumia's cause: revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial oppression and ethnic bias, war; identification with Mumia's fight against "the system" and for justice for all of humanity.

To free Mumia now, to save him from execution or the slow death of a lifetime in prison, it is necessary to organize on the basis of a class-struggle defense. While that means utilizing all possible legal proceedings, class-struggle defense is based on an understanding of the nature of the capitalist state, and that there can be no reliance on its courts but all reliance on the power of the working class and its allies.

The courts do not sit in judgment and rule in isolation. There is a pressure that can be brought to bear. But it will take an international mobilization of the masses, centrally labor and its allies—youth, minorities, immigrants—to turn the tide and obtain Mumia's freedom. It was an international mobilization crucially including trade unionists, from South Africa to Europe to the U.S., that stayed the executioner's hand when Mumia was ten days from execution in 1995. It took that mobilization to get the stay of execution, to push the courts to abide by their legal obligation to allow Mumia to pursue his legal appeals. Now, with the possibility that the courts could reverse the overturning of Mumia's death sentence, the issue is Mumia's very life—whether execution or the slow death of life imprisonment.

The work undertaken by the PDC, our fraternal defense organizations and the International Communist League over the past months to revive the struggle for Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man is a step forward. Hundreds of individuals and organizations, including unions representing tens of thousands of workers, have signed our statement emphasizing Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. But we need a mass movement based on the power of the working class, the power seen in its ability to withhold labor through strike action. Imagine, for example, what it would mean if Philadelphia and New York transit workers struck, not only to secure a decent wage, health care and job conditions but to demand Mumia's freedom! What it would mean for labor to withhold its power in other capitalist centers, stopping communications, transport and industry, demanding: Free Mumia now!

Mumia is up against the vast resources of the capitalist state. But there is a road for victory for Mumia—for his freedom. That begins with the understanding that the class enemy will stop at nothing—from lies to terror—on the street and in the courts. Freedom for Mumia lies in understanding that the power to fight and win lies in the class struggle—in the mobilization of the multiracial, multiethnic proletariat. Free Mumia Now!■

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China...

(continued from page 3)

revolutions to establish a Socialist United States of Europe. And when in August 1991 Boris Yeltsin and the pro-imperialist "democrats" seized power in Russia, our comrades in Moscow called upon the multinational Soviet working class to oppose and resist the ascendant forces of capitalist restoration.

The critical battles that will determine the fate of the People's Republic of China remain to be fought out. As in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the decisive arena in which a capitalist counterrevolution would have to triumph is at the political level—the conquest of *state power*—not simply through the quantitative extension of the private sector, whether domestic or foreign-owned. A few years ago there was an interesting article ("The Ownership Reform in China: What Direction and How Far?") by Sujian Guo, an émigré anti-Communist Chinese academic in the U.S., challenging the widespread notion that China has already become or is fast becoming capitalist:

> "How to privatize such a huge estate of state ownership *within the framework of the existing political system and structure* is really problematic and technically unworkable. The experience of other former communist countries has shown that there is no single case of making privatization successful with the communist party remaining in power and its political system intact." (emphasis in original)
>
> —*Journal of Contemporary China*, August 2003

If, as Chris Slee contends, the Beijing bureaucracy has restored capitalism in China under the economic domination of Western and Japanese imperialism, one would expect the U.S. and Japanese rulers to be strongly supportive of the CCP regime, just as Washington backed Yeltsin. The reality is that the U.S. imperialists, their West European and Japanese allies and their Australian junior partners remain ***fundamentally hostile*** to the People's Republic of China and its government, a hostility actively pursued at both the military and political levels.

Right after the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the Bush Sr. administration announced plans to build an anti-missile "shield," the main purpose of which is to achieve effective nuclear first-strike capability by intercepting a counter-strike by China's small arsenal of long-range missiles. As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China and also North Korea, recognizing their need to develop effective nuclear weaponry to counter the imperialist threat.

At the political level, the imperialists aim to replay in China the strategy used during Cold War II in East Europe and the former Soviet Union: promoting domestic anti-Communist oppositional forces. In fact, while a fledgling capitalist class exists on the mainland, it is not a politically conscious class with its own political party or the equivalent.

The counterrevolutionary machinations of U.S. imperialism are clearly in evidence in Hong Kong, the former British colony and capitalist enclave where (unlike the mainland) the CCP does not exercise a monopoly of political organization. Washington, abetted by London, has actively championed the Democratic Party and other right-wing oppositional groups there. On the mainland, the U.S. ruling class is encouraging such anti-Communist "dissidents" as Li Jianqiang, a lawyer and convert to Christianity who is involved in the self-styled "rights defense" movement. While visiting Washington last November to meet with the Bush administration's China "specialists," Li was interviewed by the CIA's Radio Free Asia. Shortly after that, he described China as a "super jail" and its leaders as "ruthless dictators" (*New York Times*, 25 February).

Бюллетень Спартаковцев SPARTACIST

Обанкротившийся сталинизм открывает шлюзы для капиталистической реставрации.

Советские рабочие! Долой ельцинско-бушевскую контрреволюцию!

Boris Yeltsin and fellow capitalist-restorationists outside Moscow "White House," August 1991. ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

Sipa

And where do Chris Slee and the DSP stand in this battle? The DSP first publicly declared that China had become "a capitalist state" in 1999, backdating this historically momentous event (which they somehow failed to notice at the time) to 1992. "A qualitative turn was made in 1992 by the Chinese regime," we are informed, "*toward* an orientation of *replacing* the statised, planned economy with a capitalist economy throughout *the whole of China*" ("The Class Nature of the Chinese State," January 1999, emphasis in original). This position is a threadbare "theoretical" rationale by which Slee and his colleagues justify their longstanding support for counter-revolutionary forces directed at China in the name of "anti-Stalinism."

As we previously noted, even *before* the DSP formally claimed that China had become capitalist, these anti-Communist social democrats were supporting all manner of counterrevolutionary forces directed against the Chinese deformed workers state. The DSP raised the call for self-determination (i.e., independence) for Taiwan, the island statelet ruled by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie under the military protection of U.S. imperialism. It lauded the pro-imperialist "trade-union activist" Han Dongfang, director of the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin* and darling of anti-Communist circles in Washington.

Chinese workers are indeed being "ruthlessly exploited in capitalist sweatshops" set up under Beijing's "market reforms." But Slee's complaints are but an echo of the anti-Communist protectionism of the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy and Australian Labor Party. The DSP is such a fervent advocate for "democratic" imperialism that it openly called for Australian troops to invade East Timor in 1999 and to this day refuses to call for their withdrawal!

The role of Solidarność in Poland demonstrates that the imperialists, utilizing the services of their labor lieutenants, are capable of cynically manipulating the discontents and legitimate grievances of the working class against a Stalinist regime for their own reactionary ends. When Stalinist bonapartist rule in China collapses—and it will—Trotskyists will have to continue, under changed circumstances, the political combat against elements fomenting anti-Communism and preaching the virtues of Western-style "democracy" in the reawakened Chinese workers movement.

Slee maintains that the significant socio-economic development of China during the post-Mao "reform" era, which saw the highest rate of economic growth of any major country, has had "catastrophic" consequences for the Chinese working class. Contrary to his unsubstantiated assertions, China's working class as a whole has *not* experienced absolute economic immiseration since the country was opened to large-scale industrial investment by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie and Western and Japanese corporations. Quite the contrary.

What is true is that there has been an enormous widening of economic inequalities between a layer of capitalists and an increasingly affluent petty-bourgeois stratum made up of government functionaries and managerial/administrative/technocratic personnel on the one side and the working class and peasantry on the other. It is also true that the 20 to 30 million workers, disproportionately women, who were laid off from small and medium-sized state-owned enterprises when these were privatized, restructured or closed down in the mid-late 1990s have suffered real economic hardship. However, the large majority of China's urban workers and also peasants have experienced a considerable improvement in their living standards since the end of the Mao era.

When Mao died in 1976, over three-quarters of the labor force was engaged in farming and over 80 percent of the population lived in the countryside. Today, over 50 percent of the labor force is employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector, and 40 percent of the population is urbanized. From a Marxist standpoint, this is a *progressive* development of historic import. So, too, is the corresponding quantitative and qualitative expansion of China's industrial capacity. Over a hundred million peasants, especially young men and women, have escaped from the squalid poverty and cultural harrenness of rural life and become an integral part of an urban industrializing society. Even those working under sweatshop conditions in the Pearl River and Yangzi River deltas are materially much better off than their parents and siblings who have remained on the family farm.

All of these facts demolish Slee's false equation of today's China with Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union, where capitalist counterrevolution has inflicted massive economic devastation and social degradation. At the same time, "market reforms" have bred ever-sharpening contradictions, setting the stage for a social explosion. A proletarian political revolution that ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishes a government based on workers and peasants councils would radically restructure and reorganize China's economy in the interests of the workers and rural toilers. It would reintroduce centralized planning on a rational basis and reinstitute a state monopoly of foreign trade while working toward an egalitarian redistribution of income and wealth.

Undoubtedly, such a regime would face bitter opposition from the imperialists, from economic blackmail to military belligerence. But no less certainly, proletarian political revolution in China would serve as a base for the struggle for workers revolution against the capitalist-imperialist system internationally, smashing through the lie of the "death of communism" fostered by the imperialists and their "leftist" tails following the destruction of the Soviet Union.

China remains a relatively poor country, a condition aggravated by hostile imperialist pressures. To raise China's populace to the socioeconomic level of the First World and then above that level is possible only through proletarian socialist revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries (Australia being a junior member of the First World club). In order to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties capable of leading such revolutions, it is necessary to politically defeat the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. The pernicious role of groups like the Australian DSP lies in providing a left cover for the anti-Communism and imperialist chauvinism of the labor lieutenants of capital in their respective countries. ■

Germany...

(continued from page 1)

[Peace Cooperative Network]) raged against "the rioters": "We will find out who the assholes were." [Rostock demonstration organizer] Monty Schädel made mild criticisms of the police, the better to turn around and attack the left: "There is no excuse and no justification for a group of Autonomes to attack a police car." Thus they join in the witchhunt by the bourgeois media, which is calling for the blood of the "Black Block" and other leftists. This invites only more cop terror. What's next? Murder, like the shooting of Carlo Giuliani at the 2001 anti-G8 protests in Genoa? If such naked police terror is not combatted, it will be a precedent for further state attacks on the left, the workers movement and immigrants. We say: ***An injury to one is an injury to all! Down with the witchhunt against the "Block Block"!***

Meanwhile, in Schwerin, where the NPD fascists wanted to stage a provocation, the bourgeois state banned *all* demonstrations. The Nazis shifted their demonstration from Schwerin to several cities, including Berlin, where they marched through the Brandenburg Gate for their program of genocide. In Schwerin, 150 anti-fascists were arrested and threatened with charges. State terror against the left, as in Rostock or Schwerin, fuels the Nazis' deadly terror and strengthens them. This shows once more that state bans against the Nazis are, in the end, used against the left. What we need are mobilizations of the multiethnic working class at the head of all the fascists' potential victims to stop the Nazis.

Rostock shows again that the capitalist state—with the police, army and courts at its core—is not neutral. Rather its purpose is to maintain the power of the capitalist class and to oppress the working class and all who stand in the way of capitalist rule. The police are the professional thugs of the bourgeoisie. They have no business in the workers movement. ***Police out of the DGB*** [trade-union federation]! While the G8 leaders are behind closed doors in Heiligendamm planning imperialist war and their next attack on the workers, the police are making clear how they will deal with anyone who resists the imperialist rulers. The attacks on the anti-G8 demonstrators are in the end directed against the entire working class! ***It is necessary to have mass protests by the workers movement and its allies to oppose state terror against the opponents of the G8!*** ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

which announced that it would participate in the strike by "working to rule." Their "work" as enforcers of neo-apartheid capitalism was on display in the vicious attack at Tygerberg Hospital. In the Johannesburg area, one police unit is under investigation for torturing members of the South African Municipal Workers Union who had been on strike earlier this year. As we wrote in "Protest Apartheid-Style Police Brutality Against Union Bus Drivers!" (*WV* No. 893, 25 May), "The fact that the state, including the police forces and the army, contains many more black faces does not mean that it is any less an institution for capitalist oppression." Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, says: Police, security guards and prison guards out of the unions!

The public service strike highlights the contradictions within the SACP—what V. I. Lenin called a bourgeois workers party—which encompasses outright nationalists and government ministers, labor reformists, and workers at the base who are open to a revolutionary perspective. At the outset of the strike, SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande used the left side of his mouth to intone that it's "better to get behind workers rather than hang on the aprons of the bourgeoisie." The same SACP's Ronnie Kasrils is head of the Intelligence ministry whose operatives intimidated members of the South African Democratic Teachers Union in the lead-up to the strike. As Public Service and Administration minister, former SACPer Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi got a court injunction—that nurses have defied—under which nurses could be fired for striking. Fraser-Moleketi acts as the hard cop against unions led by her "comrades," the same role she played as an SACP leader in the government during the powerful 1999 public employees strike (see "South African Workers vs. ANC Capitalist Government," *WV* No. 718, 3 September 1999).

A number of powerful unions in key industries are also threatening strike action, including the National Union of Mineworkers, the Communication Workers Union and the National Union of Metalworkers. The roiling anger in the proletariat points to the need to forge a new leadership in the unions through political struggle against the labor tops' nationalist class collaborationism.

A revolutionary workers party must be built, not simply to defend the particular interests of the working class but to fight to eradicate *all* forms of national and social oppression—from the mass homelessness in the black townships and the hideous conditions trapping millions on "tribal homelands" to the degradation of women and the plight of immigrants. As we wrote in our article last issue, "Spartacist South Africa calls to break the Tripartite Alliance—for the class independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois parties and its state! What is necessary is the building of a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party, part of a reforged Fourth International, which can lead the proletariat and all the oppressed forward to achieve workers rule, as part of world socialist revolution."■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 16)

of the more urbane reactionaries at *National Review*. CNN's resident xenophobic, race-hate mouthpiece, Lou Dobbs, has gone so far as to cook up inane and lying stories about immigrants being responsible for a (nonexistent) rise in leprosy!

While the Republican Party is engulfed in factional wrangling over the bill, Democratic presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama chatter about sponsoring amendments to prettify it. One sticking point is the bill's provisions against immigrant families. Contrary to the hypocritical bleats over "family values" from both parties of American capitalism, the bill would dismantle the family visa system in place since 1965, under which immigrants could sponsor family members. Replacing this with a skills "point system," it would, according to the *New York Times* (30 May), "end preferences for the adult children and siblings of United States citizens, and eliminate a citizen's rights to sponsor parents." The bill would create a pool of 40,000 visas for which citizens would be forced to compete to bring their parents into the country. The *Times* article ominously pointed out that "only those admitted on points could sponsor their spouse and minor children." If enacted, this would have an immediate and devastating effect on millions of immigrants.

For its part, labor officialdom, which has presided over the destruction of untold numbers of union jobs while pouring millions of dollars in union dues into Democratic Party campaigns, is divided. "Change to Win," the 2005 split from the AFL-CIO, has in the past actually *backed* proposals for "guest worker" programs. In regard to the present bill, key components of the federation "are more willing to accept an amended version of the temporary-worker program" (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 June). The AFL-CIO has opposed the bill, including the vile "guest worker" provisions, but with vile, protectionist "American jobs for American workers" demagogy and calls for more border "security." In fact, among the grotesque provisions of this anti-immigrant bill are those beefing up the Border Patrol with some 18,000 more agents, adding 370 more miles of fences and increasing sinister immigrant-hunting technology.

AP

I.C.E. agent searches man during raid at Swift plant in Greeley, Colorado, December 2006.

The mass demonstrations that took place in the spring of 2006 and, to a lesser extent, this May showed the courage and determination of immigrant workers and their allies to fight in defense of their rights. However, the protests were politically dominated by the strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism. That was best exemplified by the slogan: "Today we march, tomorrow we vote!" first used before the 2006 midterm elections and now in the run-up to the 2008 presidential contest. As opposed to reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO) that have uncritically hailed the politics of the demonstrations, we have warned from the beginning that a strategy based on pressuring the Democrats is *counterposed* to an internationalist, class-struggle fight for immigrant rights.

In a joint declaration of the Spartacist League/U.S. and Grupo Espartaquista de México (*WV* No. 867, 31 March 2006), we explained:

> "In the U.S., the most powerful and dangerous of the imperialist countries, the multiracial proletariat has a particular obligation to oppose the wars and depredations of the U.S. capitalist class. Defense of immigrant rights is necessary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.
>
> "Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S."

In warning against the earlier immigration "reform" proposed by Senators Kennedy and McCain ("Down With Feds' Raids at Swift Meatpacking!" *WV* No. 883, 5 January), we pointed out that it will take the fighting unity of Latino, black and white workers against the bosses and their government to defeat anti-immigrant, anti-union attacks. Such a perspective requires combatting the politics of the labor misleaders—who are opposed to a program of class struggle and look to the capitalist state to defend the rights of working people and immigrants—and poses the necessity of fighting for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions.

Such a leadership would fight for the political independence of labor from the bosses' parties—Democrats, Republicans and Greens. There is a crying need for a revolutionary workers party—a party that fights to *organize the unorganized*, not least in the open shop South; that mobilizes labor's social power to *bust the union-busters*; that acts as the *tribune of the people* and fights for a *workers government*, i.e., for a workers state that expropriates the bloodsucking capitalist rulers and uproots their system.

Legislative action or the lack thereof will not change the fact that under capitalism, as economic need demands, immigrant labor will be exploited—used in times of labor shortage and disposed of in times of economic contraction. As the capitalist rulers debate how best to exploit the working class while keeping it divided, last year alone saw some 190,000 people deported. On May 22, the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement seized 136 workers, mainly from Guatemala and Mexico, at the George's Processing, Inc. poultry plant in Missouri. In Ohio over the weekend of May 19-20, federal agents swept through the town of Painesville, arresting 24 in dawn raids. According to the *People's Weekly World* (31 May), published by the Communist Party (CP), "Some 400 people sought refuge in St. Mary's small basement Saturday afternoon, while others nailed their front doors shut and fled to the woods." Perceiving a green light from the government, racist vigilantes have been emboldened. Virginia teenagers shot and killed a 32-year-old Mexican worker as he walked home to his trailer because they had decided that day to "get a Mexican" (*Washington Post*, 31 May).

However bipartisan the anti-immigrant outrages, on the street and in Congress, the CP will surely not be deterred from its habitual "fight the right" campaigning for Democrats. Nor has the largely moribund CP cornered that market. The ISO, while opposing the Senate "compromise" bill, gushes: "Nevertheless, the fact that *some* Democrats are criticizing the legislation from the left is a departure from last year" (*Socialist Worker* online, 25 May). The article goes on to state: "This year's larger-than-expected protests on May Day are evidence that the immigrant rights movement hasn't disappeared—and that the potential exists to mobilize at the grassroots for a just immigration policy."

A "just" immigration policy under this wretched system? This is the antithesis of a Marxist understanding of the capitalist system and its state as historically developed in the U.S., with its legacy of the racist extermination of the native peoples, black chattel slavery and waves of anti-immigrant reaction; and with the continued pitting of different sectors of the working class and oppressed against each other by the racist rulers. It took blood and iron in the Civil War to rid this country of the scourge of slavery. It took pitched battles by union organizers to lay the basis for integrated, industrial unions. It took courageous fighters to extinguish Jim Crow segregation in the American South. But such reforms as can be wrested in hard class and social struggle are manifestly reversible as long as the capitalists hold state power.

Against the demagogy of the capitalist rulers and the politicians of both capitalist parties—white, black, Latino and other—which is echoed by the labor tops, we reiterate the closing lines of the *Communist Manifesto*: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" As we wrote in "How the Fake Left Amnesties the Democrats" (*WV* No. 873, 7 July 2006):

> "We do not seek to tinker with the system, looking for an alternative immigration policy. We will support such reforms as are offered. But, our bottom line is that we will worry about the ebbs and flows of the world economy when the proletariat under revolutionary leadership runs it. We are not responsible for, nor do we seek to advise, the bourgeoisie on its immigration or other policies. We seek to organize the social power of the proletariat to smash this system and establish proletarian rule."■

WV Photo

4 September 2006: Workers move against anti-immigrant bigots at Labor Day picnic, Wilmington, California. Spartacist sign reads: "Down With La Migra Racist Roundups—Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!"

ILWU...

(continued from page 16)

proposition at odds with the greater interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, a large wing of the ruling class wants out of Iraq in order to better pursue its aims and interests in Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere and to pursue the huge prize of capitalist counterrevolution in the Chinese deformed workers state. Protesters' demands to "Bring our troops home now" made crystal clear how the Port of Oakland action was confined to the framework of patriotic appeals to that section of the bourgeoisie calling to cut U.S. losses in Iraq. But you can't deliver an effective blow to the imperialists and their predatory wars while supporting the capitalist Democrats, the other party of war and racism.

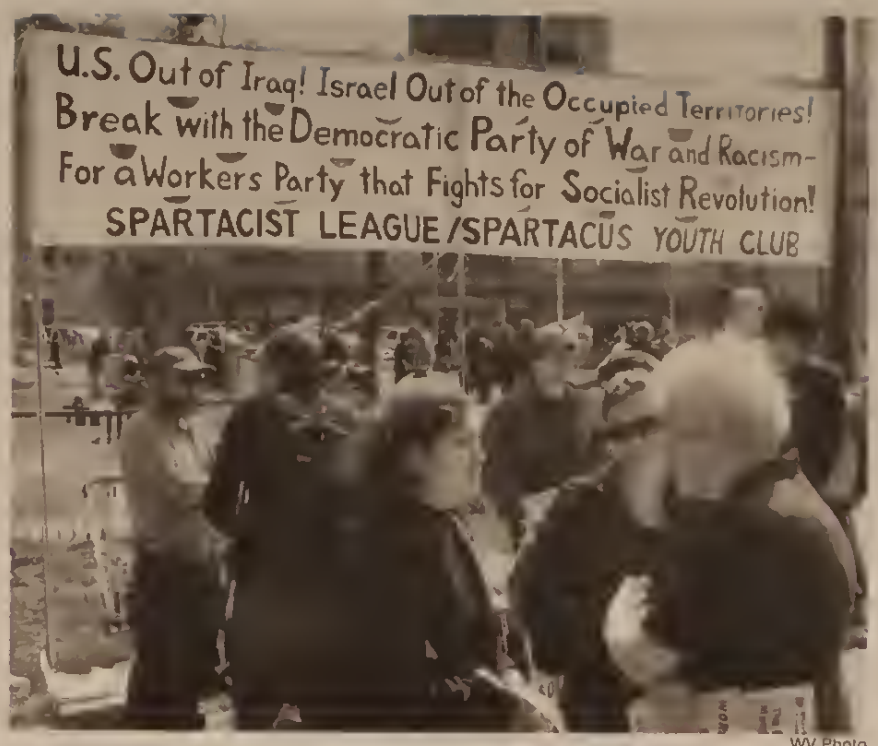
This is neither "our" government nor are these "our" troops. As our *WV* sales team pointed out to protesters and longshoremen on May 19, we revolutionary Marxists say that working people in the U.S. and internationally have a side—with the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan—against the U.S. occupiers. This does not entail the least political support to any of the competing forces of Islamic fundamentalism or to the nationalist remnants of the Ba'athists in Iraq, nor to the Taliban and similar reactionary forces in Afghanistan. The communalist bloodletting in Iraq is only exacerbated by the U.S. occupation. For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan!

Workers and the Capitalist State

The increased repression that is the domestic reflection of the global "war on terror" directly targets immigrants, black people and ultimately all of labor. Longshoremen themselves face the immediate threat of criminal background checks required to get a Transportation Worker Identification Card from the Department of Homeland Security, posing a racist, anti-immigrant purge of the workforce. We opposed the government's "war on terror" from the get-go. In Oakland on 9 February 2002, the Labor Black League and Partisan Defense Committee, which are politically allied with the Spartacist League, initiated the first labor-centered protest in opposition to the USA Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act. Local 10 members were a key component of that demonstration.

In contrast, ILWU officials support the implementation of a range of "homeland security" measures on the docks and have encouraged the government to screen the largely immigrant and non-union port truckers more vigorously at terminal gates. Longshoremen have to recognize that the port truckers and intermodal facility workers, whose wages and working conditions are well below those of the ILWU, are their allies in the struggle against the port bosses. For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Fight to extend ILWU wages and conditions to all workers in the ports!

In explaining the union's decision to honor the picket on May 19, an ILWU official recalled an attack on a previous picket protesting the war outside the same SSA gates, announcing: "We don't feel comfortable being escorted by the police because last time the police beat and shot people." From dock workers gathered around him came shouts of "That's right!" and "I don't want to get shot!" On 7 April 2003, the Oakland Police Department under Democratic mayor Jerry Brown fired rubber bullets and other "non-lethal" projectiles against demonstrators and longshoremen who were standing by. Jack Heyman, the union's business agent, was arrested, and a number of ILWU members and antiwar protesters were seriously injured. Those who were hurt in the 2003 attack were dragged through the capitalist courts for months before charges against them were eventually dropped. Similarly, earlier this year, police attacked antiwar pickets at ports in Tacoma and Olympia in Washington.



WV Photo

March 18: Spartacist banner at San Francisco antiwar demonstration.

The ILWU bureaucrats studiously avoided any mention of the fact that the cops menacing the May 19 demonstration were Ron Dellums' cops! As mayor, Dellums—a former chairman of the House Armed Services Committee—is an executive officer of the capitalist state. It is his role to defend the interests of the ruling class and, in particular, of the shipping bosses in Oakland, the country's fourth-largest port.

The OEA's prominent banner outside the gates at SSA read: "Use Port Money for Oakland Public Schools, Not for Wal-Mart and Charters." Other signs pleaded to "Stop War Shipments—Port Money for Community Needs." The Oakland public schools, which many children of ILWU members attend, are indeed in deep financial crisis. But the priorities of the capitalist government are set by the ruling class it serves. This ruling class is going to invest all it can to maintain its sizable military advantage over its imperialist rivals in Europe and Asia. At the same time, in this epoch of capitalist decay, it has consciously starved education and health care and allowed basic infrastructure to erode. To wrest any gains from the capitalists, what working people need is some hard class struggle, not begging capitalist politicians to throw some crumbs at them. And short of overthrowing the rule of capital altogether, such gains are reversible.

Fight U.S. Imperialism Through Class Struggle at Home!

The Bay Area chapter of United for Peace and Justice, the bourgeois Oakland Green Party and the Northern California Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism endorsed PAC's May 19 action. Despite the fact that ships calling at Oakland do carry some military cargo, it's not clear that any war matériel was stopped that day. The PAC, whose major mover seems to be OEA executive board member Bob Mandel, claimed that stevedoring companies serving SSA and American President Lines also service the Concord Naval Weapons Station. What neither the Port Action Committee nor the ILWU bureaucrats wanted to point out was that *ILWU members regularly work the military ships that are loaded at Concord Naval Weapons Station*.

Longshoremen are in a position to inflict a direct setback to the imperialist war machine through political strikes and the hot-cargoing of military goods. But this tremendous power is kept in check inside the labor movement by its current leadership, which is tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist political parties and government. The union contract with the Pacific Maritime Association shippers and stevedoring companies commits ILWU members to handle essential military cargo even on holidays or during any other shutdown (a fact also not mentioned by the PAC). This is the legacy of Harry Bridges, under whose leadership the ILWU moved military cargo for the war in Vietnam, even though the union was on record in opposition to that widely unpopular, counterrevolutionary war.

If longshoremen were to stop military cargo at Concord or other ports, it would immediately throw the ranks up against the capitalist state—the armed bodies of men that protect and defend the system of production for profit. Concord's own history is a case in point. The Naval Weapons Station is located at the site of the old Port Chicago terminal on the Sacramento River, 30 miles northeast of San Francisco. Port Chicago was the first pier in U.S. history built exclusively for loading and shipping ammunition, including dangerous explosives, overseas. In the midst of WWII in July 1944, a blast destroyed everything within a one-mile radius—including two ships, the pier and the dock—and massacred 320 workers and sailors, 202 of them black ammunition loaders. This was the worst domestic naval disaster in U.S. history. In response, black sailors at Port Chicago staged a spontaneous work stoppage, which was labeled a mutiny. Two hundred fifty-eight black men were imprisoned on a barge and threatened with mutiny charges punishable by death during wartime.

The "lieutenants of the capitalist class" running the unions understand that militant action would tear into their reactionary game of preaching reliance on the bosses' state and political agents, particularly those in the Democratic Party. For labor to take the offensive against imperialist war will require a different kind of leadership, one guided by a program of class struggle and able to instill class consciousness, educating workers in how to defeat the bosses and their state. As this capitalist government turns the screws on working people at home, and the more it runs roughshod over peoples overseas, the fight to oust the union bureaucrats is linked to building a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government.

In Russia in 1917 such a party led the working class to victory in the October Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule and established a workers state based on soviets (councils). The United States, among 14 capitalist nations, invaded Soviet Russia with the intent of overthrowing the revolutionary government. Working-class actions around the world against the imperialist intervention helped preserve the world's first workers state. In 1919, a massive strike wave swept the U.S., fueled in part by sympathy for the Russian Revolution. Early that year, there was a general strike in Seattle in which a committee of union delegates ran the city for five days. Later that year, Seattle longshoremen refused to handle military goods destined for Admiral Kolchak, the leader of counterrevolutionary forces fighting the Bolshevik government in Siberia. 1919 also saw the founding of the American Communist movement.

The Bolshevik leadership understood the Russian Revolution to be simply the *first step* in the fight for a world socialist order. This revolutionary internationalist perspective was undone by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin beginning in 1923-24. The Stalinist bureaucracy preached the lie that socialism could be built in one country and that the USSR could peacefully coexist with imperialism. This meant repudiating the struggle for workers revolution internationally.

The fact that the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward, peasant-dominated country into an industrial and military powerhouse demonstrated the power of the planned economy, despite decades of Stalinist misrule. Counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92 was a huge defeat for working people all over the world and has meant a global capitalist offensive against workers and the oppressed while throwing back political consciousness among working people. The "post-Soviet" world is one of increased imperialist depredation around the world and racist, anti-immigrant and anti-labor attacks by the capitalist rulers. Today, the enslavement of Iraq is yet another price that the international working class and the oppressed peoples of the Third World are paying for the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The struggle against the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan must be a struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such wars. It requires a break with the Democratic Party and all other agencies of capitalist class rule and the forging of a new working-class leadership, like the Russian revolutionary leadership of 1917. U.S. out of Iraq, Afghanistan! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! Down with U.S. imperialism! For class struggle at home! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Democrats, Republicans Push Vicious Anti-Immigrant Bill

Another ominous anti-immigrant bill is now before the U.S. Senate —the hipartisan "Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007." As Marxists who champion the interests of the international working class, we oppose this bill, just as we opposed supposedly more "liberal" versions introduced last year. We say anyone who has made it to this country has the right to stay here: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!

Should there be any doubt as to the bill's effects, no less an authority on how to enrich the rich while grinding down working people than the *Wall Street Journal* (31 May) approvingly states:

> "Here's what the bill does not do. It does not grant amnesty to the 12 million illegal immigrants already in the country and nor does it give a free pass to others who want to enter the country illegally.
>
> "The bill provides real border security for the first time.... It doubles the border patrol, expands the border fence and informs law enforcement about foreign nationals in the United States. Because it requires foreign workers to carry tamper-proof identification, both law enforcement and employers will be able to identify and apprehend those who violate the law."

Jarman/NY Times

Mexican "guest workers" at North Carolina Growers Association office waiting for their papers to be processed.

Predictably, the *Wall Street Journal* lauds the so-called "guest worker" provisions in the bill. If enacted, the bill would create a system of indentured servitude for immigrant workers, who furthermore are supposed to leave the country for one year after two years' employment before they can return again. Such "guest worker" schemes recall the 1942-1964 *bracero* program instituted by the liberal Democratic Party administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Up to 4.6 million Mexican workers slaved under this program for over 20 years, denied rights in the U.S. and facing the prospect of being sent back by their employers at any time. In the 1950s, over a million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were expelled from the U.S. under the racist "Operation Wetback." In fact, the *bracero* program came about in part because of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II by the U.S. bourgeoisie, who then discovered a severe shortage of agricultural workers.

The current anti-immigrant bill, introduced in May by liberal Democratic Senator Ted Kennedy among others, is genuinely hipartisan. The Bush White House is pushing it to cater to business interests who employ immigrants, despite screams from its nativist, white racist base as well as from the likes

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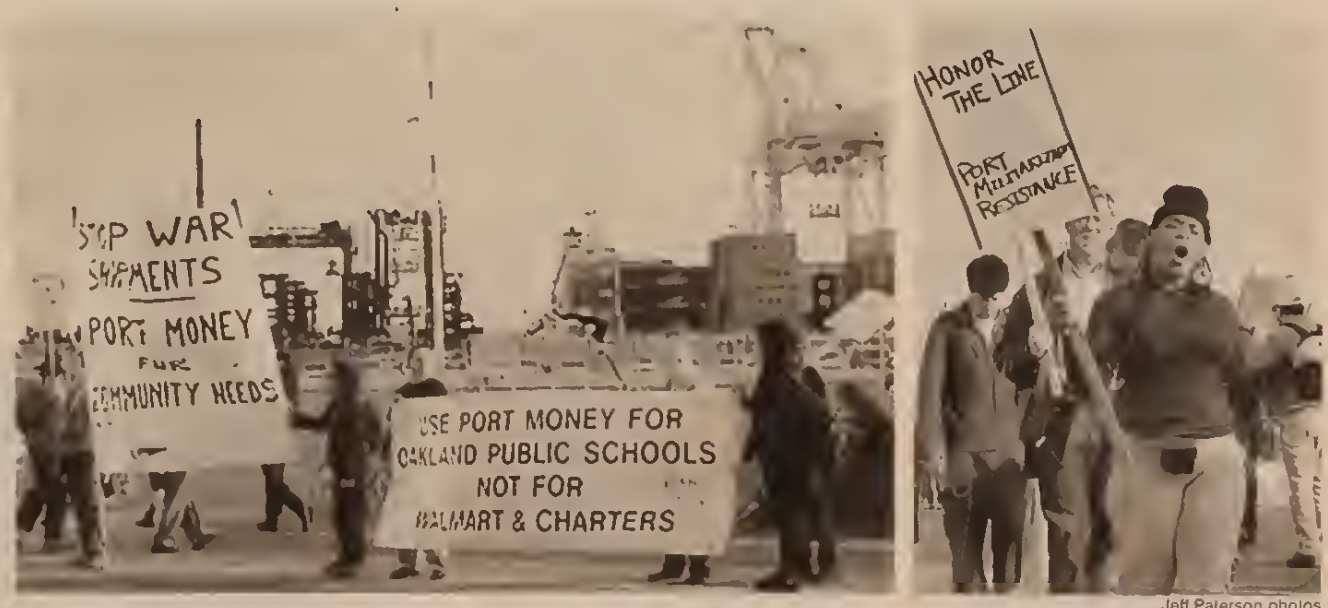
ILWU Longshore Workers Honor Antiwar Picket Line

Oakland

OAKLAND—Three ships sat idle at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminals on May 19 as dock workers dispatched by International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 and clerks dispatched by ILWU Local 34 honored a picket line protesting the Iraq war. In an effort to keep people away from the picket called by the Port Action Committee (PAC), the Oakland police set up checkpoints on city streets leading to the port, preventing all vehicles except those with "valid business reasons" from entering the port. The determined demonstrators had to walk about a mile to the SSA gates. Despite the checkpoints, which resulted in the protest getting little coverage in the capitalist media, the picket line drew scores of demonstrators.

Longshoremen stayed out on the day and evening shifts. Asked by a TV reporter how he felt about missing a day's work, one black longshoreman responded, "It's for a good cause. I don't like it, but I never did like the war." This action was a measure of the deepening working-class anger at U.S. imperialism's occupation of Iraq, although it was a largely symbolic use of union power.



Jeff Paterson photos

May 19: Stevedoring Services of America terminal in Oakland was shut down when ILWU honored Port Action Committee picket line protesting Iraq war. Reformist appeals on banners at left for more humane capitalism are counterposed to class-struggle fight against imperialist war.

Among the picketers was a union contingent from the Oakland Education Association (OEA). OEA members demanded that tax money from the port be used to fund Oakland schools. Dominating the protest were illusions that the Oakland city government under black Democratic mayor Ron Dellums, a liberal capitalist politician supported in the last elections by the ILWU, could be made to serve the interests of working people. A number of Local 10 officials were present at the morning protest, handing out a letter from Dellums that called for "an end to this war" and stated, "I believe that history will record that this war was the greatest foreign policy blunder in the history of America and the sooner we end it the better."

Dellums and his fellow Democrats consider the occupation of Iraq a losing

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 895 | C-701 | 6 July 2007

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Supreme Court: Segregation Forever

In a major setback for black rights, on June 28 the U.S. Supreme Court threw out school desegregation plans in Seattle and Louisville, giving the green light to those seeking to overturn some 1,000 school integration plans across the country. In eviscerating the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that banned school segregation, the Court majority in essence turned the clock back over a hundred years to the infamous 1896 "separate but equal" *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling—a cornerstone of the racist Jim Crow system. Their decision was the reflection on the legal front of the murderous contempt displayed by the government when it left black people and the poor to die in Hurricane Katrina's wake. The court decision, part of a panoply of attacks on blacks, immigrants and working people, cries out for determined protest by the integrated labor movement against the racist onslaught.

Justice Clarence Thomas wrote a concurring opinion invoking the authority of the "color-blind Constitution." But

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Zionists Tighten Vise as Hamas Takes Gaza Ghetto

U.S./Israel Provoke Palestinian Bloodletting

AP

AP

Reuters

June 25: Israeli tank rumbles past barrier enclosing Gaza (top); Hamas supporters imprisoned by Fatah-controlled security forces in West Bank town of Jenin (left). Right: Hamas fighters in Gaza City seize Fatah-run Preventive Security compound, June 14.

Defend the Palestinian People! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Days after the takeover of the Gaza Strip by the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas, Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert met with Jordan's King Abdullah II and Palestinian Authority (PA) president Mahmoud Abbas in Egypt on June 25 in a summit organized by Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak. Abbas had dutifully dispersed the elected government of Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh, and Fatah forces rounded up Hamas members in the West Bank. Abbas installed a handpicked "emergency government" to the applause of his imperialist and Zionist paymasters and the venal Arab bourgeois regimes. To underline who is in charge of the Occupied Territories, Israel was planning its next assault on the Palestinians even as the four leaders met in Egypt. Within a few days, Israeli forces had killed some 20 Palestinians in the Gaza ghetto and attacked the West Bank town of Nablus, killing at least one Fatah fighter.

Exacerbated by Israel and the imperialists, the bloodletting between Hamas and the petty-bourgeois nationalist Fatah is but the latest chapter in the tragedy of Palestinian life. Through a variety of economic sanctions, the U.S., Israel and the European powers had been starving the Palestinians as punishment for the January 2006 electoral victory of Hamas, which the Zionists and imperialists have long labeled "terrorist." Furthering its own interests against its Hamas rivals, Abbas' PA has acted as the willing tool of Tel Aviv and Washington.

Revolutionary Marxists had no side in the internecine fighting between Hamas and Fatah. At the same time, we stand for the military defense of Hamas against military assault by Israel or the U.S. without giving this reactionary fundamentalist outfit any political support.

The spark for the fighting in Gaza was the deployment of 3,000 Fatah-allied security forces in Gaza City in early May over Hamas' objections. Hamas also bristled at Abbas' appointment of former Gaza strongman Mohammed Dahlan as his national security advisor. (Dahlan had been responsible for building up the PA's security services in Gaza under the 1993 U.S.-brokered Oslo accord and oversaw the

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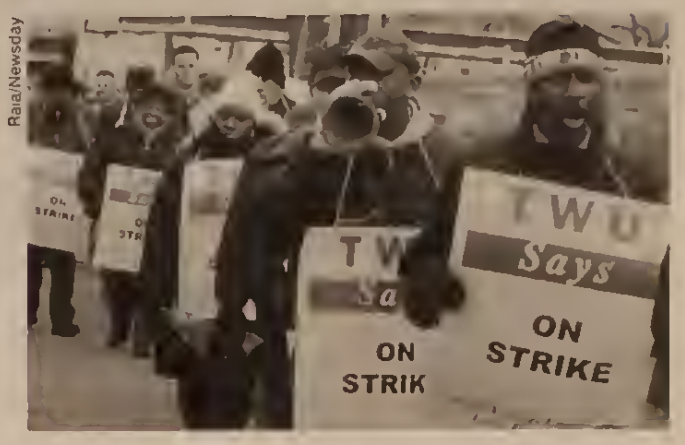
Payback for 2005 NYC Transit Strike

State Revokes TWU Dues Checkoff

Rip Up Slave-Labor Taylor Law!

NEW YORK CITY—In an attempt to bankrupt Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 for its solid and popular three-day strike in December 2005, a New York state court has revoked the union's dues checkoff. As of June 1, members' dues were no longer automatically deducted from paychecks by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA). In response, Local 100 has taken measures to collect its dues directly from union members for the first time in decades.

The 2005 strike shut down bus and subway service in the financial center of U.S. imperialism in defiance of the state's Taylor Law, which bans public employee strikes. But the pro-capitalist Local 100 leadership stopped the strike after 60 hours without a contract in hand and without winning amnesty from Taylor Law penalties. For its part, the TWU International openly opposed the strike, while the city labor leaders ducked for cover. Calling off this effective strike emboldened the courts and MTA bosses to go after the union, fining workers six days' pay, imposing $2.5 million in fines on Local 100, briefly jailing union president Roger Toussaint and now eliminating its existing dues collection system. Beholden to a policy of class collaboration, Toussaint & Co. turned around and energetically campaigned for Democratic Party strikebreaker Eliot Spitzer in the 2006 gubernatorial race, even though Spitzer as state Attorney General enforced the Taylor Law reprisals against the union.



Rana/Newsday

19 December 2005: Striking bus workers picket in Queens one day before TWU shut down entire transit system.

Make no mistake: It is the duty of all Local 100 members to pay their dues. A bankrupt union cannot carry out its purpose: defending the livelihood, safety and working conditions of its membership against the bosses. According to the *Chief-Leader* (8 June), Local 100 officials were projecting to get half the union membership to "sign up" to pay dues by June 1. But many workers are refusing to pay out of disgust with the policies of the union tops and the rotten contract rammed down their throats in binding arbitration. Union members have every reason to be angry at Toussaint and other Local 100 officers. What *is* needed is a new, class-struggle leadership of the unions. But not paying dues only weakens Local 100, and the MTA would love to drive a stake into the heart of this powerful, multiracial union.

At the moment, Toussaint says that he wants to permanently replace dues checkoff with direct payments to the union. In fact, the whole system of dues checkoff put the union's money into the bosses' hands, giving management an instrument for financial blackmail. Local 100 can petition the court to have the system reinstated after 90 days—at the cost of pledging to abide by the Taylor Law and never strike again. Without the right to strike, a union has surrendered its purpose. In 1980, dues checkoff was taken away in the heat of the 11-day NYC transit strike. It was restored six months later after union misleaders sold out work and safety standards.

Dues checkoff in NYC transit has its origins in a rotten deal with the class enemy. In 1948, TWU leader Mike Quill was facing a restive membership and militant opposition within the union, not least as a result of the World War II "no strike pledge" he upheld and the NYC rulers' stonewalling on contract negotiations. In backroom discussions, Quill accepted Democratic Party mayor Mike O'Dwyer's "offer" to let the bosses control dues collection and then transfer that money to the union. In return for dues checkoff and a package of wage increases, Quill disavowed the union's historic opposition to transit fare hikes, opening the road for the bosses to respond to all future union demands by threatening fare increases. The fare was soon doubled! Quill's policy of class collaboration continued as he worked to purge most of his former Communist Party comrades out of the TWU during the anti-red witchhunts of the 1940s and '50s.

As we wrote in an exchange on dues checkoff in *WV* No. 358 (6 July 1984):

> "The dues checkoff is a classic example of the tendency for trade unions in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to turn into appendages of the bourgeois state, reflecting the sellout labor bureaucracy's desire to live in 'harmony' with the class enemy. It is of a piece with the various 'labor courts,' boards and capitalist labor legislation generally which these fakers always count on. And it is particularly true for the dues checkoff in NYC transit where the boss and union treasurer is the state itself."

Dues should be collected by union reps, which would help make the union leadership more accountable to the ranks. Instituting this method of dues collection would better prepare the union for its future battles and goes hand in hand with the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions that is financially and politically independent of the capitalists and their state. In its struggle, labor must rely on its own organized power, which includes control of union finances vital to win strikes.

It is this power that can smash the anti-strike Taylor Law through uniting transit workers and all city and state labor at the head of the poor and oppressed. In order to mobilize the mass of the city's dispossessed behind it, the TWU should raise such demands as free, quality mass transit for all. But even after the TWU has repeatedly felt the sting of Taylor Law penalties, the Local 100 leadership wants capitalist politicians in Albany to "reform" the law by giving the government's Public Employment Relations Board the power "to seek an injunction when a party engages in prohibited subjects of bargaining." The union bureaucrats want a more evenhanded Taylor Law to keep the bosses honest. But the entire purpose of the law is to keep public workers unions in chains, and any strengthening of its provisions will ultimately redound against the unions.

Various and sundry oppositionists and "militants" in Local 100 are critical of the Toussaint leadership but do not represent a break from the politics of class collaboration. Among the more left-talking are union members supported by the fake socialists of the League for the Revolutionary Party. An article on dues checkoff in their publication *Revolutionary Transit Worker* (*RTW*) No. 41 (10 June) rightly opposes its revocation and states that "the bosses' hands should be kept off the union's money." But in practice *RTW* has made a mockery of the principle of class independence by lashing up with others who bring the capitalist state into the union's affairs, including by giving "critical support" to Toussaint in the 2000 elections, despite the fact that he had *sued the union*.

As Marxists, we fight for the complete independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state and the bosses' political parties. A new leadership is needed to turn the unions into instruments of class struggle. Such a leadership would support the building of a workers party that leads all the exploited and oppressed in the fight for a workers government. ■

Zionism: A Marxist Understanding

TROTSKY

LENIN

Amid the Nazi genocidal rampages against European Jewry, the young Trotskyist Abram Leon, who died in Auschwitz in 1944, warned against Zionism as a solution to the oppression of the Jewish people. Indeed, the Israeli capitalist state, founded in 1948 and today possessing nuclear arms, is premised on the expulsion and brutal oppression of the Palestinian people and is also a death trap for the Hebrew-speaking people themselves. There can and will be no just resolution to the conflicting national rights of the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples short of the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East, requiring the overthrow of all the bourgeois regimes of the region through proletarian revolution.

Zionist theoreticians like to compare Zionism with all other national movements. But in reality, the foundations of the national movements and that of Zionism are altogether different. The national movement of the European bourgeoisie is the consequence of capitalist development; it reflects the will of the bourgeoisie to create the national bases for production, to abolish feudal remnants. The national movement of the European bourgeoisie is closely linked with the ascending phase of capitalism. But in the Nineteenth Century, in the period of the flowering of nationalisms, far from being "Zionist," the Jewish bourgeoisie was profoundly assimilationist. The economic process from which the modern nations issued laid the foundations for integration of the Jewish bourgeoisie into the bourgeois nation.

It is only when the process of the formation of nations approaches its end, when the productive forces have for a long time found themselves constricted within national boundaries, that the process of expulsion of Jews from capitalist society begins to manifest itself, that modern anti-Semitism begins to develop. The elimination of Judaism accompanies the decline of capitalism. Far from being a product of the development of the productive forces, Zionism is precisely the consequence of the complete halt of this development, the result of the petrifaction of capitalism. Whereas the national movement is the product of the ascending period of capitalism, Zionism is the product of the imperialist era. The Jewish tragedy of the Twentieth Century is a direct consequence of the decline of capitalism....

It was capitalism, by virtue of the fact that it provided an economic basis for the national problem, which also created insoluble national contradictions.... With the disappearance of capitalism, the national problem will lose all its acuteness. If it is premature to speak of a worldwide assimilation of peoples, it is nonetheless clear that a planned economy on a global scale will bring all the peoples of the world much closer to each other.

—Abram Leon, *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*
(published posthumously in 1946)

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No. 895 **6 July 2007**

CORRECTION

In Part Two of "German Imperialism and the Lie of 'Collective Guilt'" (*WV* No. 894, 8 June), the author of *The Making of the GDR, 1945-53: From Antifascism to Stalinism* was incorrectly identified as Richard Pritchard. The actual name of the author is Gareth Pritchard.

Norden for President?

The IG and Executive Office: Sewer Centrism

Ninety years ago, Bolshevik Party leader V. I. Lenin wrote *State and Revolution*. Forcefully arguing the Marxist understanding of the state, Lenin drew upon his predecessors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who added the following to their 1872 preface to the German edition, and subsequent editions, of the *Communist Manifesto*: "One thing especially was proved by the [Paris] Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes'." The work on *State and Revolution* was "interrupted" by the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which put in practice the smashing of the bourgeois state and its replacement by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Upon its publication, Lenin's work was denounced by all manner of centrists and reformists as an "anarchist" tract, as opposed to their revisionist versions of "Marxism." Not coincidentally, revisionists of various stripes launched vitriolic attacks on the establishment of the workers state issuing from the October Revolution. So when a senior comrade of the International Communist League prompted a discussion on our own policy on running for executive office in bourgeois elections, it was Lenin's fight against these opponents of October to which we turned for guidance.

We had held, consistent with historic practices of the revolutionary Marxist movement, that it was permissible to run for executive office, while at the same time we understood that we would refuse, on principle, to assume such office. Such a position, however, contained a contradiction. The executive authority commands the "special bodies of armed men" that are the core of the state apparatus; the revolutionary shattering of that state entails inevitably reckoning with the executive. Even in the great *bourgeois* revolutions in England and France, the revolutionists who established a base in the Parliament and the National Assembly had to get rid of the king and set up a new executive organ. What end would be served by a revolutionary campaign for such an office?

The Fifth International Conference of the ICL, held earlier this year, resolved this contradiction and concluded that we would not run for such offices. Rather, our slogan should be in regard to the capitalist state: "Down with executive offices!" In so doing, we saw ourselves fulfilling the work of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky's time, correcting a bad compromise made at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920. In fighting against the position put forward by ultraleft Communists of boycotting bourgeois elections on principle, the distinction between running for executive office and for legislative office was lost. We announced this change of line in an article in *Le Bolchévik*, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, that we ran in *Workers Vanguard* No. 890 (13 April) under the headline "French Election: No Choice for Workers." The article declares:

> "As our recent conference document states: 'The problem with running for executive offices is that it lends legitimacy to prevailing and reformist conceptions of the state.' Our entire purpose is to bring to workers the understanding that in any socialist revolution the bourgeois state must be destroyed and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin taught this, and all history has proven it. To run in elections for executive office thus represents an obstacle to our strategic goal."

We expected grunts of sneering disagreement over our line change from fake-socialist opponents; the centrist Internationalist Group (IG) did not disappoint. Having stressed the distinction between executive and parliamentary bodies, we were charged by the IG not with "anarchism," the epithet hurled against Lenin, but, ludicrously, with "parliamentary cretinism." The crux of the IG's argument is:

> "But for revolutionaries, putting forward candidates for executive posts such as presidents or mayors in no way implies that they intend to occupy these positions within the framework of the bourgeois state. As we always stressed at the time when the ICL, and the international Spartacist tendency which preceded it, stood for the continuity of genuine Trotskyism, we use elections as a platform for revolutionary propaganda. In the unusual case in which a revolutionary candidate had enough influence to be elected, the party would already have begun building workers councils and other organs of a soviet character. And the party would insist that, if elected, its candidates would base themselves on such organs of workers power and not on the institutions of the bourgeois state."
>
> —"France Turns Hard to the Right," *The Internationalist*, May 2007

Thus the IG leaves open, and certainly does not disavow, the possibility that it *would accept executive office* in certain "unusual" cases. This is not in "continuity" with our earlier position of "run but do not serve." It is, rather, a rightist resolution of the contradiction inherent in that line, and by no means a new one. In fact, the early French and Bulgarian Communist parties, among others, won elections to local executive offices, and the Bulgarian Communists controlled hundreds of municipal administrations.

In its polemical zeal, the IG trips over the elementary distinction between executive and legislative bodies, writing:

> "In reality, ever since Marx, we Marxists have been opposed to the election of presidents by universal suffrage, for this produces a semi-bonapartist executive escaping the control of legislative bodies. We are also opposed to the existence of a second, supposedly higher, legislative chamber as inherently anti-democratic. Should we therefore also refuse to run candidates of the Senate?"

In a word: No. (Except that in France the question does not even arise, as the Senate is elected not by suffrage but by mayors and councillors.) There is a historical distinction between Parliament and the King. We do not aspire to the office of Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, or of the local sheriff or, like the "sewer Socialists" who ran Milwaukee and other cities a century ago, of the mayor overseeing the police (and the sewers). But it is possible, and sometimes desirable, to run and serve in a revolutionary way in a parliamentary body, a *tactic* in the Leninist arsenal on the road to the proletariat's seizure of state power.

Sure, the U.S. Senate, for example, is undemocratic. But only parliamentary cretins would base their participation in elections on the "democratic" credentials of the institutional facades of the capitalist state. Does the IG think the lower chambers of bourgeois parliamentary republics are genuinely "democratic"? The Bolsheviks' parliamentary fraction functioned as revolutionaries in the Duma of tsarist Russia—a very non-democratic institution. But Lenin never proposed any electoral tactic entailing standing candidates for a "Red Tsar."

Nor, after the February Revolution in 1917, did Lenin propose—under those "unusual" circumstances—that the Bolsheviks obtain ministerial portfolios in the Kerensky government, which was, to be sure, joined by Mensheviks and other "socialists." On the contrary, he fought down the line against any conciliation to this class-collaborationist government ("popular front"), let alone participation within it, thus steeling the Bolshevik Party and laying the basis for the October victory.

It is precisely in revolutionary situations that illusions in the capitalist state have the most detrimental impact. For example, in Germany, amid the revolutionary upheaval that swept the country at the end of World War I, the centrist social democrat Karl Kautsky and his co-thinkers claimed to support *both* the workers councils and the bourgeois provisional government—the Council of People's Representatives—which they joined in November 1918. At the head of the Independent Socialist Party, a split from the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Kautsky & Co. proved to be of great utility to that same SPD and its government.

The SPD of Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske, notorious for the services rendered to its "own" bourgeoisie by criminally supporting the imperialist slaughter of World War I, was widely discredited. So Kautsky & Co.'s authority was instrumental in getting the National Assembly accepted by the working class, after which it was relatively easy to dismantle the workers councils, drowning the revolutionary movement in blood. And when a revolutionary situation erupted in 1923, the German Communist Party derailed that historic opportunity, adapting to the Social Democracy and, in October, even entering the SPD-led regional bourgeois governments in Saxony and Thuringia (see "A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001).

The IG, with its fence-straddling talk about assuming bourgeois executive office while at the same time basing itself on organs of workers power, is very much in the Kautsky tradition. It is also oddly silent about one occasion when the Spartacist League *did* run for executive office. In 1985, we ran Marjorie Stamberg, now an IG supporter, for mayor of New York. It was, given our understanding at the time, not an unprincipled act but rather a campaign carried out in accordance with what we believed to be correct communist practice. In light of our understanding now, running for executive office is out of the question; it is not a tactical question, but one of principle.

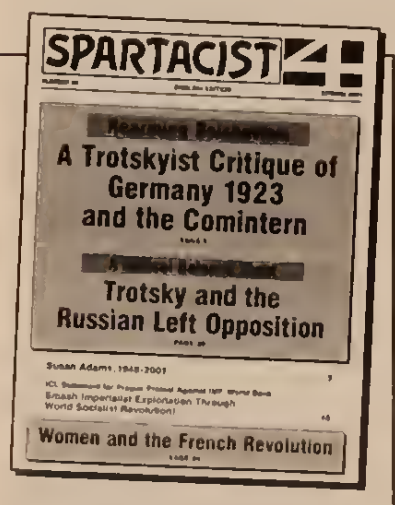
The IG's empty bombast about the probability of a "genuinely revolutionary candidate for *whatever post*" (emphasis ours) ending up in jail still begs the question. Where will the IG draw the line? If it is permissible to run for president or mayor, then how about sheriff? After all, presidents are the sheriffs of all the sheriffs. If it is possible to accept such posts, what exceptional loophole might allow IG honcho Jan Norden to assume the duties of Commander-in-Chief? Unwittingly, the IG's "polemic" has made it even more crystal clear how necessary and correct it was for us to stand on Lenin, complete the unfinished business of the Communist International and renounce running for executive office.■

Der Spiegel

Frederick A. Praeger

Above: German Social Democratic president Friedrich Ebert reviewing troops following World War I. Centrist Karl Kautsky (right) covered for social-chauvinists.
Below: December 1918 mass workers demonstration in Berlin demands: "All Power to the Workers and Soldiers Councils."

Walter Gircke



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ICL Honors Our Comrade Diana Kartsen

Our comrade Diana Kartsen died on April 12 at age 58 of ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, or Lou Gehrig's disease). The Librarian of the Prometheus Research Library since its inception, Diana was also at the time of her death a member of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Control Commission, on which she served in different capacities for more than two decades.

Memorial gatherings for Diana have been held internationally. Written tributes have come in from Europe, India and elsewhere, including from young women cadres of the International Communist League who had been inspired by Diana and from Marxist scholars who worked with her at the Prometheus Research Library. In several countries, as is the custom in the communist movement, Diana's comrades gathered at the gravesites of past revolutionaries to lay wreaths, including at the grave of Karl Marx in London and at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. In Chicago, where Diana was recruited to Trotskyism in the early 1970s, comrades gathered at the memorial to the Haymarket martyrs. In Japan, comrades honored her at the grave of heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi.

In New York, where Diana lived for the last 30 years, more than 100 comrades, friends and family gathered on May 27. A memorial meeting was also held in Oakland on June 10. At both gatherings, photographs and documents were displayed highlighting in particular her role as a leader of our interventions at numerous demonstrations and as head of the PRL. Under Diana's leadership, the Library, which serves as the Spartacist League's central archive, acquired over 6,000 books and periodical volumes. In collaboration with SL/U.S. National Chairman Jim Robertson and others, Diana and her staff were instrumental in the publishing of three books by the PRL: *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism*; *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933*; and the first publication in Russian of Leon Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin*. She also oversaw the production of six bulletins of the *Prometheus Research Series*.

At the New York gathering, Carl Lichtenstein, who worked closely with Diana at the PRL, not only spoke about her work in administering the Library but stressed how she was always concerned about "keeping comrades politically current, knowing what was going on, knowing where our work fit in." Corky Benedict, long a mainstay of the Maintenance department in the party center, indicated a green hard hat with Diana's name on it on the PRL display table, which Maintenance comrades gave her as a testament to her assistance in transforming "an old, run-down loft building into a space that is friendly to books and archival material and to comrades and visiting scholars." Bryan Palmer, who came to know Diana while working at the PRL on his new biography of Cannon (*James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928*), sent a letter paying tribute to her "penchant for preserving our heritage, which is why she gave me such support in my research and writing on Cannon, and why she was such a successful builder of the PRL's holdings."

Kartsen Family

1948-2007

Numerous speakers and letters spoke to Diana's concern for comrades' development, her compassion, fairness and ability to listen, and her warmth and kindness toward the family of her beloved husband and comrade, Ed Kartsen. Ed's sister Victoria told the New York meeting how Diana took extraordinary care in looking after their family as Ed's mother lay in a coma in Harlem Hospital in August 2003. Describing her return home to Florida, Victoria said, "As I sat waiting for the plane wondering whether my mother would survive, I was comforted by the thought that Diana would be keeping an eye on my mom's progress. I also realized that my brother was extraordinarily fortunate to have found such a wonderful woman to love and to be loved by."

In her speech at the New York memorial, Mindy Gianninoto, Diana's close friend and comrade, spoke of Ed's devotion to Diana: "Ed really loved her and took care of Diana. From the moment he got home from work and on the weekends he was her sole caregiver. She could no longer walk or talk, move her hands or eat. To do what Ed did, you have to set aside your ego and yourself. You become totally selfless in order to do what needs to be done for the one you love. I, and I think all of us, salute him."

Speaking in Oakland, comrade Francis expressed her heartfelt appreciation for comrades Karen, Gayle, Mindy and Ed for their diligent care for Diana over the last period of her life. Beginning her remarks by recalling Diana's last phone call with Elizabeth King Robertson, a party leader who died in October 2005, she concluded: "Someone's recent tribute referred to Diana's arched eyebrow. Her arched eyebrow and the accompanying evil twinkle that would come into her eye—those were Diana's signal warning you of the coming of a wry remark that left you laughing, whether on the field of battle or as she was dying. But Diana died in the comfort, which is left to us to fulfill, that her party, that Lizzy's party, that the party of the proletariat lives on."

We print below our party's memorial tribute delivered in New York by Jane Kirby, as well as speeches by Ed Kartsen and his aunt, Susan Jarvis, Mindy Gianninoto and Jim Robertson, some of which have been excerpted.

* * *

Jane Kirby: Diana died of Lou Gehrig's disease, a disease that is slowly debilitating and where advancing paralysis essentially entombs one in one's own body. So we all knew that she was dying. Nonetheless as Jim remarked to me, it was still a tremendous shock when she did die. She fought until the end to continue to keep up with all aspects of the party's work, particularly that of the Prometheus Research Library of which she was the founding and head Librarian, but also the work of the party's central office of which she had been a key component, the work of the locals of the American section and of our sections internationally.

Although her ability to communicate progressively diminished, she would pump comrades by whatever means she had at hand for news of what was going on, and above all about the comrades themselves—their lives, their concerns, their problems—for Diana keenly understood the importance of cadre preservation as central to forging a Leninist vanguard party as the critical instrumentality for the liberation of all of humanity from this increasingly brutal and depraved system of capitalist imperialism. More than that, she was simply a nice person.

She was very much the stiff-upper-lip WASP, not cold or dour or snobbish but very upright, with a keen and abiding sense of right and wrong, and one not given to self-pity or for that matter to any manner of egotism. She was a rock. At the end, she fought with all the calm determination and iron will that she brought to her work as a leading cadre of our party for some 25 years. She continued to be a voice of reason, offering considered and objective advice to her friends and comrades. Diana also maintained a very wry sense of humor through it all. When her friend comrade Francis came in a few months ago to see Diana and say her goodbyes, she asked Diana if there was anything she could do to help Ed—Diana's companion and the love of her life—after she was gone. Diana, who was no longer capable of speaking, typed into her voice machine the following question: "Where am I going?" Of course, one can see aspects of denial there. But I see her understated but devilish wit, and I can just see the twinkle in her eye.

But now she *is* gone. And that is a tremendous loss to our party, the International Communist League. And it leaves a big hole in the hearts of her companion Ed, her family—sister Nancy and her two daughters Alex and "Little Di"—and her friends. But as a comrade from the Mexican section wrote in a letter to Diana at the end, "Some consolation comes from knowing that as communists our impact stretches far beyond our counted days." And today, we come not only to honor Diana but to learn from the example of her role in our party and to carry forward the fight to which she remained unwaveringly committed to the end—the fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International.

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NYC memorial: Display prepared by PRL shows books and pamphlets produced under Diana's leadership along with hard hat given her by Maintenance department comrades in appreciation of her assistance.

Diana was a party cadre of the school of James P. Cannon, who himself learned from Lenin and Trotsky, and these lessons were immediately and particularly passed on to Diana by Jim Robertson, who himself learned from Cannon. For Jim, Diana was one of his closest political collaborators and friends, and her loss is incalculable. Their collaboration began some 30 years ago as they worked together to build the Prometheus Research Library, starting from comrade Robertson's 40-year accumulated and organized collection, with Diana as Librarian and Jim as Director. It was a collaboration that would extend into many areas of party work.

In a work titled "Factional Struggle and Party Leadership," James P. Cannon succinctly summed up the Leninist conception of party leadership. And the following section, I think, is one that really captures Diana:

> "A third feature of our conception of the cadre, which we work on consciously and deliberately all the time, is to cultivate among all the leading people the ability to work together; not to be individual stars; not to be wiseacres who make problems of themselves—but people who fit into a machine; work with others; recognize the merits and respect the opinions of others; recognize that there is no such thing as an unimportant person, that anybody who stands for the program and is sent into the National Committee by his branch or local has got something to give. The task of the central leaders of the party is to open the door for him, find out what he can do, and help him to train himself to do better in the future.
>
> "The ability to work together is an essential feature of our conception of the leading cadre, and the next feature is that of a division of labor. It is not necessary for one or two wise guys to know everything and do everything. It is much better, much firmer, much surer if you have a broad selection of people, each one of whom contributes something to the decisions and does a specially selective work for which he is qualified, and coordinates his work with others."

These are the qualities that Diana Kartsen brought to our party leadership. She was not a facile pen, she was not a grand orator. She *was* an audacious military leader, but never did this translate into a perception of herself as an individual star. She always worked to build a collective, and comrades who worked with her in the many fields of party work for which she had responsibility all speak of how she would give a thorough political briefing and overview of what was going on in the party as a precondition to any assignment she was in charge of, no matter how pressing the tasks or how short the time at hand.

As the head Librarian at PRL, she keenly understood the importance of a Leninist party as the memory of the working class, meticulously assembling the documentary record of our revolutionary forebears to preserve, as Trotsky put it, the dearly bought lessons of the past in order to guide the future revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and to preserve our own revolutionary continuity going back to Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. She brought this understanding to preserving our own documentary record in her role as Secretary of the Political Bureau, to which she was appointed in 1991, and as the head of the secretariat at many national and international gatherings of our tendency. She was extremely professional, and her superb organizational skills were rooted in the highest political consciousness.

As her companion and political collaborator, Ed Kartsen, wrote in a letter to comrades the day Diana died, "She had a clear conception of the unity of mental and physical labor, that is, of theory with practice." In her day-to-day political life she fought against the division between "thinkers" and "doers"—which is itself an ideological expression of class-divided society serving to justify the exploitation and oppression of those who "work with their hands" as some kind of lesser beings, deserving of their lot in life. Her work at the Library involved setting up the physical plant, carefully cataloguing, shelving, and numerous construction projects as our holdings expanded. She was also key in cohering the structures and systems necessary to pursue our work in the central party office and the International Secretariat.

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Diana at New York's Tamiment Library, 1977.

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Le Bolchévik photos

Left: Chicago gathering honors Diana at statue dedicated to Haymarket martyrs, May 13. Right: French comrades laid flowers at Wall of the Communards, Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris, May 20.

Comrade Robertson made the point that Diana was not only one of the most senior, but *the most* responsible cadre of an earlier order of party leadership. As the highest expression of this capacity, he underlined her position as the Central Committee representative to the party's Control Commission—a position she held for 20 years and one which requires and carries with it the greatest moral authority in the party.

We ran into Diana and Wes, who was her companion at the time, in 1970-71 at the University of Chicago. That was a time of great radicalization and outpouring of opposition to U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. In a recent letter Wes recalled that Diana disliked the destructive, mindless radicalism that characterized at least a wing of the New Left. That certainly rang true. Diana was a very serious person, and she was also very cultured. At the time we met her she was a graduate student in Art History whose main interest was Islamic art, to which end she was struggling to learn Arabic, which is no mean feat.

But at the same time, she was passionately opposed to the racism, to the injustice, to the poverty and the war of this capitalist society. Impelled particularly by the brutal police attacks on protesters at the 1968 Democratic Party Convention in Chicago, Wes and Diana became connected with the campus International Socialists [I.S.]. At the time, the I.S. was striking a rather left posture—a response to the more radical political temperature of the times—including selling books such as Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, his seminal work analyzing the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution. This took some chutzpah considering that this book is a complete repudiation of the International Socialists' so-called "theory" that the Soviet Union had become a new form of class society—a position which was born under the pressures of "democratic" imperialism and which was implemented on its behalf as these so-called "third campists" took the side of imperialist-inspired counterrevolution in every conflict in which the defense of the gains of October was posed.

But Diana was won to genuine Trotskyism and the fight for new Octobers, embarking on her course to becoming a professional revolutionary when she joined the Chicago chapter of our newly founded youth organization, the Revolutionary Communist Youth, in October 1971. A comrade from the time recalled seeing "this striking young woman with red flowing hair and a visible hammer and sickle pin on her jacket striding across the campus" at the University of Chicago. In 1973, Diana and Wes went to live and study in India under the political direction of the party. It was a difficult trip. But the intense experiences that she had that year in India contributed to her fight for a communist future for humanity. After her year in India, she abandoned her academic career, moved to New York and joined the party in 1974.

To get a measure of Diana, it is useful to look at the different political periods that shaped her, how the world was changing, the changing demands on the party and the strengths that she brought to bear in different political periods. When she joined the RCY in 1971, the Spartacist League had doubled in size, winning new recruits from our hard communist interventions in the antiwar movement, the women's movement, in the fight for black liberation, in the working class and in polemical struggle against our opponents on the left. Out of this we had gained a key accretion of cadre from our fusion with the Communist Working Collective, which we had won from Maoism to Trotskyism.

A 1971 "Memorandum to the Central Committee on the Transformation of the SL" by the Political Bureau noted that "almost every aspect of struggle and motion has found us compelled to intervene, in a way qualitatively at variance with our self-designation as an *unstable sub-propaganda group*." Out of this memorandum and discussion, we launched *Workers Vanguard* in 1971. Second only to establishing a regular and frequent press, we recognized the need to systematize and expand our work in the unions. We established a communist youth organization, the RCY, organizationally independent and politically subordinate to the party, as the training ground for young apprentice communists like Diana.

Understanding the importance of forging a black cadre to the fight for socialist revolution in this deeply racist country, where capitalism is rooted in the forcible subjugation of blacks at the bottom, we saw an opening to winning the most thoughtful and dedicated of those black radicals who were questioning the program of black separatism following the split in the Black Panther Party. Throughout Diana's life in the party, the fight for black freedom was always at the forefront of her interventions. Labor and black, the two central questions of the American Revolution were, for her, key.

The Transformation Memorandum concluded by emphasizing that "in this period of many-sided expansion and growth, we must not lose sight of the necessity to maintain the SL as a centralized, highly responsible national collective." Diana would become a key part of this collective, not only nationally but internationally. From the very first issue of *Spartacist*, we recognized the importance of revolutionary regroupment through splits and fusions with leftward-moving elements from contending organizations in the workers movement as key to forging a Leninist international. In 1974, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand issued a Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency, based on our 1966 Declaration of Principles and dedicated to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

As we began to realize regroupment with splits from other tendencies internationally, particularly from Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, Diana's work was critical to organizing an International Secretariat, setting up the systems and apparatus crucial to cohering the international Spartacist tendency. In this capacity, she was also central to the organizing of our first International Conference in 1979. In 1980, Diana was elected as a candidate member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee, and at a subsequent PB meeting she was appointed the department head of the Prometheus Research Library as well as of the International Secretariat in New York.

It was in the 1980s that Diana would demonstrate her capacity as a military leader. This was a far different

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Diana Kartsen...

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political period than the heady days of the Vietnam anti-war movement. The winds of anti-Soviet Cold War II were blowing red hot. The rest of the left had moved sharply to the right. We stood out for our hard-edged and forthright fight to defend the gains of the October Revolution, which remained embodied in the Soviet Union and in the deformed workers states, against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Those who wanted to have the Pope run Poland, who took the side of the CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan against the liberating role played by the Red Army, who wanted to keep El Salvador safe for U.S. imperialism, came after us 16 ways from Sunday. That lineup ran from the *Wall Street Journal* right down to most of the left. The left went after us with Big Lie campaigns of slander, with attempts to exclude us, calling the capitalist cops and so on. We took a lot of losses in this period of members who couldn't take the heat. But it was in this period that Diana came to the fore, as a leader in fighting against the stream.

Her abilities as a decisive and clearheaded leader of a combat party were demonstrated at the mass protests over Central America. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the leftist rebels in El Salvador were seen as "Soviet surrogates," and Central America was a front line in U.S. imperialism's drive to "roll back Communism." They poured millions into arming and bankrolling the sadistic contra terrorists in Nicaragua and the death squad junta in El Salvador. In the face of the advancing victories by leftist rebels in El Salvador, the reformists and rad-libs appealed for a "political solution"—that is, a deal with the blood-crazed military butchers in El Salvador, and at home looked to the Democratic Party to set a more "humane" policy for U.S. imperialism. The Spartacist League drew the class line. We fought for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent around the central demands: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents! Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador! Break with the Democrats—For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!

At a massive protest in Washington, D.C., on May 3, 1981, our Anti-Imperialist Contingent was 500-strong. The organizers of that protest, centrally Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and its front groups of the time, set up a line of marshals to prevent people from joining our anti-imperialist rally. As we wrote at the time, the Marcyite organizers "understood that their job was to keep youth 'uncontaminated' by communism" and "ready for Teddy" (that is, Teddy Kennedy, who was then the liberal darling of the Democratic Party). Diana was not part of the designated central leadership at that demonstration, but she fought to have our forces marshaled against the Marcyite goon squad which was trying to prevent people from joining us. Unfortunately, she did not prevail. But she was given a battlefield promotion from being a candidate member of the Central Committee to being an alternate, and she won a commendation from the Political Bureau.

Kartsen Family

Diana and Ed at Montauk, Long Island, during 2005 New Year holiday.

WV Photo

Diana at 1994 SL/U.S. National Conference.

At a subsequent mass protest on March 27, 1982, where Diana *was* a central component of the leadership, the Marcyites were given a well-deserved lesson in workers democracy when they once again tried to seal us off with another one of their "daisy chain" goon squads. But it was at our 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C., on November 27, 1982, that Diana really demonstrated the capacities of military leadership. And that is at bottom a political question, the ability to make the on-the-spot command decisions that provide revolutionary leadership and bring our program into action.

The Klan had been given the go-ahead by Reagan's White House to rally for racist terror and genocide in the nation's capital. We mobilized to stop them. Key to this was getting the support of organized labor, the first coming from the predominantly black waterfront unions in the Tidewater area. Other labor support began to pour in, which set the stage for bringing out thousands of fighters from the black and working-class population of the D.C. region. On the eve of the demonstration, the D.C. cops went on a campaign to intimidate people from coming out. We were told that our mobilization would be completely cordoned off. More than 1,000 cops were out to protect the Klan that day. But some 5,000 turned out to *stop* the Klan despite the threats and intimidation. In the course of the day, the anti-Klan protesters became increasingly aware of their strength and their power. And Diana called the shots that provided key aspects of leadership.

What she demonstrated was an ability to assess the tenor of the crowd, their response to our speeches and other interventions, and from there to tactically anticipate what was needed to provide leadership. This included the ability to reverse, on site, decisions that had previously been made. Understanding the determination of the anti-Klan protesters and anticipating that there was no way they were going to let the Klan march that day, she made two key decisions. One was to make sure that we got a leadership team to the top of the hill where the Klan was supposed to be assembling. The Klan didn't march that day, they didn't even put on their hoods and robes, but scurried away like sewer rats when they saw the reception they were about to receive. The other decision Diana made was to assemble our banners to lead the crowd when they learned of the Klan's retreat. And when the cops began to pull back, the crowd took to the street, jubilantly chanting, "We stopped the Klan!" The Spartacist League provided the conscious Bolshevik leadership, and it was Diana who was key to that in making the decisions on site that gave coherence and political leadership.

In August 1983 Diana was elected as a full member of the Central Committee at our Seventh National Conference. In December of that year, she was brought on to the Political Bureau, and six months later she was elected as National Secretary, paying particular attention to the often conflicting demands of the central office departments and the SL locals and to politically organizing the necessary discussion to prioritize our work. In June 1988, she was asked to give up her post as National Secretary in order to concentrate full-time on running the Library. That August we brought out the first of our *Prometheus Research Series* bulletins, the resolution of the Third Congress of the Communist International, "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." That was the first of six *PRS* bulletins, which you can see in the displays here today, as well as two books on the history and political struggles of James P. Cannon and the publication of Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin* in the original Russian.

In the mid 1990s, Diana came back to play key roles in the central party administration in a period in which we were going through a very wrenching transition of leadership. This transition was compounded by the impact on our party of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—a world-historic defeat for the international working class. Our difficulties in this period have been frankly assessed in our press, reflecting the internal discussions that have gone on in the struggle to maintain our revolutionary continuity in the post-Soviet period.

Diana was a key thread in that revolutionary continuity, not only, and importantly, through her work at PRL but also in helping to train a new generation. In their farewells to Diana, a number of younger women cadre wrote movingly of the impact that she had on them as a shining example of a strong Bolshevik woman leader. She of course had her failings and her weaknesses. But the fight for collective leadership is none other than the recognition that there is no such thing as 100-percent leadership. Or as Cannon put it, we are men of common clay. Our purpose in this memorial to our dear comrade Diana is not hagiography; it is to carry forward the fight to which she dedicated her life: the socialist emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed of the world, and the forging of the international revolutionary party necessary for that victory.

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Susan Jarvis: I am Ed and Diana's aunt, generally known to one and all as Aunt Sue. I met Diana for the first time on December 25, 1984, when Ed brought her to Christmas dinner. Thank you, Ed, for bringing Diana into our life. That was the day they told us they were planning to be married. After that Christmas we spent 22 Thanksgivings and 22 Christmases together. Diana always said to me, "You love to cook, we love to eat. It's a perfect division of labor."

When I thought about what I wanted to say today, I realized how many happy memories I have of the times we shared together. I remember celebrating their marriage with dinner at Tavern on the Green and a carriage ride through Central Park. I have been looking through the boxes of photographs I have accumulated over the years: pictures of country trips, of outdoor concerts, of picnics, of museum visits, and of sitting and talking endlessly with glasses of wine at our elbows.

We also shared the grief when Vincent [Susan's husband] died, and it was Ed and Diana who supported me through that sad time. We loved Diana deeply from the day Ed brought her to us. We loved her for her kindness, for her compassion, her morality, her belief in human potential, her grace, her humor—she could always make us laugh—and perhaps most of all her intelligence.

We shared a love of the music of Bach, of Chinese landscape painting, of Asian landscapes, of detective stories. And above all we had a love of history. In the weeks before she died, when she could no longer hold a book in her hands, I was reading to her a book about Lincoln and the Gettysburg Address. And it's very appropriate to me that the music that was playing when we came into the room was from *Gettysburg*. Her intellect, her love of knowledge—these were the things that sustained her to the very end of her life.

I respected and admired her belief in the working class and the possibility of a socialist future for the world. Her greatest devotion was to her party and to Ed and, of course, the two can't be separated in her life. I don't believe in God or religion, but according to the Jewish tradition, which is my tradition, Diana will be immortal. She will live forever in the memory of those who knew her and loved her.

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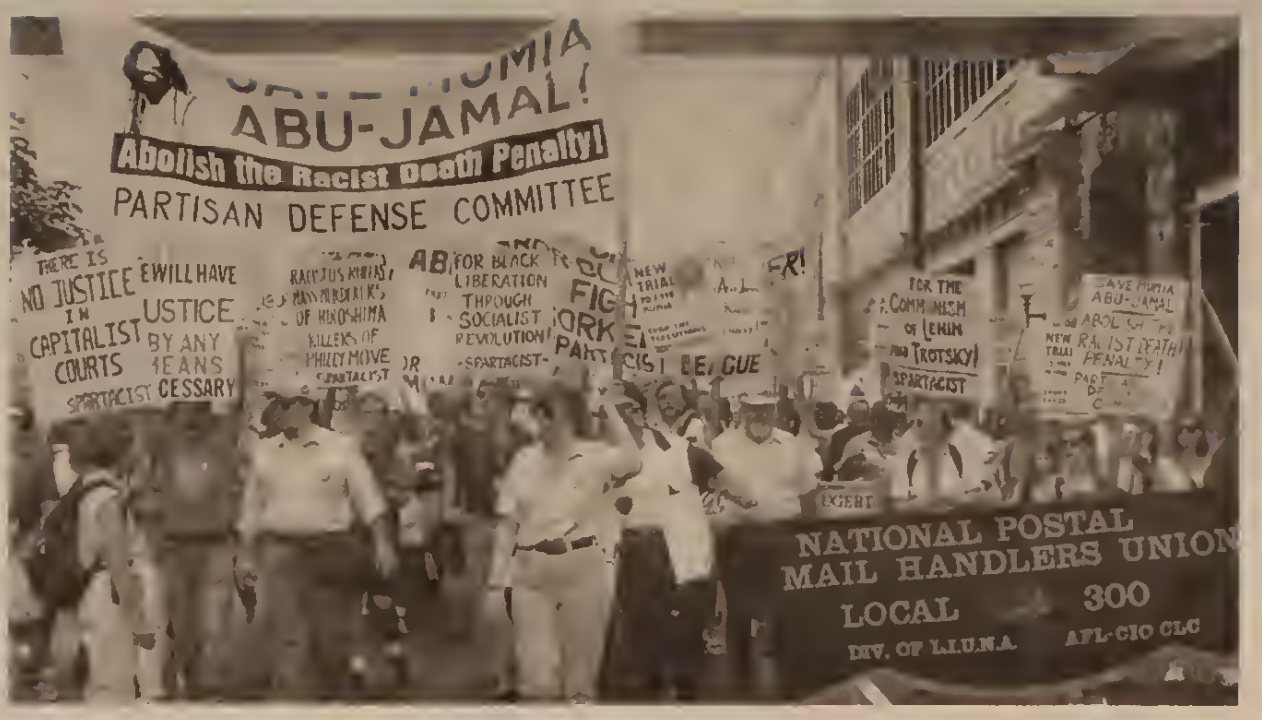
Ed Kartsen: I was honored by the opportunity of knowing and loving Diana. She had the capacity to put someone as socially awkward as me at rest and relaxed immediately. And that's what she did the first time I met her at the Prometheus Research Library. Her openness, her comradely attitude, her friendliness were the things that first attracted me to her. Our early discussions on Marxist literature eventually blossomed over time into discussions encompassing Marxist theory, dialectical materialism, and all the natural sciences. We married in 1985.

Our personal struggles developed into a relationship of deep love, respect and theoretical depth. Diana's impact was wide-ranging as you can see from the speakers today, and I was fortunate enough to have been



WV Photos

Above: Diana at 3 May 1981 El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C. Right: Diana leading our contingent at demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia, 12 August 1995.

enriched by the experience of having ongoing and deep theoretical discussions with Diana.

One of the things I learned about her was her capacity to categorize information, an essential skill for a librarian. She displayed a great capacity for attention to detail. She had a profound understanding of the organization of systems of information. And this turned out to be the organization of information not only in a literary sense but in the military and in the scientific. In the maintenance and construction projects you heard about, she truly got a concrete understanding of the sense of the unity of physical and mental labor.

She well understood the A of the ABCs of dialectics, "A" being the necessity of objective information, exhaustive knowledge based on the understanding of things in their development and their transformation through contradictions. She understood this to be the foundation for making scientific judgments in her party work. She learned a great deal of this in the Prometheus Research Library work, under the direction of comrade Jim Robertson.

She used her ability to organize *objective* information on a battlefield and her ability to organize the *subjective* accumulated knowledge of the Marxist movement in her library work. This work contributed, as you can see from the PRL display, to the preservation of the Marxist literary history of our movement, including the James P. Cannon writings of the early years of American Communism, as well as the early conflict between Cannon and Shachtman in the CLA, 1931-1933, the *Dog Days*. This work provided Diana with the capacity to understand many of the components of dialectics. But even before she was a communist, she studied art history at the University of Chicago. In her studies she eventually comprehended the evolution of art forms. And she once told me that in studying the forms of art from one historic period to the next, she came to an understanding of the transformation of quantitative change into qualitative change.

She started out as a liberal before joining the communist movement. But she developed into a communist who stood with iron firmness against the political censorship of liberal reformism in the service of imperialism (as you heard comrade Jane talk about here today). She had a passionate hatred of injustice and racism as a young woman, and this converted her into a dedicated communist in the struggle for revolutionary integration.

She had a revolutionary fire in her belly and she was a fighter to the last. She radiated strength, determination, competence, discipline, accountability, love, intelligence, objectivity—what can be summed up as the highest level of comradeship. She expressed everything positive in leadership qualities. She knew the primary importance of the highest level of political consciousness as a guide to the highest quality of organizational work, the essence of Bolshevism. The workers movement must never forget her contrihutions.

We were all lucky to have known her as long as we did, and her memory will live in the work we do to secure the construction of an egalitarian socialist society across the entire globe.

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Mindy Gianninoto: I feel when your best friend and comrade dies you need to stand up and pay tribute. You make friends over years through the good times and hard times, but mainly the hard times. And Diana was always for me, and she was always there for me. If it wasn't for her and other people in this party I might not be here. I would have walked through fire for her. I don't know when we first became friends, maybe some 30 years ago. In those days we spent hours at the office or at the Library doing politics together, hanging out together, drinking together and so on. We all loved doing politics together and we really enjoyed each other's comradeship and friendship.

I thought we would be sitting on bar stools until at least the age of 70. You know, we were very different people. I can't tell you how many world problems and party problems we tried to solve and how we just sat around and gossiped. She would always say to me: Mindy, you're never one to mince words. Diana was a WASP, very proper, very private. If Diana said she was "annoyed," you knew she was furious.

She always gave me perspective. I'm the kind of person that you have to agree with me, now. That's it. But Diana was very understated. She would tell you what she thought, and I knew that if I didn't agree with her I had to go home and think about it. And I would go home and think about it and what she said, and I realized she was usually right.

But where we were very different people, given our respective upbringings, politically we were very similar in respect to how we viewed the work. We both felt it important that the comrades in your department were politically informed and given reports to read and given verbal reports of various meetings, in order that those comrades could carry out their political assignments. And the well-being of those comrades was your responsibility as well. But none of this is unusual. This is how we were trained, and we were trained by Jim, like other people in this room. I read *Prometheus Research Series* No. 6 [*Selected Speeches and Writings in Honor of Three Women Leaders of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)—Martha Phillips, Susan Adams, Elizabeth King Robertson*] in preparation for this meeting. And it is very striking to me how a generation of us came of age during the '60s, joined the party and was politically trained by Jim.

Diana got her battlefield promotion not just for the fight to reverse the daisy chain but for the report that was called into the center. And I made that call with her report. That battlefield promotion was for defending the party! I was her "runner" on November 27, 1982, and she was formidable. I can still see it; it's like in slow motion: every person in charge giving her reports—in one ear, right out of her mouth, directive after directive without even thinking. And the decision to take that hill. Because the reports coming in were that the thousands of people that came out to our call to stop the Klan were now on the hill. The rumor was the Klan was up on Capitol Hill, and the masses spontaneously took down the fences and poured into the streets. Diana understood that the party needed to assert our leadership and made that decision to take the hill.

I want to give mention to the "ad hoc committee to save Diana Kartsen." When Diana was finally diagnosed with ALS, in January of 2005, Gayle, Karen, Richard and myself started making plans to help Diana. Because we loved her. And then Rachel stepped in and said: No, this is party business, and she worked out a division of labor.

A couple of months before Diana died, I was over there. She had been unable to talk for quite some time; she had her bi-pap (a breathing machine) on that she pretty much used 24 hours a day. She had a communication device that she could use with her knuckle, which was the only thing that worked, really, anymore. She tapped in, "How much money do you think we spent?" and I said, "Where?" And she said, "In the bars." And I said, "Di, probably enough to buy a condo, but I wouldn't trade it in for the world." I will always miss her.

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Jim Robertson: I did not prepare any notes, but of course since Diana died, I have thought a great deal about her and her political and organizational and personal relations. She was a representative of an old and now well past order in the administration of the Spartacist League, and she was far from our worst representative. She was quite a senior comrade.

A great deal has been mentioned about her capacity to lead in our picket lines and demonstrations under sometimes very difficult conditions. And we were generally successful in our endeavors under her direction and never came to any disasters with the police or somebody killing our members—which is quite an achievement in a second half of the 20th century in North America.

The post which most shows the trust that the organization had in her was that she was the representative from the SL/U.S. Central Committee to its Central Control Commission. That is a position of grave responsihility, and she discharged it very well. After the administration of the organization changed, she simply moved easily into further professionalizing the work of Prometheus Research Library, and until she became incapacitated with this miserable, debilitating and ultimately fatal illness, she was attending library school to get further credentials to pursue the work of Prometheus Research Library. For me personally, given her qualities, she functioned as kind of a combination for a number of decades of both my surrogate mother and my conscience. ■

Mindy Giannnoto

Diana with Mindy, Gayle and Karen at Mindy's wedding, November 2004.

Young Spartacus

SFSU Students Walk Out Against Fee Hikes

On April 26, a multiracial crowd of 1,000 San Francisco State University (SFSU) students walked out in protest of increasing student fees and cuts in services. Students assembled at Malcolm X Plaza, marched through several buildings and then briefly occupied the Administration building. Fees for students in the Cal State University system have gone up a staggering 92 percent since 2002 and there have been major cuts in classes and staff. The gutting of affirmative action and rollbacks of financial aid and educational outreach programs are part of the ruling class' racist purge of universities nationwide.

The SFSU walkout was organized by members of the student government and student interns of the California Faculty Association (CFA), which represents over half of the almost 1,800 faculty at SFSU and had passed a resolution against the increase in student fees. The walkout's organizers wore red T-shirts sporting the Students for a Democratic Society fist and the words "This is what an activist looks like." But these activists sought to steer angry students into the dead end of reliance on so-called friends in the state capitol, telling people to go to Sacramento on May 9 for the annual Lobby Day. While the Democrats posture as the "friends" of working people and the oppressed, they are a party of the capitalist ruling class. Historically the Democrats have been the preferred party to enforce racist capitalist austerity, strengthen the repressive powers of the state, and wage bloody imperialist war.

The austerity measures that sparked the student protest mean an attack on campus workers and teachers, who are natural allies in the students' struggle. Importantly, a representative from the campus janitors union attended the walkout, as did a number of professors and counselors. In March, after two years without a contract, the CFA membership voted overwhelmingly to strike for the first time in its history. A last-minute agreement between the union and the Cal State University Board of Trustees resulted in a settlement with a 20.7 percent increase in wages over four years.

The Spartacus Youth Club joined the walkout and occupation, arguing for students fighting against fee hikes to link their struggle to the social power of the working class. We fight for free, quality, integrated education for all as part of the struggle against capitalism, which means war, poverty and oppression for millions around the world. We carried signs calling for student/labor mobilizations against tuition hikes, for freeing black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, against the U.S. occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, and for breaking with the Democrats and forging a revolutionary workers party. In response to the organizers' chants of "What do we want? Less fees!" we chanted, "No fees!" and many students joined in.

The organizers of the walkout, in an effort to avoid a confrontation with the administration, tried to prevent the crowd from entering the Administration building. But after a few minutes of standing outside the building chanting "The students, united, will never be divided!", "Shame on you!" (to the administration) and "Fewer classes, higher fees—the CSU is run by thieves!", students began to occupy the building. The organizers *worked with the cops* to prevent people from entering the fifth floor, where SFSU president Robert Corrigan's office is. We chanted, "Cops off campus!" A couple of self-proclaimed anarchists joined in. But when one of the organizers told them to stop, they meekly obeyed! We also chanted, "Free, quality education! Abolish the administration!", which was picked up by many of the protesters. The organizers, dismayed, drowned us out with chants of "What do we want? Lower fees! When do we want it? Now!"

Members of the crowd defended the SYC's right to put forward our Marxist program at an open mic inside the Administration building, including against members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Students Against War, who tried to shout our speaker down when he criticized their politics. Predictably, the ISO and Socialist Action (SA) ditched their usual Sunday speechifying about socialism in order to impress the liberals as "realistic" advisers to the world's bloodiest ruling class on how to reform capitalism. The ISO speaker called the attacks on public education a problem of "government priorities" and SA's spokesman simply bemoaned that the government is spending billions on war and prisons instead of schools. Despite what SA and the ISO would have you believe, imperialist war and racist oppression are inherent to the capitalist order. Nothing short of international socialist revolution, which is what we fight for, will put an end to them.

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club at April 26 walkout.

SYC Says "Free, Quality Education! Abolish the Administration!"

The College Republicans posted a video of the walkout on YouTube in an attempt to set protesters up for administration and cop reprisals. These junior McCarthyites were in hysterics about supposed violations of the administration's guidelines for student organizations—including "subversive" acts like standing in doorways and carrying posters on poles. A special section of the video entitled "The March Was About More Than Fee Hikes" is devoted to SYC signs, which were indeed about more than fee hikes. But for all the right-wingers' attempts to paint the demo bright red, the SYCers were the only reds around. We say: No reprisals against the student demonstrators!

We print below the speech given by SYC comrade Martin Burk, edited for publication.

* * *

Down with the fee hikes! Free, quality education for all! Down with the racist purge of the universities—for open admissions and no tuition!

The attacks on education today are a part of the ruling class' drive to wipe out the gains that were won through hard-fought struggle by the working class and the oppressed. Education under capitalism is increasingly out of reach for working-class, poor and minority youth as tuition goes up, affirmative action is gutted, programs are cut and teachers are laid off.

As Marxists, we know that free, quality education will be the right of all only when this decaying, profit-driven capitalist order is overthrown by victorious socialist revolution around the globe. While the ruling class purges the universities of blacks and minorities, it also bolsters its racist "war on terror" on the campuses. The campus administration is not neutral, but acts as the enforcers of the "war on terror" here, going after Near Eastern and leftist students and stifling dissent, like with the ban on the Edward Said mural [see "Down With Ban on Edward Said Mural!", *WV* No. 881, 24 November 2006].

None of these attacks are simply a product of one belligerent, right-wing president. Both the Republicans and the Democrats are parties of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war. Many students see the Democrats as allies of the oppressed, but the Democratic Party are representatives of this rapacious bloody system. The imperialist system cannot be reformed. Yet so-called socialists like the International Socialist Organization and Speak Out Now present war as simply a policy that can be pressured out of existence. You call for "Money for jobs and schools, not wars." It is utterly utopian to think that this capitalist state can be made to change its interests and serve the oppressed. It's the same capitalist state that left blacks and poor to die in New Orleans, that slaughters the people of Iraq, that continuously attacks workers' livelihoods, taking away health care and pensions, that further erodes women's abortion rights, and that wants to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Student actions alone cannot put an end to the cutbacks and attacks on education. Teachers in Hayward have been on strike for the past few weeks fighting for a wage increase so they can survive! We need the strength and power of the multiracial organized working class. The campus administrations should be abolished. Those who work, study and teach at the universities should run them—for worker/student/teacher control of the universities! We call for open admissions and a state-paid living stipend for all students. We also call for cops and military recruiters off campus! For full citizenship rights for immigrants! Students must ally with labor in the struggle for free, quality education, and fight for the future of humanity through workers revolution. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, July 18, 7 p.m.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Saturday, August 4, 3 p.m.

Why China Is Not Capitalist: Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl_syc@yahoo.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

Opponent of Zionist Terror Denied Tenure

Protest DePaul University Attack on Norman Finkelstein!

Cavalier Daily

On June 8, the college dean and the Board on Promotion and Tenure at Chicago's DePaul University denied tenure to assistant professor Norman Finkelstein, a longtime opponent of Zionist terror. The decision overturned a vote by the Political Science department and personnel committee of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences supporting his tenure. Finkelstein stands to lose his job altogether at the Catholic university after a one-year "grace period." Mehrene Larudee, an assistant professor who was slated to head the International Studies Program and an advocate for Finkelstein, was also denied tenure and likewise stands to lose her job. The Chicago Spartacus Youth Club has joined continuing protests in support of Finkelstein and Larudee.

Finkelstein has long been targeted by Zionists because he is a Jewish historian, the son of Holocaust survivors, who defends Palestinian rights. He has a long history of exposing Israeli atrocities and apologists for them, not least rabid Zionist Harvard Law professor Alan Dershowitz, whom Finkelstein charges "played the leading role in creating an atmosphere of hysteria" at DePaul (*Harvard Crimson*, 17 June). According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (5 April), in fall 2006 Dershowitz "sent members of DePaul's law and political-science faculties what he described as 'a dossier of Norman Finkelstein's most egregious academic sins'." As Finkelstein put it, "I met the standards of tenure DePaul required, but it wasn't enough to overcome the political opposition to my speaking out on the Israel-Palestine conflict" (London *Guardian*, 11 June).

Finkelstein, who authored the highly controversial 2000 book, *The Holocaust Industry*, has written detailed refutations of shoddy history and apologies for Zionism, like Joan Peters' *From Time Immemorial* (which claimed Palestine was basically empty land before 1948). His 1998 essay, *A Nation on Trial*, was a powerful polemic against Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, which alibied the German bourgeoisie's responsibility for the Nazi Holocaust by claiming that the entire German people were "guilty" (see "The Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism," *WV* Nos. 697, 698 and 699, 25 September, 9 October and 23 October 1998).

In recent years, Finkelstein has made a point of exposing Alan Dershowitz's churning mass of justifications for Israeli state terror. In 2005 he wrote *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History*, a refutation of Dershowitz's 2003 screed *The Case for Israel*, which—in the midst of renewed and massive state terror against the Palestinians—trumpeted Israel's "human rights" record! The *Nation* magazine (11 July 2005) reported that Dershowitz intervened heavily in the process of publication of Finkelstein's book, appealing to California governor Schwarzenegger. The governor's legal affairs secretary responded, "You have asked for the Governor's assistance in preventing the publication of this book" and went on to say that Schwarzenegger was "not inclined" to intervene because of the "clear, academic freedom issue it presents."

Witchhunting those who oppose the crimes of U.S. imperialism and protest Israel's genocidal assaults against the Palestinian people is a major industry these days in academia. Such campaigns have included the likes of all-purpose reactionaries Ann Coulter and David Horowitz. In 2001, Horowitz even ran a grotesque ad in 50 campus newspapers alibiing slavery and spitting on the gains of black struggle (see "Racism and Witchhunts on Campus," *WV* No. 756, 13 April 2001).

More recently, Horowitz has been on the offensive against Jewish Near East historian Joel Beinin, outrageously claiming that Beinin "supported terrorism" because of his defense of Palestinian national rights. Horowitz provocatively slapped Beinin's photo—as well as that of leftist attorney Lynne Stewart and Palestinian engineer Sami al-Arian, victims of government "war on terror" witchhunts, and Rachel Corrie, a pro-Palestinian rights activist killed by an Israeli bulldozer in 2003—on the cover of his 2006 diatribe, *Campus Support for Terrorism*. Horowitz has also targeted Ward Churchill, a longtime activist on behalf of Native Americans and co-author of *The COINTELPRO Papers*, who is threatened with being fired by the University of Colorado because of his political views, including opposition to the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

Another prominent target of this witchhunt is pro-Palestinian rights Columbia University professor Joseph Massad. In a visit to the campus in February 2005, Dershowitz urged students to cooperate with the committee "investigating" lying allegations against Massad and the Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures (MEALAC) department and denounced critics of Israel, claiming that they "encourage the terrorists." In his speech, he also defended "regulated" torture (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 8 February 2005). Dershowitz had earlier told CNN (4 March 2003) that what he means by this is something like "a sterilized needle underneath the nail, which would violate the Geneva Accords, but you know, countries all over the world violate the Geneva Accords."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs defend Finkelstein, Larudee, Massad and all those victimized by the right-wing witchhunts on the campuses, despite whatever political differences we have with their views. Finkelstein and Larudee should get tenure. However, contrary to the myth of the university "ivory tower," tenure is essentially a tool to punish or reward the bourgeois administration's allies, an avenue to purge the campuses of those who challenge current ruling-class policy. We revolutionary Marxists are for nationalizing all the private universities, for free, quality education for all, and for union organization of teachers and campus workers. The campus administrations should be abolished—for student/worker/teacher control!

In the case of Finkelstein, like those of Massad and Beinin, what is key to defeating the witchhunt is forthrightly taking up the defense of the Palestinians. Against the Zionists and all variants of Arab nationalism and religious fundamentalism, we emphasize that a just solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, where two peoples lay claim to the same small piece of land, is not possible under capitalism (see article, page 1). Our perspective is that of joint class struggle of Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab workers, connected to working-class struggle throughout the region. We fight for the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East—the only way to guarantee the national rights of the region's myriad peoples. Defend Norman Finkelstein and Mehrene Larudee! Down with the campus witchhunts! ■

Segregation...

(continued from page 1)

as our revolutionary Trotskyist forebears noted in the journal *Fourth International* (January 1942): "The original constitution of the United States, drafted by the representatives of Southern slave-owners and Northern capitalists, recognized the institution of chattel slavery as one of the 'inalienable rights' of American citizens." They also pointed out: "Written constitutions are merely juridical expressions of class relations which have been established as a result of intense struggle in society."

It took the Civil War to smash the Southern slave system. And it took the massive civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s to beat down the system of Jim Crow segregation that took hold in the late 19th century after the defeat of Reconstruction. But from integrated schools to abortion rights for women, such reforms are *always* reversible as long as power is in the hands of the capitalist exploiters. The latest Court decision gives the lie to the liberal myth that social equality can be achieved through piecemeal, incremental reforms. The whole system of U.S. capitalism in which black oppression is embedded must be torn up by the roots through socialist revolution.

The Supreme Court is on an aggressive campaign to roll back the gains of past struggles. Its April 18 ruling upholding a law criminalizing certain late-term abortion procedures further trampled on women's already severely diminished right to abortion. The Justice Department, meanwhile, has been dumping cases of racist police brutality and of blacks being denied voting rights, while promoting the "rights" of religious outfits to further their incursions into the public schools.

Against the plethora of reactionary court decisions, liberal spokesmen are beating the drums for the Democrats—the *other* party of racist capitalism and imperialist war—to take Bush's place in the White House. During one of their TV debates, Democratic presidential hopefuls all bemoaned the Supreme Court ruling that had come down that day. But from the anti-busing president Jimmy Carter to Bill "end welfare as we know it" Clinton, the Democrats have themselves helped carry out the onslaught against black rights and the devastation of the ghettos, aided by black Democratic Party mayors. Jesse Jackson intervened in Norfolk, Virginia, in the early 1980s to *demobilize* black workers marching for busing.

It was the liberal strategy of reliance on the Democrats, the federal government and the courts that brought the fight for black freedom to a dead end in the 1960s. When the civil rights struggles came to the Northern ghettos, they ran into the solid core of racist American capitalism: segregated, dilapidated housing and schools, rampant cop brutality, entrenched unemployment. In the early to mid 1970s, the fight for school busing was a front line in the fight for elementary democratic rights for black people. A referendum on racism was posed in Boston and Louisville as anti-busing forces mobilized to kill school integration.

The Spartacist League intervened heavily in Boston, calling to defend school busing and extend it to the lily-white, wealthier suburbs. We called for quality, racially integrated housing and free universal education. While the NAACP and such craven reformists as the Socialist Workers Party called for federal troops to Boston, we fought for labor-black defense guards to stop racist attacks and protect black schoolchildren. As the racist mobs rampaged on the streets, the liberals in Congress caved in. The defeat of busing in Boston set the stage for further attacks against black people and for rolling back social gains more broadly.

Today, in many parts of the country black schoolchildren are more segregated than any time in the last four decades. Inner-city schools are mere holding pens for black and Latino youth, to whom the capitalist rulers offer menial jobs, at best, or service as cannon fodder for their imperialist military ventures. More than 50 years after the *Brown* decision, in 90-percent black Detroit over 75 percent of students drop out of high school, and the black youth unemployment rate is 70 percent. In New York City, in the shadow of Wall Street opulence, almost half of black men are unemployed. Of the more than two million entombed in the U.S. prison system, well over half are black or Latino.

This situation cries out for proletarian struggle in defense of black rights, linking the anger of the ghettos to the *social power* of the labor movement, where black workers play a crucial role. Our strategy of ***revolutionary integrationism*** is counterposed both to the liberal integrationist notion that blacks can achieve social equality within the confines of the capitalist profit system and to black nationalism, which accepts the racial divide in this society and despairs of multiracial class struggle. This despair is fed by the pro-capitalist labor tops, whose policies tie workers to the exploiters' political parties. Labor needs a new leadership, one based on a program of class struggle. Ultimately, social conditions cannot be fundamentally altered short of the overthrow of the racist capitalist system and the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacist League is committed to the fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead all the exploited and the oppressed in the struggle to sweep away this decaying capitalist system. ■

The Suffragettes, the Russian Revolution and Women's Liberation

We print below an edited and expanded version of a presentation given by comrade Julia Emery of the Spartacist League/Britain at a dayschool in London on 15 April 2006. It was first printed in the SL/B newspaper, Workers Hammer *No. 195 (Summer 2006).*

For many activists around the world, the British Suffragette movement represents one of the high points of women's struggles, bringing women out on the streets in large numbers for militant and even heroic actions in support of the right of women to vote. Today, those who want to fight for women's liberation would do well to study the lessons of the fight for women's suffrage in the early 20th century. The story of the suffrage movement is the story of a movement which split into two camps—feminist and revolutionary socialist—in the face of social crises, centrally the wave of class struggle in Britain known as the "great unrest," followed by World War I and the Russian Revolution. Before I talk about the Suffragette movement, I want to say a word about our attitude to the fight for women's liberation.

We differ from feminists in that they consider the main division in society to be that between men and women. For us Marxists the fundamental division in society is the class division. Under capitalism the division is between the bourgeoisie, owners of the means of production, and the working class who sell their labour power. Winning liberation for women requires a workers socialist revolution to overturn capitalist property relations. While we fight to defend every gain won from the ruling class through hard struggle, our perspective is to build a revolutionary workers party that champions the interests of all the oppressed based on the understanding that the entire capitalist system must go and workers states must be established internationally. Only the advance to a socialist society will liberate women from their oppression and lay the basis for full integration and equality for women in society.

As Marxists we recognise that the special oppression of women is rooted in the institution of the family. Friedrich Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) traced the origin of the institution of the family and the state to the division of society into classes. When human society developed the capacity to produce a social surplus beyond what is needed for basic subsistence, a ruling class was able to form, based on private appropriation of that surplus. With the emergence of private property the family became the necessary instrument to ensure that property would be inherited by the true biological heir, requiring women's sexual monogamy and social subordination. Engels called this the "world historical defeat of the female sex." Under capitalism the family serves as the instrument for raising the next generation of wage slaves and for inculcating bourgeois moral values, training youth to obey authority and to accept the social order.

The proletariat alone has the potential power to overthrow the system of capitalism, because of its organisation and its role in production. Women's participation in the proletariat gives them the social power to fight alongside their male coworkers for revolutionary change in society. In a socialist society the institution of the family as we know it will be replaced and household labour will be performed by collective institutions. The emancipation of women is the task of the working class as a whole and, to this end, we intervene into the working class and social struggle with our programme, fighting for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Our press regularly publishes articles under *Women and Revolution* mastheads in our quadrilingual journal *Spartacist* and also in the press of ICL sections. I recommend comrades read the early *Women and Revolution* articles we wrote about the Pankhursts, who were prominent leaders of the Suffragette movement ("The Pankhursts: Suffrage and Socialism," in *Women and Revolution* No. 12, Summer 1976 and "Sylvia Pankhurst and the Workers Movement," in *Women and Revolution* No. 17, Summer 1978).

Sylvia Pankhurst addressing a crowd in East London, where she worked among proletarian women.

Spartacist League/Britain Educational

British Capitalism and Women's Oppression

At the beginning of the 20th century, it was still relatively uncommon for women to continue in paid employment after marriage. A woman once married was considered the property of her husband and her primary role was to look after the household and raise children. The origins of the Suffragette movement lay in the Independent Labour Party (ILP) which was founded in 1893. The ILP was instrumental in the formation of the Labour Representation Committee and affiliated to the Labour Party when it was formed in 1906. The Labour Party was what Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party, having a pro-capitalist programme and leadership but a mass working-class base. Emmeline Pankhurst and her husband Dr. Richard Marsden Pankhurst joined the ILP in 1894. The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was formed in October 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst and other ILP women as a male-exclusionist group to campaign on the single issue of women's right to vote "on the same terms as that agreed or may be accorded to men." Thus it upheld the class bias of the Third Reform Act of 1884 which contained a property qualification, leaving roughly a third of men, predominantly from the working class, disenfranchised.

The WSPU engaged in a crescendo of protests, ranging from marches, speeches and breaking windows to arson and martyrdom. Their members suffered constant police harassment, beating, imprisonment, brutal force-feeding and even death in the fight for parliamentary reform that would allow women the elementary right to vote. The WSPU broke with the ILP in 1907 when Emmeline and her daughter Christabel insisted that WSPU members could not support any other party until women had won the vote. In particular, they were keen to win the support of rich conservative and upper-class women. This class prejudice meant that WSPU members were prohibited from campaigning for the ILP, which mobilised manual labourers and which many in the WSPU had actually worked to build. Sylvia Pankhurst, also the daughter of Emmeline, in 1912 founded the East London Federation of Suffragettes, which was affiliated with the WSPU but based on the working-class constituency of East London. It was founded in the context of the "great unrest" from 1910 to 1914, a period marked by major industrial struggles including by miners, railwaymen and other transport workers. This period also saw protests for women's suffrage as well as agitation for Home Rule in Ireland which was then under British rule.

In Britain, trade-union membership had increased threefold since the 1889 dockers strike while wages had decreased by 10 per cent between 1910 and 1912. The capitalists tried to maintain their profit rates by decreasing wages, provoking massive outbursts of class struggle. It's very common among reformists on the left to argue that the history of the Suffragettes, and particularly of Sylvia Pankhurst, shows that feminism and socialism are very closely intertwined. A leading exponent of this view during the 1970s was Sheila Rowbotham of the International Socialists, precursor to the [British] Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Rowbotham's book *Hidden from History* (1973) argues that "there was a close connection between feminism and socialism in the early years of this [20th] century, and the divorce between the two was long, painful and protracted." Three decades later the SWP's Paul Foot wrote that "the division among many WSPU supporters can be exaggerated. In many cases, support for the WSPU overlapped with a growing conversion to socialist organisation" (*The Vote*, 2005).

In fact, nothing could be further from the truth: the Suffragette movement con-

Museum of London

British suffragettes wearing prison clothing on release from prison, 1908.

firms that the ideology and social programme of feminism is counterposed to the perspective of socialist revolution. Both may have seemed compatible at the beginning of the 20th century, when there was relatively little social struggle. But the sharpening of class antagonisms and the outbreak of imperialist war, followed by the Russian October Revolution in 1917, exploded this myth and forced all those fighters for women's liberation to choose: feminism or the programme of socialist revolution. The impact of these tumultuous events was reflected in the Pankhurst family and Sylvia was wun to communism as a result of the October Revolution.

The polarisation within the Suffragettes over whether to take the side of the working class was evident in 1912 when troops were sent to break a strike in London docks, in which the strike leaders had been jailed for calling on troops not to shoot the workers. In the WSPU's paper *Votes for Women* Christabel Pankhurst attacked the right of workers to strike and said, "We would ask the Government if they propose to make the organisation of strikes punishable by law." The WSPU protested that "this offence was more serious than any committed by the Suffragettes and should have been more seriously punished." In contrast Sylvia Pankhurst's East London Federation displayed increasing sympathy towards the workers movement.

In 1913 the working class of Dublin, led by socialist leaders James Connolly and Jim Larkin, were locked out by the Irish bourgeoisie in an attempt to smash the transport union. Sylvia Pankhurst's solidarity with the embattled workers in Ireland caused a split in the Suffragettes. On 1 November 1913 she spoke on the platform at a meeting in London's Albert Hall, alongside left-wing ILP representative George Lansbury and James Connolly. Connolly and Larkin campaigned for concrete acts of solidarity by the unions in Britain, as opposed to simply providing money and fine speeches, but their demands were rejected by the social-chauvinist Labour and trade-union leaders in Britain and the Dublin workers were defeated. As a consequence of Sylvia Pankhurst's appearance at this meeting she was immediately summoned to the WSPU headquarters in exile in Paris and told by Christabel that the East London Federation must become a separate organisation at once.

The existing legislation excluded manual workers—who were the base of the Labour Party—from voting and Christabel Pankhurst shared the British ruling class's contempt for manual workers and didn't want any taint of association with Lansbury, who campaigned not just for votes for women householders but for all men and women. Christabel considered the East London Federation's working-class base a liability and said that working women were "the weakest portion of the sex," adding: "Surely it is a mistake to use the weakest for the struggle" (quoted in *The Suffragette Movement* by Sylvia Pankhurst, 1931). Therefore in March 1914, the East London Federation began publishing its own newspaper called *Woman's Dreadnought*. At the time Sylvia Pankhurst was opposed to the split. Despite her misgivings about some of the WSPU's tactics, particularly arson, what distinguished the East London Federation from the WSPU was its class composition and sympathy, but its programme was not substantially different. Sylvia had in reality created a proletarian auxiliary to a bourgeois feminist movement.

Feminism Turns to Jingoism

However, things changed very fast with the outbreak of World War I. Mary Davis, who wrote a biography of Sylvia Pankhurst, said that "the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 propelled the WSPU away from feminism in the direction of patriotism" (*Sylvia Pankhurst*, 1999). This is not the case. Feminism is perfectly compatible with patriotism. Because feminists see the fundamental division in society as being between men and women, they seek to build a movement to fight for a better position for women within the existing capitalist order. It therefore follows logically that when that order is threatened, feminists loyal to bourgeois society will mobilise to defend it.

When World War I broke out, Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst immediately suspended all activities of the WSPU and called on members to serve "their" country. Feminists in other belligerent countries lined up in the same way with their "own" bourgeoisies. The WSPU changed the name of its paper from *Suffragette* to *Britannia* and it bore a dedication, "for King, for Country, for Freedom." It also took to the streets to hand out "white feathers of cowardice" to any able-bodied men found on the streets. The WSPU actively called for national service for women and conscription for men even before the government introduced it in 1916. This was not the first time these feminists took a clear side with the bourgeoisie: in 1915, they toured areas of great industrial militancy, particularly in the north of England and the mining areas of South Wales, to denounce "Bolshevism."

Sylvia Pankhurst, by contrast, was not caught up in the outbreak of jingoism that followed the start of the war. She consistently attacked the war, demanded peace and denounced the WSPU's bloodthirstiness. She continued to campaign for adult suffrage, but as her political outlook moved to the left she embraced broader questions, particularly poverty and class oppression. Her paper *Woman's Dreadnought* was renamed *Workers' Dreadnought* and carried articles dealing with a wide range of social issues, including inadequate allowances for servicemen's wives and poor working conditions. Many of her followers were amongst the poorest wumen in East London, where starvation was rife, and so there was relatively little flag-waving compared to the country as a whole. She led demonstrations and deputations to the government to protest working conditions, but also pioneered neighbourhood relief programmes, which included maternity and infant clinics providing free medical care and milk, a day-care centre, a toy factory and a "Cost Price" restaurant. The strength of her organisation, the East London Federation, lay in the fact that she tied the question of wartime working conditions to a campaign against the war itself.

When on 4 August 1914 the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)'s parliamentary fraction voted for war credits for the German government, Lenin concluded that the Second International was dead as a force for socialist revolution. The majority of the social-democratic parties including the British Labour Party had taken the side of their "own" bourgeoisie. Exceptions to this were the Bolshevik Party, as well as socialists such as Karl Liehknecht in Germany, while in Scotland workers leader John Maclean was imprisoned for agitating against the war. For Lenin, the treachery of the official "socialist" parties signified the need for a political split with social democracy, as an essential part of building parties that would lead the working class to the overthrow of their own bourgeoisie. He concluded that a new, revolutionary international had to be built. These lessons were tested and confirmed by the Bolshevik Party's struggle to successfully lead the October Revolution.

Bolshevik Revolution Laid the Basis for Women's Liberation

The Bolshevik Revolution proved definitively that the road to women's emancipation was through socialist revolution. The greatest victory for the working class and oppressed masses to date, the revolution smashed tsarist/capitalist rule and the Bolshevik-led soviets (workers and peasants councils) seized power. Land was taken from the landlords; industry was soon collectivised and the new workers state took steps to establish a planned economy. The revolution sought to bring women into full participation in economic, political and social life, and brought enormous gains to working women. The new workers state gave women a level of equality and freedom unparalleled anywhere in the world at that time—sweeping away centuries of patriarchal and religious power. Civil marriage was established, divorce was allowed at the request of either partner and all laws against homosexuality were abolished. However, the Bolsheviks also understood that emancipation of women, and indeed of the toiling masses, requires an end to scarcity and poverty and therefore could not take place within the confines of an impoverished workers state. Rather it necessitated a vast leap in the development of the productive forces, which in turn required the extension of the revolution internationally, particularly to the more advanced capitalist countries such as Germany.

VAAP

Women's demonstration in Petrograd, 19 March 1917. Banner reads: "As Long as the Woman Is a Slave There Cannot Be Freedom—Long Live Women's Equality."

Lenin's Bolsheviks attached great importance to the establishment of the Third International, which was founded in 1919 for the purpose of building communist parties in all countries. The Bolsheviks' revolutionary experience was generalised and codified in the 21 "Conditions of Admission to the Communist International" which aimed for hard splits from the social-patriots and reformists among the parties seeking affiliation to the Communist International. Under the impact of the Russian Revolution, the positions of those on either side of the split in the Suffragette movement were carried to their logical conclusions. After the February Revolution, Emmeline Pankhurst, with Prime Minister Lloyd George's agreement, travelled to Russia to persuade the Provisional Government leader Kerensky to honour the tsarist commitment to the Triple Entente and stay in the war. After the Bolshevik Revolution, she called on the British government to intervene militarily against the workers state.

Not so Sylvia Pankhurst, who called on workers to support the Soviet form of government and strongly welcomed the October Revolution. In 1916 the East London Federation of Suffragettes had been renamed the Workers' Suffrage Federation. In 1918, following the Russian Revolution, it was renamed the Workers' Socialist Federation (WSF) and its stated aim was the formation of workers soviets and international working-class revolution. The WSF paper reported on the 1916 Easter Uprising in Dublin and Sylvia Pankhurst, who was sympathetic to the Irish liberation struggle, was very saddened by the execution of Connolly by the British imperialist rulers. The *Workers' Dreadnought* had frequent articles and speeches by Lenin and reports from the Russian Revolution, including many by the American communist John Reed, which were run under a series called "Red Russia." The paper was internationalist in scope, reporting on the labour movement in Germany as well as the importance of the anti-colonial struggle, including in India.

A Franchise Bill was introduced in Britain in 1917 and signed into law in early 1918. The Russian Revolution, which was welcomed by millions of workers across Europe, played a decisive role in the achievement of votes for women in Britain. The bourgeoisie granted this concession in the face of the Russian Revolution and massive class struggle between 1917 and 1920. According to Sylvia Pankhurst herself:

> "Undoubtedly the large part taken by women during the War in all branches of social service had proved a tremendous argument for their own enfranchisement. Yet the memory of the old militancy, and the certainty of its recurrence if the claims of women were set aside, was a much stronger factor in overcoming the reluctance of those who would again have postponed the settlement. The shock to the foundations of existing social institutions already reverberating from Russia across Europe, made many old opponents desire to enlist the new enthusiasm of women voters to stabilise the Parliamentary machine."
>
> —*The Suffragette Movement*

While Emmeline Pankhurst supported the Franchise Bill, the WSF opposed it because it only gave the vote to women over the age of 30 and included a property qualification. These restrictions were not lifted until 1928 when women got the vote at the age of 21 on the same terms as men.

"Hands Off Russia!"

Sylvia Pankhurst was a member of the steering committee of the Hands Off Russia Committee, a mass campaign for

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WORKERS HAMMER

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Suffragettes...

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defence of the fledgling Soviet state. The campaign was particularly effective in the East London docks. There is a story that I like. In 1920 there was a rumour that some ships were being loaded with weapons destined for the Polish front against Soviet Russia. The WSF and the Hands Off Russia Committee were very active in campaigning against this and when they found out that munitions were being loaded they went down to the docks to argue with the dockers not to load these weapons. They didn't seem to be getting much of a response and Harry Pollitt, who at the time was a member of the WSF (and went on to become a leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain), says an old dock worker tapped him on the shoulder and said, don't worry, we have this situation in hand. Shortly thereafter, the rope broke and the entire cargo ended up sinking into the North Sea.

The Hands Off Russia campaign led to strikes by London dockers, who refused to load the *Jolly George* ship in 1920 with munitions bound for Pilsudski's nationalist forces in Poland to fight against the Soviet Army. Dockers and railway unions throughout Britain also refused to load munitions. As some 350 "councils of action" sprang up throughout the country, however the capitalist order was assured by the treachery of the Labourite leaders of the rail, coal and steel unions—the Triple Alliance—who refused to undertake a revolutionary confrontation with the government. That same year Belfast experienced a near-general strike that united Catholic and Protestant workers. Shortly afterwards troops were sent to Glasgow to quell massive workers' protests there. Workers leaders John Maclean and Willie Gallacher were arrested and the troops were not tested out.

In this context the Labour Party positioned itself to derail the growing upsurge of working-class struggle inspired by the Russian Revolution and to channel it into support for parliament. To this end, in 1918 the Labour Party adopted "Clause IV," a nominal commitment to "common ownership of the means of production" as a deliberate ploy to deceive the working class into believing socialism could be achieved through parliament. Historically, the strategic task for revolutionaries in Britain has been to split the Labour Party, winning its working-class base to the programme of authentic communism. During 1919-20, unity negotiations took place between those groups in Britain who supported the call to form a communist party and to affiliate to the Communist International—the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the South Wales Socialist Society, and the WSF. Sylvia Pankhurst

no credit

Red Clydeside: Workers demonstration in Glasgow during general strike, January 1919. Inset: Manchester "Hands Off Russia" call and appeal by Lenin to soldiers of British army, which stated: "You have been brought here to overthrow our revolution, and bring back the reign of Tsarism."

the Labour and trade-union leaders sought to maintain control of this upsurge. They established a national council of action and threatened a general strike to stop military intervention against Soviet Russia, which forced the British ruling class to call it off.

The Need for Communist Parties

Despite the failure of revolutions in the rest of Europe with the receding of the postwar revolutionary wave of 1918-19, there were continuing political crises and outbreaks of tremendous class struggle in Europe. In Germany in March 1920, the right-wing Kapp Putsch against the SPD government was defeated through a nationwide general strike with the armed mobilisation of the workers. 1920 was a year of massive strikes in Italy culminating in factory occupations in August and September. Also the Red Army had just repulsed Pilsudski's forces in the Ukraine and was advancing towards Warsaw, posing the possibility of revolution in Poland and the direct linking up with the German proletariat. The Communist International anticipated continuing revolutionary opportunities and a major task of its Second Congress in July and August 1920 was the formation of effective communist parties to take advantage of them.

British capitalist rule was profoundly shaken at the time. In 1919 the country was on the verge of a general strike; was one of those whom Lenin described as "ultra-lefts." These also included Willie Gallacher, leader of the Scottish shop stewards' movement and of militant workers' struggles on Clydeside during World War I. It quickly became clear that their disagreements were one of the main obstacles to forming a united communist party in Britain.

Sylvia Pankhurst, after campaigning for women's suffrage, had come to believe that revolutionaries should refuse on principle to participate in parliamentary activities like voting or running for parliament, nor should they affiliate to the Labour Party. Lenin understood that some of the best fighters in Britain shared these positions. In large part this was conditioned by the betrayals of social democracy—the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) had declared an industrial truce during the war, while supporting military recruitment as well as measures like the Treasury Agreements and the Munitions of War Act. These included no-strike agreements and hiring of semi-skilled and women workers at lower wages.

Tactics Towards Labour

While seeking to exclude the social-chauvinists, the Communist International sought to win over subjectively revolutionary leftists, particularly syndicalists, and to convince them of the need for revolutionary parties dedicated to taking

Spartacist contingent at August 1970 NYC women's liberation march.

power. Sylvia Pankhurst founded her own Communist Party (British section of the Third International) in June 1920, a move that was strongly rebuked by Lenin who was critical of her for placing tactical considerations above the formation of a united communist party. Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (1920), an extension of his arguments with Sylvia Pankhurst, argued that communists should advocate critical support to the Labour Party in the upcoming elections and also affiliate to the Labour Party, to win over its working-class base to form a communist party. Several million workers had become members of the Labour Party as a consequence of joining trade unions which were affiliated to Labour.

Lenin argued for communist propaganda and tactics, including participation in the Labour Party and in parliament among other arenas, as a necessary step to dispel those illusions and to win the working class over to an understanding of the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This debate continued at the Second Congress of the Communist International, which was attended by both Sylvia Pankhurst and Willie Gallacher. Lenin's intervention was decisive and at its foundation the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) adopted his position, Sylvia Pankhurst agreed to join the new CPGB and argue for her positions inside. However, she insisted on continuing the publication of her own newspaper *Workers' Dreadnought* and refused to bring it under party control. She printed articles critical of the party and Comintern policy and by taking differences outside the party she only served to make the fledgling Comintern more vulnerable. She was expelled because she refused to accept this elementary requirement of democratic-centralism, after which she drifted away from communism. *Workers' Dreadnought* ceased publication in 1924 and Sylvia Pankhurst ended up a follower of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, where she died and is buried. While this meant breaking with communism, her sister Christabel on the other hand quit politics to await the second coming of Christ while her mother became a staunch Tory. Neither had to break with a single one of their feminist positions.

As a revolutionary party capable of challenging the capitalist order, the CPGB was stillborn. The sterility of the Communist Party and the absence of a real Leninist tradition in Britain have been key negative conditions enabling Labourite reformism and illusions in parliamentarism to maintain hegemony in the workers movement. Unlike in the early American Communist Party, there was no faction fight against Stalinism in the CPGB, which in turn accounts for the subsequent absence of a strong Trotskyist tradition in Britain. Trotskyism, in fact, had to be imported. We trace our revolutionary continuity through James P. Cannon and the American Socialist Workers Party. Cannon was a leader of the early American Communist Party who was won over to Trotskyism from the time of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. He struggled to crystallise a Trotskyist party, initially from within the ranks of the Communist Party which, like the rest of the Comintern, succumbed to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union that began in 1923-24.

This degeneration was conditioned by the failure of revolutions elsewhere, particularly in Germany in 1923, the isolation of the impoverished workers state with a predominantly peasant population and the decimation of the proletarian vanguard in the civil war. The bureaucratic caste led by J. V. Stalin came to power, which rolled back many gains of the Bolshevik Revolution, not least for women who were encouraged back into the family and the home. But despite this political degeneration the Soviet Union remained a workers state. Even at the time of its destruction by counterrevolution in 1991-92, the Soviet Union provided many advantages for women, such as state-supported childcare institutions, full abortion rights, access to a wide range of trades and professions and a status in many ways far ahead of many advanced capitalist societies today. We fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and against capitalist restoration from within, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Spartacist League/Britain and the Spartacist Group Ireland are the British and Irish sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), and we seek to reforge the Fourth International as part of the struggle for international proletarian revolution worldwide ■

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U.S./Israel...

(continued from page 1)

brutal repression of Hamas, carried out in collaboration with the CIA.) U.S. officials openly promised military support to Abbas against Hamas as part of an $84 million aid package; Israel made clear that it would allow arms to be shipped to Abbas' Presidential Guard and allow U.S. training of his forces in the West Bank. After taking Gaza, Hamas claimed to have captured an arsenal of $400 million worth of weapons from Fatah.

In mid May, Israel allowed some 500 Fatah loyalists to enter Gaza from Egypt at the Rafah border crossing, setting off the fighting. Fatah's forces had been trained in Egypt under the oversight of American Lt. General Keith Dayton, who told a Congressional committee on May 23: "We have a temporary security zone almost complete on the Palestinian side, financed largely by the Dutch, British, Norwegians and Canadians." From the right-wing Bush gang to the ardently pro-Israel Democratic Party, the U.S. ruling class has long been committed to supporting Israel as a bulwark of American interests in the Near East.

Nasser Nouri

Recent strike by more than 20,000 textile workers in Ghazl el-Mahalla, Egypt.

At least 150 Palestinians died in the clashes, during which a U.S. envoy reportedly said, "I like this violence." In the wake of Fatah's defeat, Israel, Egypt and the imperialists further sealed off Gaza, causing meager food supplies to dwindle even further. Bush declared that Abbas was now "the president of all the Palestinians." The Olmert government has begun doling out to the PA some of the hundreds of millions of dollars of Palestinian taxes it had withheld since the election of Hamas and said it would release some 250 of the 11,000 Palestinians languishing in Zionist dungeons, a promise that does not include dozens of Hamas legislators.

Surrounded by an electrified fence, sealed borders and the Mediterranean, Gaza is little more than a glorified concentration camp holding 1.5 million people. Even after Israel withdrew military forces from Gaza in 2005, it continues to isolate the area. Israeli forces now lob bombs and missiles into Gaza while also carrying out numerous incursions. Children going to the beach have been shot down with impunity by Zionist troops.

The Palestinian population in the West Bank barely fares better. The area is nearly sealed by an apartheid wall that cuts into Palestinian territories, separating farmers from their land. A Kafkaesque series of military checkpoints and "Jewish only" roads make travel between towns virtually impossible for Arabs. Palestinians in need of medical aid die and give birth waiting at the checkpoints. Backed by thousands of troops, at least 450,000 Zionist settlers occupy the West Bank. ***Israel hands off Gaza! All Zionist troops and settlers out of the West Bank and East Jerusalem!***

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The long record of treachery by Fatah, the central component of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) founded by the late Yasir Arafat, combined with Israel's relentless, pounding oppression, opened the door to the rise of the Hamas reactionaries. Hamas' imprint on Palestinian society can be seen in the reinforced oppression of women symbolized by the headscarf and veil. This situation starkly demonstrates the political bankruptcy of Palestinian nationalism, whose program is based on allying with the bloody Arab bourgeois regimes and appealing to the imperialists and their agencies like the United Nations.

At the heart of the question of Israel/Palestine is the impossibility, within a capitalist framework, of achieving national justice for the geographically interpenetrated Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples, which both lay claim to the same small sliver of land. Under capitalism, the exercise of national self-determination by one will necessarily be at the expense of the other. The national emancipation of the Palestinians—including the right of all refugees and their descendants to return to their homeland—necessarily entails workers revolutions to not only shatter the Zionist state from within but to sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Syrian Ba'athist bonapartists and the capitalist rulers of Lebanon—countries that all have sizable Palestinian populations. The myriad peoples of the region—including both the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples—will not know peace, justice or material well-being until bourgeois rule is overthrown through a series of proletarian revolutions that establish a socialist federation of the Near East.

Israeli society is not a seamless mass of reaction but a class-divided society, with a working class viciously exploited at the hands of its "own" ruling class. We have no illusions that it will be easy to shatter the chauvinism of the Hebrew working class. Indeed, it will likely require cataclysmic events—from economic crisis and military defeat to revolutionary upheavals in the region—to break the Israeli proletariat from Zionism. This task is not made easier by the criminal indiscriminate terror bombings carried out by Palestinian forces against Israeli civilians, which drive the Hebrew-speaking population further into the arms of the Zionist rulers. The key in Israel/Palestine, as throughout the region, is the forging of revolutionary workers parties that uncompromisingly fight against all manner of nationalism and religious reaction.

Nowhere in the region is the proletariat at "peace" with its rulers. For more than six months, Egypt has been convulsed by a wave of strikes carried out in defiance of the Mubarak dictatorship and the official union federation it controls. Textile workers, railway workers, trash collectors, subway workers, truck drivers, construction workers and others have engaged in hundreds of sit-ins and other labor actions, with women often playing a leading role. Protesting against privatization policies as well as over pay and benefits, workers have often won their demands from a government fearful that the unrest will spread. Meanwhile in Iran, with its powerful proletariat in the oil fields and other industries, the population suffers deepening poverty, exacerbated by imperialist sanctions, and suffocating social conditions under the mullah regime of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Beginning June 27, Tehran was gripped by fuel riots in response to government-imposed gasoline rations.

The struggle to mobilize the proletariat of the Near East in its own interests is inextricably bound up with the fight against the region's imperialist overlords. As the U.S. continues to wreak havoc on Iraq, the expansion of U.S. and NATO troops in Afghanistan has led to numerous

AP

September 1993: Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasir Arafat seal "peace" agreement brokered by U.S. president Clinton.

incidents of civilians being slaughtered. Even Afghan president Hamid Karzai felt compelled to complain to his American handlers. ***All U.S. troops out of the Near East, Iraq and Afghanistan now!*** The Spartacist League/U.S. calls for ***class struggle at home*** against the capitalist rulers.

With U.S. imperialism bogged down in its Iraq quagmire, Washington continues to hurl provocative accusations at Iran, most recently claiming that its agents were responsible for a January raid in the Iraqi Shi'ite city of Karbala that killed five U.S. soldiers. What hubris coming from the U.S. imperialists, whose invasion and occupation of Iraq has led to the displacement of millions from their homes and the deaths of hundreds of thousands, either through imperialist terror or the sectarian bloodbath unleashed by the occupation. George W. Bush, lame duck that he is, has used his remaining powers to keep "Scooter" Libby, assistant to Vice President Cheney and a key player in preparing the Iraq invasion, out of jail despite his conviction for perjury and obstruction of justice in the Valerie Plame case.

The U.S. and UN are pursuing their attempts to block Iran from developing its nuclear program, which Tehran says is for energy purposes. In the face of threats from the nuclear-armed imperialists and the nuclear-armed Zionists, Iran *needs* nukes to defend itself and deter attack. Down with UN imperialist sanctions! Hands off Iran! It is the U.S. imperialists and their Zionist henchmen who threaten nuclear Armageddon. On July 2, an Israeli court sentenced Mordechai Vanunu, who spent 18 years in prison for revealing the extent of Israel's nuclear arsenal, to another six months in jail for violating a gag order. Hands off Vanunu! Grant his request to leave Israel!

Nationalism and Islamic Fundamentalism

Petty-bourgeois nationalism has utterly shown itself to be a dead end for the Palestinian masses. But helping to pave that road was the reformist left internationally. In opposition to a Marxist, proletarian strategy, the U.S. Workers World Party (WWP), International Socialist Organization (ISO) and others for years cheered on Arafat's PLO and other nationalist outfits. More recently, these groups have expressed shock at the PLO's collaboration with the Zionists and have taken to lauding Hamas and other Islamic reactionaries as "anti-imperialist."

Thus we are told by *Workers World* (24 June) that "the Gaza struggle was between irreconcilable class forces," where "the forces of national resistance" were "represented by Hamas." The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—formerly allied with the ISO—enthuses that Hamas' victory "was a strike against imperialism in the Middle East" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain] online, 23 June).

Far from being "anti-imperialists," the Islamic fundamentalists were historically promoted by the imperialists and their allies as a counter to Communism and even secular nationalism. Hamas was in fact initially promoted by Israel as a bulwark against the secular-nationalist PLO. In 1978, the Israeli government approved an application by one Sheik Ahmed Yassin to license the Islamic Association, a front for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and a forerunner of Hamas. In addition to funding the Islamic Association as an official charity, Israel helped it gain control of the Islamic University of Gaza as a base among the intelligentsia, while the association's welfare programs helped the fundamentalists win a base among the Palestinian poor.

Some months after the outbreak of the 1987-93 Palestinian *Intifada*, Hamas was founded as an Islamist political movement with an armed wing, seeking to fuse the national struggle, previously secularist, with Islamic fundamentalism, larded with anti-Jewish demagogy. Israel did not break relations with it until the fall of 1989 after discovering that Hamas had killed two Israeli soldiers. Sheik Yassin was assassinated by Israel in 2004.

The WWP, ISO and SWP—all of whom praise Hamas—stand by the nationalist program that paved the way for Fatah's abject treachery. Workers World claims that only "a small faction of Fatah" under Abbas and Dahlan represents "the forces of imperialist slavery." The SWP declares that "Fatah has been transformed from an organisation that fought against Zionism and imperialism into an organisation that

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Aborigines...

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With polls projecting a defeat for Howard in the upcoming federal elections, the military occupation of Aboriginal communities is widely recognised as another of his pre-election ploys to garner white racist support while sowing racist divisions amongst the working class and oppressed. Disgustingly the government's plan was immediately backed by the federal ALP [Australian Labor Party] leader Kevin Rudd, who scrambled to outdo the government by promising a "war cabinet" and a 20 percent increase in federal police numbers if elected. Victorian and New South Wales state Labor premiers quickly pledged contingents of cops to join Howard's occupation force. Northern Territory ALP chief minister, Clare Martin, simply complained that the intervention should be sustained for decades! In states with a significant Aboriginal population, Labor premiers baulked at participating, complaining they had not been consulted by Howard beforehand. Australian Capital Territory chief minister, Jon Stanhope, is the only prominent ALP leader to state the obvious truth that these moves against NT Aborigines are racist.

Using the reactionary views pushed within the Aboriginal community by flunkeys like Noel Pearson, the government's current offensive has been prepared by an ongoing campaign to blame Aboriginal people for their own oppression. Many have already spoken out against the government's ghoulish plan to subject NT Aborigines under the age of 16 to "medical examinations" for sexual abuse. This proposal ratchets up the bourgeoisie's reactionary and hysterical anti-sex witchhunt, which is designed particularly to regiment youth by demeaning, abusing and punishing all those who engage in *consensual* sexual activity outside the bounds of the reactionary "age of consent" laws. The government uses the watchword "child sexual abuse" as a pretext for greater state intervention in Aboriginal lives.

The very real social pathologies of domestic violence, abuse of children, and drug addiction—problems which exist throughout capitalist society—are exacerbated by the brutal subjugation and enforced marginalisation of Aboriginal people. But it is the capitalist state itself which is the greatest instigator of violence against Aboriginal people, who, for example, know all too well that for a black man detention can often be a death sentence. This state, which consists at its core of the courts, prisons, police and military, exists for the purpose of enforcing capitalist rule over the exploited and oppressed masses.

It is grotesque hypocrisy for Howard and his minister for Aboriginal oppression, ex-army commander Mal Brough, to portray themselves as upholding the rights of Aboriginal children! With its prison guards, police and "Aboriginal Protection Boards," the bourgeois state has systematically killed and raped Aboriginal men, women and children for over 200 years. The Howard government has whipped up racist fear and hatred with the lie that refugees had thrown their "children overboard"; it has incarcerated refugees, including children, in hell-hole detention camps; and it is an enthusiastic junior partner in the bloody imperialist military occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, which have left hundreds of thousands of men, women and children dead.

A recent health report noted that Aboriginal people are four times more likely to die before the age of 25 and 13 times more likely to be in jail, stating that "Indigenous Australian youth are disadvantaged on almost every welfare criterion" ([Melbourne] *Age*, 31 May). As the head of paediatrics at Royal Darwin Hospital recently pointed out, the topmost causes of suffering among Aboriginal children are overwhelmingly eminently treatable poverty-related conditions such as lung infections, rheumatic heart disease, anaemia and malnutrition. ***Down with attacks on welfare! Aboriginal people need jobs for all at equal wages and massive education, health and housing programs, including the provision of clean water and electricity. For complete equality including equal access to decent public amenities! No to forced medical examinations! For free quality healthcare and education for all!*** However, elementary justice for Aboriginal people and all the oppressed and exploited demands not some limited and ultimately reversible concessions by the bosses but the expropriation of industry, mining and agriculture from the capitalist class through victorious workers revolution. ***We need a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights!***

Howard aims to massively roll back land rights. As Pat Turner, a former head of the recently abolished Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, remarked: "We believe that this government is using child sexual abuse as the Trojan horse to resume total control of our lands." Some 90 Aboriginal and welfare organisations have released a statement attacking the government's plan as a smokescreen for a massive grab of those lands that had been reclaimed from the capitalist rulers. This land grab paves the way for large petrochemical, mining and agribusiness to loot the incredibly lucrative resources found there. Aborigines are now facing a colonial-style military occupation similar to that which the Howard government has imposed on the oppressed people of the Solomon Islands and East Timor while plundering their resources. ***Racist Australian troops/cops hands off Aboriginal lands! Get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Solomons and East Timor!***

AAP

June 20: Mulrunji Doomadgee's sisters comforted by friend after whitewash trial acquitted cop in brutal killing of their brother.

ABC TV

Mulrunji Doomadgee

Howard's declaration was also a preemptive strike against any outpouring of justified anger over the whitewash "trial" of the Queensland cop, Chris Hurley, for the brutal killing of Aborigine Mulrunji Doomadgee in the Palm Island lockup in 2004. Hurley's acquittal by an all-white jury gives a green light to an escalation of cop killings of Aborigines in the lockups and on the streets and will further embolden fascist scum like the KKK who terrorise besieged Aboriginal communities across the country. The current cop/military occupation will mean more Aborigines in prison and more deaths in custody. Only five days after the whitewash Hurley verdict, a 44-year-old Aboriginal man died in police custody. Meanwhile Palm Island Aboriginal leader Lex Wotton is still facing serious charges for the "crime" of protesting the cop killing of Mulrunji! ***Drop the charges now! For union/black/minority action against racist terror!***

There can be no justice from the capitalist courts or governments! The brutal White Australia capitalist order was built on the plunder, theft, slaughter and degradation of the indigenous inhabitants and the systematic exclusion of Asian and dark-skinned people. The multiracial trade-union movement, which has been on the receiving end of federal coalition and state Labor governments' relentless attacks, must take action *with* Aboriginal people against their common enemy—the bosses' state.

Only the organised working class has the objective interest and social power to take on the racist capitalist rulers and win. But as long as the working class buys into the bosses' racist divide-and-rule schemes, it will never forge the consciousness and unity necessary to liberate itself from the chains of capitalist exploitation. We communists of the Spartacist League of Australia fight to break the working class from the Laborite nationalism and loyalty to the capitalist state pushed by the pro-capitalist union leaders.

Against the Labor politicians, trade-union misleaders and their left tails who serve to subordinate the working class to capitalist rule, it is urgently necessary to build an internationalist Leninist vanguard party. Such a party, fighting to lead all the exploited and oppressed against every manifestation of capitalist oppression, will be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP from its pro-capitalist and nationalist leadership.

It is the class struggle of the multiracial proletariat, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, that can open the road to overthrowing this deeply racist, decrepit, capitalist system through workers revolution. Only under the rule of the working class and based on a planned collectivised economy will it be possible to address the special needs of Aboriginal people created by more than two centuries of capitalist injustice and oppression. The multiracial working class must come to the defence of their Aboriginal brothers and sisters now! ***Cops/military out of Aboriginal communities! For proletarian-centred defence of Aborigines against racist terror! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!*** ■

U.S./Israel...

(continued from page 13)

polices its own people in their service." For its part, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (22 June) states: "The willingness of Fatah to act as a U.S.-Israeli proxy force against Hamas is the culmination of a long process that began with the Oslo 'peace process'."

The Oslo accords did indeed mark a turning point. As we wrote at the time, they represented a "grotesque bargain over the subjugated Palestinian people" that "would place the PLO's seal on the national oppression of the long-suffering Palestinian Arab masses" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). But contrary to the contention of the ISO, the "long process" that culminated in Fatah's current role as a "U.S.-Israeli proxy" began well before Oslo.

The basis of Arab nationalism, like all nationalism, is to preach the unity of the downtrodden and exploited with their "own" exploiters and would-be exploiters. In this view, the Palestinians' allies are to be sought not among the proletariat of the region but rather among the Arab rulers. Even the most militant Palestinian nationalists recognized that they could not defeat the Zionist state militarily. The strategy of "armed struggle" pursued by the PLO in the 1960s and '70s—when, according to the SWP, Fatah was "an organisation that fought against Zionism and imperialism"—was aimed at pressing for "Arab unity" against Israel.

But the Arab bourgeoisies are enemies to the cause of Palestinian national liberation. Between the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the West Bank and Gaza were controlled by Jordan and Egypt respectively. The Palestinian population remained politically dispossessed and subject to brutal repression. In the decade following the '67 war, nearly *50,000* Palestinians were slaughtered by Arab governments, including some 10,000 militants killed by the Jordanian monarchy in the 1970 Black September massacre.

The PLO's appeals to the bourgeois rulers were eventually supplanted by direct appeals to the imperialists, centrally the U.S., and even the Zionists, culminating in the 1993 accords. Underlying that deal was the destruction of the USSR through capitalist counterrevolution—a world-historic defeat for workers and the oppressed internationally. As a military and political counterweight to the U.S. and other capitalist powers, the existence of the Soviet degenerated workers state allowed the PLO and other Third World nationalist movements and regimes room to maneuver between the Soviets and the imperialists. Without the diplomatic and financial support previously provided by Moscow, the PLO soon agreed to act as guardians for the Zionists in the Occupied Territories.

As Trotskyists, we fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack and counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies. Today we raise the same program for the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. The ISO and their SWP former brethren took the *other side*, denouncing the Soviet Union as "state capitalist" and siding with "democratic" imperialism and every imperialist-backed movement aimed at the USSR, from Polish Solidarność to the CIA-funded *mujahedin* cutthroats who fought against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

Counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union—over which the ISO and SWP rejoiced—has brought devastation to the working people of those societies and emboldened the imperialists in their attacks while fueling the resurgence of religious reaction globally. Our fight is for new October Revolutions. Key to this is combatting bourgeois ideology in all its forms—and the reformist leftists who promote it—in order to render the proletariat conscious of its historic task as the gravedigger of the capitalist system. Reforge the Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution! ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated August 3.

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South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

apartheid, the present battle got the attention and support of unions internationally, including Transport Workers Union Local 100 in New York City, the Service Employees International Union in the U.S., UNISON in Britain, the Canadian Union of Public Employees and the Nigeria Labour Congress.

The strike demonstrated again the Marxist truth that the core of the state—the cops, the courts, prisons and army—is an armed apparatus that the ruling class uses to maintain power. However, the COSATU bureaucrats as well as the SACP treacherously treat the cops as a bona fide component of the workers movement. As the strike was going on and the police were brutalizing pickets, COSATU general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi addressed a conference of the cop "union," the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), claiming outrageously that "we have to pay tribute to POPCRU as a mainstay of the public-service unions." POPCRU was a member of the public-service union coalition. But POPCRU did not go on strike. Rather, it assisted the government in its attempts to ***break the strike***. This underscores that the police—black as well as white—are agents of organized ruling-class violence against the working class and all the oppressed. Our comrades of Spartacist South Africa forthrightly demand: ***Police, security and prison guards—out of the unions!***

One reason that the strike ended as it did was because the public workers were left to strike on their own. The powerful National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)—both of which are part of COSATU—as well as chemical and petroleum workers continued to work, even though all these unions were already threatening strikes against companies with whom they have contracts. A watershed in the strike occurred on June 13, when there was supposed to be a general strike by COSATU unions in solidarity with the public service unions. However, NUMSA, the NUM and several other unions refused to strike, using cowardly pretexts such as that they hadn't given the required seven-day strike notice.

As this case proved, the COSATU bureaucrats were all for "solidarity"—as long as it was acceptable to the bourgeoisie and its courts! The false idea that one has to observe the rules of the bosses and their state is contradicted by the experience of many South African workers, who on numerous occasions defied the edicts of the apartheid state. During the current battle as well, thousands of health workers regarded as providing "essential services" went on strike, knowing full well that they could be fired for doing so.

Had NUMSA, the NUM and other unions that represent workers in strategic sectors of the economy struck alongside the public workers, it would have brought the country to a grinding halt. It also would have created a political crisis for the ruling Tripartite Alliance. But this is exactly what the SACP/COSATU tops do not want.

At the same time that COSATU organizes millions of workers, its leadership forms an integral component of the same government that is carrying out attacks on its members. Blade Nzimande, general secretary of the SACP, noted, "Some of our international allies have asked us as to how come a government led by an allied formation faces such a massive public service strike led by an allied trade union federation." While affirming the SACP's support for the public workers strike, Nzimande was quick to assure his ANC allies that "this does not mean that the SACP supports any or every strike by virtue of being a workers' strike" (*Umsebenzi Online*, 20 June).

This is certainly true. One notable example took place in 1990, in the period when the "power-sharing" deal that ended apartheid was being worked out between the Randlords, the ANC and the Western imperialists. Then-SACP leader Joe Slovo and SACPer Moses Mayekiso were flown into East London to quash a powerful workers occupation at the Mercedes-Benz plant. The SACP wanted to make crystal clear that it would guarantee the sanctity of private property in the face of any proletarian challenge.

The SACP is a reformist workers party. In order to placate its working-class base, the SACP has been forced to become more critical of Mbeki. At the same time, the SACP tops are ultimately loyal to the bourgeois order. In order to justify its participation in the government, the SACP has to pretend that the Tripartite Alliance is something other than what it is: a ***bourgeois government***. The SACP claims that "the post-1994 democratic state is not inherently capitalist, it is in fact, a sharply class-contested reality" and that the workers can somehow achieve "hegemony" or control over that state. This is designed to obscure the basic Marxist truth that modern society is divided into two main classes—the capitalist exploiters and the exploited proletariat—whose interests are irreconcilable. In allying themselves to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, the SACP and the COSATU tops perform an invaluable service for the capitalist rulers in keeping the country's powerful working class tied to the capitalist order. And as participants in the governing Tripartite Alliance, the SACP and COSATU bear responsibility for the anti-working-class austerity implemented by the government.

Within the ranks of the SACP there is increasing restlessness with the party's servile subordination to the ANC. A March meeting of the party's Gauteng Provincial Council recommended a resolution for the SACP's upcoming 12th national congress that asserted: "Therefore, the Council overwhelmingly resolved that the SACP ***must contest elections from 2009 at all levels by fielding its own candidates***.... We ***cannot*** continue outsourcing this important function of the Communist Party" (emphasis in original). According to the South African news Web site www.iol.co.za (3 June), a similar resolution was passed by the Port Elizabeth district of the SACP. However, although it says that SACP candidates should run in their own name rather than on the ANC slate, the Gauteng resolution asserts that the "revolutionary alliance led by the ANC" is "an historic and important alliance that should be preserved."

Genuine working-class independence requires not only organizational independence from capitalist parties like the ANC but also ***political opposition*** to them. But the SACP is and has long been politically subordinated to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. Being allied to the ANC means accepting a common program, i.e., one that necessarily subordinates the workers and the oppressed to the capitalist order. Calls for "going it alone" while preserving the class-collaborationist alliance with the ANC can only be an attempt to refurbish the tarnished credentials of the alliance, at a time when it is facing huge anger at the base of society. The point is not to reform the ANC by futilely searching for a "pro-worker" alternative to Mbeki. An ANC run by Jacob Zuma would be just as anti-working-class as the current ANC. We call to break with the Tripartite Alliance and to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights for a workers government. This does not mean placing in power a labor government that administers capitalism, like the British Labour governments, but a revolutionary struggle that overthrows the capitalist order, as the Bolsheviks did in 1917.

A fundamental argument raised by reformists against such a perspective is that such a revolution would be isolated and crushed by the imperialists. It is true that in the post-Soviet period the imperialists have become more emboldened and arrogant. However, workers revolution in South Africa would reverberate powerfully among the oppressed working masses, from black and other workers in the U.S. to Latin America and Europe. It would revive revolutionary class struggle internationally. Only the extension of workers revolution to the advanced capitalist countries would provide the material basis for the establishment of a genuine socialist society, one in which poverty has been abolished and classes are no more. To that end there must be an instrumentality, a world party of socialist revolution. That is why we Spartacists fight for the reforging of the Fourth International. ■

PDC Protests Police Attacks Against South African Strikers

The following letter, addressed to South African president Thabo Mbeki, was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on June 12.

The Partisan Defense Committee joins workers around the world in protest against the brutal repression being meted out by your ANC government against the approximately 700,000 public service unionists on strike since June 1. As this massive strike led by COSATU and other unions to defend workers' livelihoods began, thousands of armed soldiers and cops launched a furious campaign against strikers at schools and hospitals around the country. Among many reported instances, police in Cape Town fired stun grenades at strikers picketing Tygerberg Hospital, injuring workers including one who was hospitalized in intensive care. In Durban, police fired rubber bullets at striking nurses, arresting 20, and carried out another grenade attack at Addington Hospital. Now your government threatens mass firings of striking health workers for defying a government ultimatum that they return to work.

This is an outrage. We demand an immediate end to this campaign of terror against striking workers. Workers all over the globe have followed and will continue to follow the struggles of the South African working class against neo-apartheid capitalism over which you preside: a system in which the white capitalist class, its senior partners in the City of London and Wall Street and a thin layer of black businessmen and politicians reap rewards, while the conditions of the working class, rural toilers and township masses continue to be miserable.

The PDC demands an immediate halt to all police attacks and freedom for all arrested strikers. We demand all charges be dropped with no reprisals against striking workers. We also demand the rescinding of all firings and the immediate reinstatement of any dismissed worker.

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. On May 17, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments on Mumia's appeal and a decision could come within weeks or months. We must mobilize now to win his freedom.

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with the Tripartite Alliance! For Workers Revolution!

South Africa: Bitter End to Defiant Strike

For four weeks, at least 700,000 teachers, hospital workers and other public service workers struck against the South African government headed by the African National Congress (ANC). A coalition of 17 unions participated in the strike. The largest of the unions are affiliated with the mainly black Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), but there were also independent unions, including some that had never called strikes before, thereby uniting workers across racial lines. The strike, the largest since the end of the apartheid government in 1994, was widely popular, particularly among the country's impoverished masses. The strikers shut down most of the schools and hospitals in the country and braved police attacks and arrests as well as a government ultimatum to return to work.

Many workers are bitter at the settlement. Although the unions had originally asked for a 12 percent wage increase, the final settlement was only 7.5 percent, not much more than the rate of inflation. One analyst noted that it could take until after 2010 for teachers to recoup the money they lost during the strike. In protest, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), while returning to work, refused to sign the agreement.

The strike highlighted that despite the change in the political and judicial superstructure since apartheid rule, South Africa today is a neo-apartheid capitalist state: the black masses live in Third World poverty while most whites enjoy First World conditions. The white capitalists, and their senior partners in the City of London and on Wall Street, now along with a small layer of black elite, live off the exploitation of the working class. Since 1994, the bourgeois state has been run by the Tripartite Alliance consisting of the ANC, COSATU and the South African Communist Party (SACP). Behind the failure to unleash the forces necessary to achieve victory in the strike—private sector mining, industrial and commercial unions—was the fact that the reformist union tops did not want to deal a decisive blow against the government of which they are a part.

Soobramoney/News24

June 14: Striking public service workers march in Durban.

The economy has been booming, but this has done little to improve the situation of the masses of working people. Unemployment is at least 40 percent. More than a third of all women between the ages of 25 and 29 are HIV-positive. This reflects not only the grinding poverty of the majority of the populace but also the deliberate neglect of AIDS treatment by the Thabo Mbeki regime. Commenting on the growing gulf between rich and poor, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, once closely associated with the ANC, was compelled to observe, "I'm really very surprised by the remarkable patience of people," adding that it was hard "to explain why they don't say to hell with Tutu, [Nelson] Mandela and the rest and go on the rampage" (*Financial Times*, 28 June).

Strikers, most of whom lack savings, were left to rely on their own resources or in many cases were forced to turn to loan sharks to survive. While there were virtually no union strike funds, the COSATU bureaucrats have invested millions of rands in the Johannesburg stock exchange in their futile schemes to achieve union influence over the boards of directors of capitalist concerns. Courageous picketers defied government strikebreaking in order to shut down schools and hospitals. Several thousand nurses and other health workers were sacked on the grounds that they were violating laws prohibiting workers who did essential services from striking. The settlement reinstates them to their jobs, but *with a final warning* attached to their work record. The unions must demand: No reprisals against the strikers!

The police and army were mobilized on a large scale to patrol hospitals and schools. Army medics were used to do the jobs of strikers. Police assaulted pickets, beating strikers and hurling stun grenades; military helicopters were employed. In KwaZulu-Natal, SADTU members were shot. Suraya Jawoodeen, secretary of the National Education Health and Allied Workers Union in Western Cape province, asserted that the cops "have used more violence against strikers than during apartheid" (*Mail & Guardian online*, 15 June).

Just as in the past, when workers around the world supported the struggles of the oppressed in South Africa against

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Labor Party Leader Backs Howard's Racist War on Aborigines

Australian Cops/Military: Hands Off Aboriginal Communities!

We reprint below a June 27 leaflet issued by the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Declaring a "national emergency," the [Liberal Party] Howard government is moving contingents of cops, backed by troops, to occupy some 60 Northern Territory (NT) Aboriginal communities. To facilitate this naked land grab, federal parliament is to be recalled to override the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights Act and likely the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act. In the name of "law and order" against "child abuse," the government is imposing an immediate puritanical ban on alcohol and pornography. In a chilling, racist, state-sponsored campaign of abuse and humiliation, they want to subject Aboriginal children and youth under 16 years of age to outrageous genital "medical examinations." They are also threatening to starve impoverished Aboriginal families by withholding already meagre welfare payments for such reasons as their kids don't or won't go to school, which are invariably under-resourced and in some cases racist or non-existent!

Howard's attacks have been met with fear and anger from Aboriginal communities. Women and children have already begun fleeing Mutitjulu, the first community to face the police/military takeover. This vividly recalls how terrified Aboriginal parents had to hide their children from the all-powerful "Protector" or mission manager, events powerfully portrayed in the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence*. Indeed Howard intends to turn the clock back to the days of the protector where the systematic physical, emotional and sexual abuse, which accompanied the mass institutionalisation of Aboriginal children *stolen* from their parents and used as forced labour, was rife. This was accompanied by capitalist theft of land on a grand scale by cattle barons and mining companies.

Howard's assault on welfare within Aboriginal communities is a template for gutting welfare across the entire population. Furthermore, increased police repression, backed up by troops, comes on top of draconian laws already restricting the rights of *all*, from "anti-terror" laws to anti-union laws. Targeting the most vulnerable today, the government is greasing the skids for broader attacks on the morrow. The working class has a direct interest in taking up the fight to defend Aboriginal people and all the oppressed. *For working-class protests against racist state repression! Down with Howard's martial law! No to cop/military occupations of Northern Territory Aboriginal communities!*

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For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 896 | GCU C-701 | 3 August 2007

For Class Struggle Against U.S. Capitalist Rulers at Home!

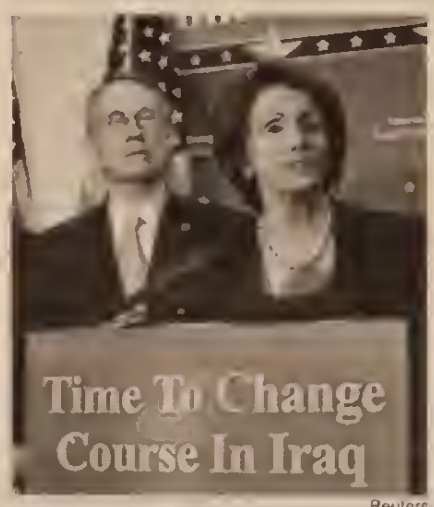
Iraq, Afghanistan: U.S. Out Now!

Getty

AP

Hell for Iraq under U.S. occupation: Marine with detainees in Falluja following U.S. "surge" (left); scene in Baghdad following car bomb in Shi'ite district.

Ruling Class Tells White House: Cut the Losses



Reuters

AP

Left: Democratic Congressional leaders Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi at April 26 news conference. Right: George W. Bush tells press he sees progress in Iraq, July 12.

When the bipartisan Iraq Study Group recommended last December that the U.S. begin withdrawing troops from Iraq, it was a signal that important sections of the bourgeoisie wanted to end what had become a debacle for American imperialism. President Bush essentially asked for one last chance to try to turn the situation around through a troop "surge." Republican politicians stood firmly behind Bush through the spring, while Democrats in Congress adopted a posture of loyal opposition, passing toothless resolutions for withdrawal while backing the Commander-in-Chief when it counted by voting to finance the occupation.

By summer, predominant sections of the U.S. ruling class had had enough. American military forces had failed in their attempt to assert control over Baghdad, and intercommunal slaughter continued unabated. Key Republican Senators like John Warner and Richard Lugar, former chairmen respectively of the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, and longtime Bush ally Pete Domenici broke with the president and began pushing for a draw down of forces. A handful of other Republican Senators voted with the Democrats to set a "timetable" for pulling back in Iraq, and still others indicated that they were only waiting until General Petraeus' status report in September before coming out publicly in opposition to the administration. In a major editorial statement, the *New York Times* (8 July), an authoritative mouthpiece of the capitalist ruling class, declared in no uncertain terms that it was time "to organize an orderly exit."

Opinion polls—and the November Congressional elections—gave unambiguous signs that the American populace in its majority wants the U.S. to get out of Iraq. This sentiment has redounded to the benefit of the Democratic Party, in part due to the services of the reformist left, which built an "antiwar movement" predicated on "Anybody but Bush" lesser evilism. But contrary to bourgeois-democratic myth, the policies of U.S. imperialism are determined not by the desires of the electorate but by the interests of the capitalist ruling class, as overseen by the Democratic and Republican parties.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq has led to the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, a toll that increases daily with the communal warfare between Sunnis and Shi'ites unleashed by the occupation. Some two million Iraqis have fled the country while two million more have left their homes for other areas in the country. A recently released study by Oxfam and other aid organizations reported that some eight million Iraqis—nearly a third of the population—need immediate emergency aid, 70 percent are without adequate water supplies and 28 percent of children are malnourished.

For the rulers of U.S. imperialism, who have destroyed what was once one of the relatively more advanced countries of the Near East, Iraq has become a quagmire threatening their ability to project American military power around the globe. As the *New York Times* editorial put it: "The war is sapping the strength of the nation's alliances and its military forces." Pentagon officials are sounding the alarm about the overstretched military and declining enlistment. Last month, the Army missed its recruitment goal for the second month in a row, despite offering hefty signing bonuses—and even opening the door to many convicted felons. As for "the nation's alliances," with Saudi Arabia reportedly financing the Sunni Muslim opposition in Iraq and encouraging the Persian Gulf states to do the same (while Iran allegedly arms Shi'ite militias), the U.S. faces the scenario of fighting a proxy war against some of its most important allies—and oil suppliers—in the Near East.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor under President Jimmy Carter and anti-Soviet Cold War hawk, summarized the Iraq war's impact on the long-term interests of U.S. imperialism in his book, *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower* (2007): "Beyond destabilizing the Middle East, the Iraq war had a further, much more important consequence. It made the success or failure of U.S. policy in the Middle East the test case of American global leadership.... The loss of U.S. dominance in the region would have catastrophic consequences for America's position in Europe and the Far East." Many of Bush's bourgeois opponents are alarmed that the Iraq occupation has diverted Washington's attention away from more strategically important areas, in particular China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states and the imperialists' key target for capitalist counterrevolution.

The administration is in trouble from many sides. After scandal upon scandal among its cronies and as presidential approval numbers sink to a nearly 60-year low, there is a mounting cry from establishment voices to get rid of Attorney

continued on page 10

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Down With Anti-Abortion Crusade!

Defend Dr. George Tiller!

We print below a July 14 letter from the Partisan Defense Committee to Kansas attorney general Paul J. Morrison protesting the legal persecution of Dr. George Tiller. Due to a state law restricting late-term abortion procedures, Dr. Tiller faces up to 19 years in prison and $47,500 in fines. Since the charges were brought against him, anti-abortion fanatics have continued to harass Tiller and lay siege to his clinic.

Dr. Tiller is challenging the constitutionality of the law, one of the myriad measures enacted nationally since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision to effectively cut off access to abortions for large numbers of women, particularly the young and poor. In April, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a 2003 law criminalizing a rarely used second-trimester abortion procedure. As we wrote in "Supreme Court Rolls Back Abortion Rights" (*WV* No. 891, 27 April): "What is urgently needed is militant struggle to defend and extend women's rights, including the right to abortion.... We fight for free abortion and contraception on demand as part of a program of free, quality health care for all." Attacks on abortion rights are part of a broad government onslaught against the working class and the oppressed. It is in the interests of the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights to take up the defense of Dr. Tiller and other targets of the anti-abortion crusade.

AP

Dr. Tiller addressing rally outside his Wichita clinic on 29th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade* decision, January 2002.

* * *

We demand that the state of Kansas drop the 19 misdemeanor charges filed against Dr. George Tiller alleging that he violated a law that requires the approval of a second "independent" physician for some types of late-term abortions. These charges resulted from a 2004 subpoena, which Tiller fought, of private medical records for 90 women who had been provided abortions. The then attorney general attempted to seize the records under the guise of investigating "child rape," but later he admitted he was really fishing for evidence that Tiller's clinic had violated late-term abortion statutes. Hands off all clinic records!

The current charges against Dr. Tiller are the continuation of decades of legal and extralegal harassment of this courageous abortion provider, who operates one of the few clinics in the country that offer late-term abortion procedures. His clinic has been the target of decades of pickets by anti-abortion fanatics and was bombed in 1986, forcing him to move his facility temporarily to secret quarters. In the summer of 1991 as part of a nationwide rampage against abortion providers, reactionary mobs descended on Wichita for six weeks, attempting to shut down the clinics. In 1993 Tiller survived being shot several times in an assassination attempt. This July 4th in the middle of the night his clinic was vandalized and flooded.

The state's persecution of George Tiller is part of an all-out assault on abortion rights which anti-woman bigots have sought to overturn for the last three decades through both legislative and judicial means while unleashing "god squads" to terrorize patients and clinic staff and murder doctors. Stop the witchhunt against George Tiller! Drop the charges!■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Trotskyism and the Heritage of the Early Comintern

In a document adopted at the Second World Congress of the Third (Communist) International in August 1920, Leon Trotsky stressed the need to forge an international revolutionary party in political combat against all misleaders of the working class. Standing on the revolutionary program embodied in the decisions of the first four congresses of the Communist International (1919-1922), Trotsky and his co-thinkers fought against the Comintern's subsequent Stalinist degeneration and founded the Fourth International in 1938. In continuity with this heritage, the International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

To the disintegration and chaos of the capitalist world, whose death agony threatens to destroy all human culture, the Communist International counterposes the united struggle of the world proletariat for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and for the reconstruction of national and world economy on the basis of a single economic plan, instituted and realized in life by a society of producers, a society of solidarity....

The Communist International is the party of the revolutionary education of the world proletariat. It rejects all those organizations and groups which openly or covertly stupefy, demoralize and weaken the proletariat, exhorting it to kneel before the fetishes which are a facade for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: legalism, democracy, national defense, etc.

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organizations which, after inscribing the dictatorship of the proletariat in their program, continue to conduct a policy which obviously relies upon a peaceful solution of the historical crisis. Mere recognition of the Soviet system settles nothing. The Soviet form of organization does not possess any miraculous powers. Revolutionary power lies within the proletariat itself. It is necessary for the proletariat to rise for the conquest of power—then and only then does the Soviet organization reveal its qualities as the irreplaceable instrument in the hands of the proletariat....

In all his work whether as leader of a revolutionary strike, or as organizer of underground groups, or as secretary of a trade union, or as agitator at mass meetings, whether as deputy, cooperative worker or barricade fighter, the Communist always remains true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist Party, a zealous fighter, a mortal enemy of capitalist society, its economic foundation, its state forms, its democratic lies, its religion and its morality. He is a self-sacrificing soldier of the proletarian revolution and an indefatigable herald of the new society.

Working men and women! On this earth there is only one banner which is worth fighting and dying for. It is the banner of the *Communist International!*

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Second World Congress" (1920), printed in *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Volume 1, Monad Press (1977)

Political Asylum for Victor Toro!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter was sent to Julie L. Myers, Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, on July 30.

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently protests the July 6 arrest and threatened deportation of Victor Toro, who for over 20 years has been a well-known advocate for immigrants and the poor in New York City. Mr. Toro was caught up in an anti-immigrant sweep on an Amtrak train outside Rochester, New York, by U.S. Border Patrol officers who worked their way down his car demanding to know passengers' citizenship and residence status.

A Chilean refugee, Mr. Toro was charged under the Immigration and Nationality Act with entering and remaining in the U.S. illegally. Mr. Toro escaped from the notorious U.S.-backed Pinochet dictatorship in Chile after enduring several years of imprisonment and torture. In 1978, the Chilean government declared him dead, making him not only stateless but a non-person, someone who could be easily disappeared by his political enemies with no questions asked, as thousands were. Since then his two applications for a Chilean passport have been rejected, and he has strong reason to believe that his life would be in danger if he were to return to Chile. Mr. Toro's wife, Nieves Ayress, has been told by Chilean authorities that he will be arrested and charged with identity theft if he travels to Chile.

Bennett/NY Times

Victor Toro at his Bronx home, July 10.

Now this very same U.S. government, whose backing of the brutal Pinochet coup cost the lives of thousands of union militants, leftists and social activists, intends to deport one of those victims who survived. Under the guise of the never-ending "war on terror," since September 2001 Homeland Security anti-immigrant sweeps and raids have spearheaded an overall assault on the civil liberties of everyone in this country, native-born and immigrant alike.

Mr. Toro's lawyer has announced plans to seek political asylum. We demand that all charges be dropped and that he be granted political asylum.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Chinese Counterrevolutionary Feted by Lutte Ouvrière

PARIS—At its annual Fête in late May, the reformist Lutte Ouvrière (LO) invited one Cai Chongguo to speak about his latest book, *Chine: l'Envers de la Puissance* (China: The Dark Side of Power) and to share at this "socialist" gathering his account of the situation in China. Cai is the representative in France for the Hong Kong-based journal *China Labour Bulletin*

France

(CLB—now available only on the Internet). Under a guise of defending workers' rights and fighting for "independent" trade unions, the CLB is an imperialist-backed outfit that seeks to cynically manipulate the discontent and legitimate grievances of the Chinese working class to foster capitalist counterrevolution in China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League, denounced LO's invitation to Cai as well as its history of support to similar counterrevolutionary forces during the years of Cold War II against the former Soviet Union. Speaking from the floor of the meeting for Cai, our comrades exposed him as an agent of imperialism and put forward our Trotskyist program: for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy and establish an internationalist proletarian regime based on workers and peasants soviets (councils). This perspective requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, standing at the head of the toiling masses and directing the struggles of the workers toward political power. Along that road, it is necessary to politically combat those who would link Chinese workers struggles to the forces of "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution.

The CLB and its founder, Han Dongfang, have a direct relationship with the U.S. and European imperialists. Han has been a regular speaker for years on Washington-based Radio Free Asia (RFA), to which the CLB Web site offers a direct link. Spelling out the CLB's pro-imperialist credentials, one LTF comrade noted that "the CLB works in collaboration with the American Congress and Radio Free Asia, the CIA's radio station in Asia, under the responsibility of Condoleezza Rice among others" who sit on the RFA's Broadcasting Board of Governors. In Europe, Cai Chongguo offers himself up as a China "specialist" to the imperialists. In his introductory remarks, Cai baldly admitted: "I speak three to four times each week or three or four times a day...for the BBC, Radio Free Asia, French International Radio and German International Radio, and of course sometimes on the Chinese section of the Voice of America."

Le Bolchevik

Cai Chongguo (left) of imperialist-backed *China Labour Bulletin* at podium of Lutte Ouvrière Fête in May.

Two weeks prior to the LO Fête, Cai was scheduled to speak in Berlin on "workplace rights" in China at the invitation of the European Union. But the meeting was cancelled due to the Chinese government's protest. In December, Cai had been the guest of Nicolas Sarkozy—former interior minister and now president of France—who received Cai and other "China specialists" at his then-police headquarters at Place Beauvau, where they discussed French imperialism's posture toward China over trade, "human rights" and independence for Taiwan, the bastion of the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. (A 16 December 2006 posting on Cai's blog "Journal d'un Chinois" describes his "breakfast with Sarkozy.") Against counterrevolutionary calls for Taiwan's independence or for capitalist reunification with the mainland, one LTF speaker put forward the ICL's program for China's "revolutionary reunification with Taiwan—that is, a socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow the bourgeoisie and a political revolution on the mainland."

Cheerleaders for Counterrevolution

The 1949 Chinese Revolution ended the rule of the rapacious capitalists and landlords and liberated the most populous nation on earth from imperialist subjugation. Resulting from the military victory of peasant-guerrilla forces led by the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the 1949 Revolution was bureaucratically deformed from its inception, requiring a subsequent political revolution to remove the nationalist, bureaucratic regime.

In his new book, the virulently anti-Communist Cai lauds the "autonomy" of villages in pre-revolutionary China! Denouncing this reactionary drivel, one of the LTF speakers stated that before 1949 "the peasants had nothing to eat and sold their children" and that the Chinese Revolution "was a great advance for the peasants and the working class in China." Our comrade continued, "Today, there is a bureaucracy in power, as in 1949, with its own contradictions. It is absolutely necessary to defend China against the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries inside the country," adding that it is the working class that must put in place "its own power based on soviets."

Only the LTF protested Cai's appearance at the LO Fête. Just as we unflinchingly defend China against capitalist counterrevolution, we also unconditionally defend the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. The return of imperialist subjugation to China, and with it the dismantling of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, would be catastrophic for the masses of that country. Internationally, workers and the oppressed would be under renewed attack from bourgeois rulers reveling in "death of communism" triumphalism, as has happened following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

At the same time, we Trotskyists are very clear on the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy toward the Chinese working class. The CCP's program of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, flowing from the party's historic allegiance to the dogma of "socialism in one country" represents a threat to the very survival of the Chinese deformed workers state. The Stalinist bureaucracy is a parasitic caste that simultaneously is dependent on the collectivized property forms of the workers state and acts as the transmitting mechanism for the pressures of imperialism in undermining the workers state.

LO, like other reformist parties that continue, albeit rarely, to lay claim to Trotskyism, shows with its sponsorship of counterrevolutionary "dissidents" like Cai that the prospect they hold out for the Chinese working class is a return to an imperialist stranglehold over China. One of the LTF speakers detailed how Cai is courted by not only the imperialists but also their lackeys in the trade-union bureaucracy in France and internationally: "The fact that the CLB is supported by the FO [Force Ouvrière union federation] bureaucrats or those from the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail] or the 'AFL-CIA' in the United States only underlines the treason of the reformist leadership of these trade unions." Pointing to our opposition to Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność, the CIA- and Vatican-backed "union" that spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, the comrade remarked, "*Le Monde*'s comparing of Han Dongfang to Lech Walesa was correct." Our speaker continued:

> "It's not surprising that Lutte Ouvrière invites Cai to their Fête. In the 1980s LO supported bids for counterrevolution, be it by Solidarność or through LO's support to capitalist reunification in Germany and its opposition to the Red Army in Afghanistan. Against that, we Trotskyists called to fight against counterrevolution in Poland and in East Germany."

It was in the name of "free trade unions" that CIA money was used to buy officials and hire goons to split, smash and subdue combative unions in West Europe at the onset of the anti-Soviet Cold War, as described in the 1981 Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*. The 1947-48 split in the Communist-led CGT federation in France, out of which Force Ouvrière was created, was financed by the CIA, with the consent and assistance of the virulently anti-Communist French social democracy.

As in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, in China the call for "free trade

continued on page 4

Spartakist

Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong protest in January 1990 against fascist desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, contested elections two months later with call, "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America.

Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and the oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

Since they were brought to this country in chains and enslaved, black people have been an integral part of American class society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom. It took the Civil War to emancipate black people from chattel slavery. But the Civil War was not carried to its completion, and black people were freed from slavery only to be stripped of political rights and economically subjugated. The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for black liberation, strategic to the American revolution. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and in their defense against racist and chauvinist anti-immigrant attacks. An injury to one is an injury to all!

The Labor Black Leagues raise the call: Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state! It bases its perspectives on the realization that it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally liberate black people.

WV Photo

Labor Black League speaker at 9 February 2002 Oakland rally initiated by LBL and PDC against anti-immigrant witchhunt and draconian "anti-terror" laws.

If You Stand For —

1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!

2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabherding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting; keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants: everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Defend the separation of church and state! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt—cops and courts out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against consensual activities such as "crimes without victims" like pornography, gambling, drugs and prostitution!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or community control of the police! Down with the racist and anti-labor "war on drugs"! For decriminalization of drugs! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend the deformed workers states—Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea—against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For proletarian political revolution to oust their Stalinist bureaucracies! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

— Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge: $3/year unemployed; $10/year employed. For more information:

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Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604

Lutte Ouvrière...

(continued from page 3)

unions" emanating from Radio Free Asia, the CLB and their "leftist" followers is a call to mobilize workers, against their historic interests, for "democratic" counterrevolution. As one LTF speaker pointed out, in regard to the Stalinist-ruled workers states, we have fought historically for "trade unions independent of the bureaucracy that are based on the principle of defending the workers state and which struggle to defend the collectivized economy against privatizations." This has nothing in common with the CLB's drive for "democratic free trade unions," a key component of Cai's presentation.

LO: Betraying Workers' Interests in China and at Home

Lutte Ouvrière has always absurdly characterized the 1949 Chinese Revolution as a bourgeois revolution and China as a bourgeois state. But as LO's *Exposés du Cercle Léon Trotsky* (27 January 2006) documents, since 1998 LO has also maintained publicly that this supposedly bourgeois state did indeed "carry out the collectivization of the land," introduce "considerable progress" in employment, housing, health and education, and that "industry developed at an average rate of 9 percent a year." LO also admits that there is no comparison between this level of progress and the situation in such semicolonial countries as India.

LO tries to explain the positive impact of the Chinese Revolution as resulting from the policy of *étatisme* (statism)—i.e., state direction of the economy. This notion makes no distinction between a bourgeois state and a workers state, presenting the state as fundamentally neutral: as an administrative apparatus resting above classes rather than the central tool for the ruling class to maintain its domination.

Under the strong pressure of anti-communist bourgeois public opinion, LO's anti-Marxist "theoretical" gobbledygook serves the purpose of siding with the imperialist bourgeoisies against the Chinese deformed workers state. In the context of France, the revisionist portrayal of the state as a "neutral" body is reflected in LO's frequent appeals to the bourgeois state to act in the interests of the French working class. This was clearly seen in LO's program for the recent presidential elections and its call on the working class to vote for the anti-working-class popular front headed by Ségolène Royal in the second round (see *Le Bolchévik* No. 180, June 2007).

We assert that defense of the interests of the workers in France and other capitalist countries is inseparable from defense of the remaining workers states. In the critical battles to come that will determine the fate of the People's Republic of China, the Trotskyists will battle against the Lech Walesas of today and their "leftist" pimps, as we did in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. This is a crucial part of the ICL's struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Dellums: No Friend of Labor

Pact Ends Bay Area Sanitation Lockout: Workers Beware!

OAKLAND—Some 500 members of Teamsters Local 70 in Alameda County, locked out on July 2 by garbage hauling giant Waste Management, are back at work after voting overwhelmingly to accept a "compromise" contract on July 28. Returning with them are some 80 members of International Association of Machinists Local 1546 and another 300 recycling, landfill and clerical workers in International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 6, who walked out in solidarity with the Teamsters. These workers are rightly proud that they stood firm for nearly four weeks against the company's scabherding assault. They received an outpouring of support from the powerful, integrated Bay Area labor movement, as many workers understood that Waste Management's war on the Teamsters is a war on *all of organized labor*.

However, the lockout ended with potentially crippling concessions to the Waste Management bosses, brokered by so-called "friend of labor" and Democratic Party mayor of Oakland Ron Dellums. The workers felt compelled to accept these concessions (by a vote of 363-3) *not* because they were defeated in battle but because of the treacherous policy of the labor bureaucracy, which puts all its faith in capitalist politicians and the illusory "neutrality" of the capitalist state.

What labor needed to win this vital class confrontation was the mobilization of its social power in class struggle. Longshoremen from ILWU Local 10 pointed the way on July 16, when they respected Teamsters picket lines and shut down the Maersk terminal at the Port of Oakland for several hours, resulting in a scab truck and its security detail being escorted off the docks.

Waste Management locked out the Teamsters two days after their contract expired, demanding a no-strike clause that also would have outlawed honoring other unions' picket lines as well as harsh disciplinary measures with which to harass and fire unionists for supposed "safety" violations. The workers faced a reported $600,000-a-day union-busting operation prepared well in advance by North America's largest private waste hauling firm, a Fortune 500 company with 2006 profits of over $1 billion. The company flew in hundreds of professional strikebreakers known as the "Green Team" from non-union locations throughout the country. To escort the scab-operated trucks, the company mobilized a battalion of security vans that sent at least two picketers to the hospital in hit-and-runs.

Waste Management is notorious for trying to trash unions. In late 2005, it unilaterally imposed a draconian contract on Teamsters Local 813 members who haul trash from private businesses in New York City. This diktat came down just as transit workers were defying the state's anti-labor Taylor Law and crippling the capital of world finance in a three-day strike. Instead of pulling out their members to join transit workers on the picket line, the Teamsters tops made the haulers eat the cuts so as not to defy the capitalist politicians. Finally forced out in April 2006, the union, after a bitter four-month strike, signed on to a give-back contract.

Local 70 leaders knew the lockout was coming. Teamsters drivers told *Workers Vanguard* salesmen that they were followed by scabs learning their routes. The union bureaucracy's strategy was to use public anger, which grew as the piles of garbage mounted, in appealing to the capitalist courts and politicians to end the lockout. The labor tops looked in particular to Mayor Dellums, the kind of earnest liberal who serves to rope in workers' votes for the Democrats, the other party of the class enemy. Meanwhile, Waste Management's class-war garbage war meant regular pick-ups in affluent neighborhoods while letting rat-infested garbage pile up in largely black, Latino and poor neighborhoods.

The union bureaucracy's strategy backfired dramatically as Dellums weighed in. Professing neutrality in the name of the so-called "public interest," he strong-armed *the union* into giving up hard-won gains embodying the single most vital issue for trade unionism: the right to strike. From all accounts, the new five-year contract includes the "no strike, no lockout" clause the company demanded, stipulating binding arbitration to resolve disputes between the union and the bosses. This is a very significant concession, given that previously Alameda County and Los Angeles Teamsters contracts with Waste Management were two of the few contracts left without this now "standard language," the purpose of which is to tie the union's hands for years. Now the Los Angeles Teamsters, whose contract expires in September, are under the gun.

Thanks to the workers' determined solidarity throughout the lockout, the company grudgingly conceded the union's right to honor picket lines and dropped its demand for cuts in health care benefits. But the contract also includes the harsh discipline the company wanted, reportedly including suspension for the first "safety" infraction and firing after the third—with no right to file a grievance.

Workers must beware what this contract portends. The capitalists' drive for profits regularly kills and maims thousands. Garbage hauling is one of the most dangerous jobs in the U.S. On-the-job fatalities are *ten times* the national average for all jobs. The bosses' contempt for the safety of the workers was demonstrated by their hit-and-run scabherders. At the same time, "safety" has become one of management's favorite tools for getting rid of workers they don't like. Everyone knows that they will use no-grievance discipline procedures to go after union militants.

All sides agree that Dellums was key to imposing this anti-labor settlement. Teamsters Local 70 secretary-treasurer and international vice president Chuck Mack lauded it as a "fair agreement" and had nothing but praise for the mayor. But the *San Francisco Chronicle* (28 July) reported that the turning point was an ultimatum from Dellums: settle or the city would contract with another firm—union or not—to haul the trash. This threat to Teamsters jobs held a gun to the workers' heads. With friends like that, who needs enemies?

The union tops' allegiance to the class enemy meant that they never mobilized the widespread support for the locked-out workers in order to shut down Waste Management's scab operation through mass pickets and industrial action. The ILWU International, Bay Area Rapid Transit workers ATU Local 1555, the California Nurses Association and East Bay Municipal Utility District water workers of AFSCME Locals 444 and 2019 were among the many unions that responded to an appeal for hardship funds for the ILWU Local 6 workers. Heavily Latino and mainly women, including many single mothers, Local 6 workers earn $11-14 per hour and were not eligible for unemployment benefits.

A solidarity rally on July 11 drew hundreds from local unions and other supporters, including activists with the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. Many also joined union pickets at Waste Management facilities. But throughout the lockout, security-escorted scab trucks and management crossed picket lines and even struck picketers with impunity, while unionized garbage workers sacrificed their wages, imperiling car and home payments.

Nationally the Teamsters tops are part of the "Change to Win" coalition and supposedly committed to organizing the unorganized. But they have allowed the bulk of Waste Management's operation nationally to remain non-union, providing the large pool of potential scabs for the company's anti-union "Green Team." This underlines the need for a class-struggle fight to organize the unorganized.

The capitalist state is not neutral. Former Teamsters president Ron Carey rode into office on court suits and a government-run election. Then, after he led a strike against UPS in 1997, the Feds threw him out. The reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) openly embraced the government's installation of Carey through its active support for Teamsters for a Democratic Union. During the Waste Management lockout, the ISO likewise embraced the legalistic strategy of the Teamsters tops. Asking "what will labor have to do to win?" the ISO turned for the answer to Chuck Mack: "The message has to get out about the lawlessness that this company is about" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 July). The ISO timidly opined that "if WM proves impervious to symbolic picket lines, then the unions and their supporters will have to consider organizing mass picket lines to stop the trucks from rolling." But as soon as the workers start to be effective, the courts and the cops show that they are no more "neutral" than the security thugs Waste Management employs directly. Just ask the Teamsters harassed by the cops.

Under capitalism, the unions confront a highly centralized class adversary in the cops, courts and government. That is why labor needs a leadership based on a class-struggle program and the political independence of the working class from the capitalist class. Above all, it must break from the capitalist parties—Democratic, Republican and Green—and forge its own party, a revolutionary workers party, dedicated to the fight for a workers government where those who labor rule. ■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

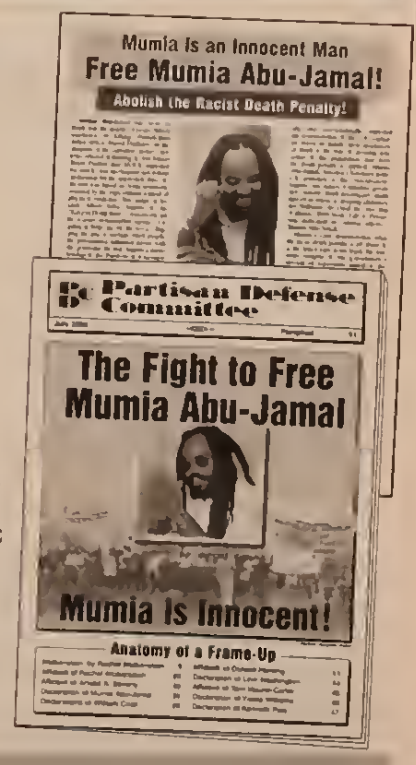
The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical juncture. On May 17, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments on Mumia's appeal and a decision could come within weeks or months. We must mobilize now to win his freedom.

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



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Young Spartacus

Free Mychal Bell! Drop All Charges Against the Jena Six!

Outrage Over Jim Crow Justice in Louisiana

In a racist frame-up redolent of the lynch law of the "Old South," six black youth in the small town of Jena, Louisiana, face decades in prison on phony second-degree murder and felony "aggravated battery" charges. The six were arrested last December after a white student was injured in a fight at Jena High School that followed months of intense racist harassment and threats of violence against black students. On June 28, one of the black youth, Mychal Bell, was convicted by an all-white jury of aggravated battery and conspiracy. He faces up to 22 years in prison, with sentencing set for September 20. Five others—Robert Bailey Jr., Theo Shaw, Carwin Jones, Bryant Purvis and Jesse Beard—still await trial. We demand that Mychal Bell be freed and that all charges be dropped against the Jena Six!

Michael David Murphy

KNOE-TV

June 25: Supporters of Jena Six, including Theo Shaw's father (second from right), protest outside LaSalle Parish Courthouse as trial for Mychal Bell (inset) begins.

While the *New York Times* and many other major newspapers in the U.S. have blacked out this racist atrocity, the story has been picked up in Europe, South Africa and elsewhere. Virtually every reporter has noted the parallels with the Jim Crow system of segregation that was legally dismantled following the mass civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s. The case began last September when a black student requested permission from a school official to sit under the so-called "white tree," and did so. The next day, black students at the school, which is 80 percent white, arrived to find three nooses hanging from the tree. Robert Bailey remarked that when he came upon the nooses, "I'm thinking the KKK, you know, were hanging nooses. They want to hang somebody." His mother Caseptla Bailey said, "It meant that, 'We're going to kill you, you're going to die'."

Black students some days later bravely held an impromptu protest under the tree. The LaSalle Parish district attorney was immediately called in for a school assembly where he threatened the black students. One of the few black teachers at the school reported that he held up a pen and said, "I can end your lives with the stroke of a pen." Cops patrolled the school hallways, and disciplining of black students escalated throughout the fall. In December, Robert Bailey was assaulted at a mainly white party. After the cops showed up, they warned the black youth there to get back to "their" side of town. The next day, one of Bailey's attackers pulled a shotgun on three black youth at a convenience store.

A few days later, a white student found himself on the ground in a fight that ensued after he hurled the word "n----r" at a black youth he was taunting for having been attacked at the party. After visiting a hospital emergency room, the white student was seen at a school event later that day. But as a result of the scuffle, the Jena Six were arrested and charged with *second-degree attempted murder*, a charge that could mean *one hundred years* without parole in Louisiana's hellhole prison system. Bail for the six ranged from $70,000 to $138,000, forcing some to spend months in jail. Mychal Bell's family never did make bail. The battery charge against him was upped to "aggravated" because of the presence of a "dangerous weapon"—the tennis shoes on his feet!

The court-appointed defense lawyer tried to convince Bell to accept a plea bargain from the prosecution, but he refused. His father, Marcus Jones, pointed out: "Here in LaSalle Parish, whenever a black man is offered a plea bargain, he is innocent." The judge put a gag order on Bell's parents, banning them from the courtroom and from speaking to the media. His

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University of Colorado Professor Fired in Right-Wing Witchhunt

Reinstate Ward Churchill!

On July 24, the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado (CU) voted eight to one to fire longtime Native American activist and tenured ethnic studies professor Ward Churchill. The ostensible reason was for supposed "research misconduct" regarding sources in some of his more than 20 books and 90 academic articles and essays. But as Churchill put it in a statement in late May in response to university president Hank Brown's recommendation to fire him: "CU's 'investigation' has all along been merely a pretext, transparently catering to the political and financial interests which dictate 'educational' policy at CU."

Hundreds of Churchill's supporters protested on the day of his dismissal, which was discussed not only behind closed doors but during summer vacation. Churchill has filed a lawsuit against the university for violating his free speech rights, demanding his reinstatement as well as monetary damages. We defend Churchill and support his demands despite our political differences with him.

Churchill has long been targeted because he is, as the 2006 "Report of the Investigative Committee" at CU put it, "one of the most widely read and influential writers in this country who deal with American Indian issues." In his scholarship, along with his activism in the American Indian Movement (AIM), he has exposed the centuries-long racist extermination of the indigenous population in the Americas, as well as the continued discrimination against and oppression of Native Americans today.

AP

July 24: Ward Churchill (right) and supporters following University of Colorado Board of Regents meeting that fired him.

Churchill is also well known for his extensively documented and valuable studies of government repression against political dissidents. His *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* and *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent in the United States* (both written with Jim Vander Wall) detailed the bourgeois rulers' decades-long campaign against leftists and opponents of Native American and black oppression. AIM leader Leonard Peltier and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal remain in prison to this day, framed up on bogus charges for their political beliefs. Churchill has been active in fighting for both Mumia's and Peltier's freedom.

For years, bourgeois forces have been gunning for Churchill, from former Colorado governor Bill Owens to David Horowitz, a racist right-wing ideologue who in 2001 distributed an advertisement to campus papers alihing slavery and spitting on the gains of black struggle. Bolstered by the reactionary climate created by the bourgeois rulers' "war on terror," Horowitz has led a crusade to get rid of leftist and liberal professors. His 2006 book, *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, begins by pointing to Churchill as supposedly exemplifying how the "radical left has colonized" the campuses. Cynically claiming to stand for free speech, Horowitz has stated that it would be bad form to fire Churchill for his politics—the real problem, according to him, is that Churchill shouldn't have been hired in the first place!

The campaign against Churchill became red-hot after some students and faculty at upstate New York's Hamilton College protested his invitation to speak in February 2005. They denounced an essay he wrote in September 2001, "'Some People Push Back'. On the Justice of Roosting Chickens," an angry liberal response to the murderous sanctions against Iraq and other crimes of U.S. imperialism. In the essay, Churchill implied that Americans in general shared in the guilt for these crimes because of their

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Brooklyn: NYPD Targets Black, Latino Youth

Drop the Charges! For Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

In decrepit and segregated public schools around the country, increased "security" has meant an increase in racist cop harassment, making students feel more like prisoners than ever, as *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert has documented in a series of recent articles. In order to even get into school, students wait in line for hours to pass through metal detectors and are subjected to body searches, the confiscation of their personal property, taunts and manhandling. Police patrol the halls, threatening and intimidating students. A six-year-old black child was dragged out of her Florida elementary school in handcuffs for throwing a tantrum. Inside or outside of school, black and Latino youth are the targets of constant cop harassment, cast as criminals by the racist American ruling class.

After the arrest in the Bushwick neighborhood of Brooklyn of black and Latino high school students who were traveling together to a friend's wake, the students, their teachers and members of a local community center organized the Student Coalition Against Racial Profiling (S.C.A.R.P.). At a July 9 rally organized by S.C.A.R.P. and at the subsequent court hearings, the New York Spartacus Youth Club expressed solidarity with the students, who are currently awaiting trial, and argued against illusions in black Democratic Party politicians like Charles Barron and in the reformability of the cops. We reprint below the New York SYC's leaflet in defense of the Bushwick youth, as reissued on July 9.

* * *

On May 21, thirty-two black and Latino high school students were arrested on their way to the wake for their friend, Donnell McFarland. The students wore T-shirts in memory of McFarland and were walking to the subway when they were surrounded by police, who had been following them in unmarked cars. The cops, with their guns drawn, shoved the youth up against a fence, searched and handcuffed them. They were detained, some for 36 hours, and many were denied food and water. Unable to attend the wake, the youth had a moment of silence for their friend in prison. The cops have grotesquely justified the arrest by claiming that the memorial T-shirts—which they confiscated as evidence—were "gang colors." The students face charges of unlawful assembly and disorderly conduct. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: *Defend the Bushwick youth! Drop the charges!*

In Bushwick, students and teachers have organized protests and publicized their accounts, which have resonated with working people, blacks and Latinos who face similar repression every day. What happened in Bushwick is just one example of the racist hell that is capitalist America, from the gunning down of Sean Bell in a hail of 50 bullets on his wedding day, to the racist atrocity where blacks and poor people were left to die in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. In New York City, the arrest of the Bushwick high school students has been followed by a wave of racist attacks by the NYPD, including the arrest of 208 people at the Puerto Rican Day Parade and the arrest and beating of well-known black civil rights lawyer Michael Warren and his wife for protesting a cop attack on a black youth in Prospect Heights.

Higgins/NY Times

Luis Pacheco, Kenneth Frederick and Zezza Anderson, three of the Bushwick youth victimized by NYPD as they tried to attend May 21 wake for Donnell McFarland, known as Fre$hh.

The racist American ruling class, represented by both Democrats and Republicans, has intensified its class war against workers, blacks, immigrants and Latinos, slashing jobs and education and criminalizing an entire generation, offering them no future except to rot in jail or serve as cannon fodder in imperialist wars. To eliminate police brutality it is necessary to do away with this whole system of racist American capitalism, which is driven by the need for maximum profits at the expense of working people and the poor. Students wanting to protest racist cop terror must look to the social power of the multiracial working class, a power which comes from its ability to shut down production and stop the flow of profit. A taste of this power was seen when the heavily black and minority Transport Workers Union Local 100 in New York City went on strike for three days in 2005, crippling the finance capital of the world.

To combat rampant racist reaction, such as the recent Supreme Court decision throwing out two school desegregation plans, the power of the working class must be brought to bear against all manifestations of racial oppression, from the fight against racist cop terror in the ghettos and barrios to the struggle to free death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who the capitalist rulers want to execute for his fight for black freedom and all the oppressed. But a key obstacle to mobilizing the power of labor is the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy that politically ties workers to their class enemy through support to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is a party of the capitalist ruling class and, because it postures as a friend of the working class and the oppressed, it is the preferred party to administer attacks on social services and wage imperialist war. It was Democrat Eliot Spitzer who as state attorney general enforced slave-labor Taylor Law reprisals against the transit workers before, during and after the strike in an attempt to break their union.

It is a dead end to look to Democratic Party politicians, such as City Councilman Charles Barron, whose job is to help divert outrage with this system into empty demands to "reform the police" and reliance on the Democratic Party as a lesser evil to the justly despised Republican administration in the White House. The "100 Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care" are cops who are attempting to clean up the image of NYPD thugs in blue. But it makes little difference if cops are black, white, live in your neighborhood or have attended "sensitivity training." The cops are part of the capitalist state, along with the courts, the prisons and the military, and operate as the armed enforcers for the rule of racist American capitalism. The black, white and Latino cops who shot Sean Bell and his companions are all hired guns for the filthy rich capitalists on Wall Street.

Black oppression, deriving from the legacy of chattel slavery, is a cornerstone of American capitalism. The black population is an oppressed race-color caste, overwhelmingly concentrated at the bottom of this society. However, black workers are a key component of the multiracial working class. As Marxists, we base ourselves on a class-struggle fight against the racial oppression that imprisons the majority of black people in the ghettos. We fight to link the struggle of the masses for decent jobs, education, health care and housing as well as an end to rampant cop terror to the eradication of its real source—the capitalist system. We fight for the program of revolutionary integrationism, understanding that it will take a socialist revolution to achieve full equality for blacks. There will not be a revolution in the United States unless the working class as a whole takes up the struggle for black freedom, which is inseparable from the struggle to emancipate all the exploited and oppressed.

The bloody American ruling class, enemy of working people and the oppressed worldwide, pushes all forms of backwardness, from racist, anti-immigrant chauvinism to the oppression of women and anti-gay bigotry, in order to divide the working class and prevent militant, integrated class struggle. The 1917 Russian Revolution proved that the capitalist system can be smashed and that the working class can take state power. To do this requires a revolutionary multiracial workers party that acts as a tribune of the people, combatting all manifestations of oppression. The SYC, youth auxiliary of the Marxist Spartacist League, fights to win young people to this struggle. We call on all opponents of racist cop terror to come out and stand in solidarity with the Bushwick youth. Be there at the court hearings: Brooklyn Criminal Court, 120 Schermerhorn Street, July 10, 11 and 12, 9:30 a.m.!■

Spartacus Youth Club Class

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, August 4, 3 p.m.

Why China Is Not Capitalist: Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution!

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Young Spartacus

July 9: Rally in Bushwick protesting mass arrest of black and Latino high school students on May 21.

Covering for the Reformists, Again

IG: Hot Air Over Fascistic Minutemen

The centrist Internationalist Group (IG) has been in a lather over our article "Fascistic Minutemen and Anti-Immigrant Bigotry" (*WV* No. 891, 27 April), ludicrously charging in the *Internationalist* (May 2007) that the Spartacist League has joined "the company of bourgeois liberals who defend the fascists' supposed 'right' to stage their immigrant-bashing provocations." As we will show, behind this smear job, which has been posted on Indymedia sites, stands the IG's appetite for the company of opportunist leftists for whom the struggle for immigrant rights is yet another means to push pro-Democratic Party politics.

Our article on the Minutemen put forward a Marxist position on how to combat these nativist reactionaries and, more generally, defend immigrant rights through mobilizing working-class power against the racist capitalist rulers. We described the Minutemen as fascistic, expressing the fact that they engage in anti-immigrant vigilantism and are penetrated by fascists but are not at this time an outright fascist movement like the neo-Nazis or Ku Klux Klan. Our position on what action to take against the Minutemen depends on concrete circumstances. When Minutemen vigilantes engage in physical provocations against immigrants and their allies, we are for workers and minorities *stopping* them and have joined in such action, for example at last year's L.A. Labor Day gathering (see "Racist Minuteman Provocation Spiked," *WV* No. 876, 15 September 2006). When Minuteman spokesmen appear on campus to spew reactionary *ideas*, we advocate protest and exposure of their anti-immigrant poison.

For Marxists, a different approach obtains when dealing with the Klan/Nazi fascists. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have initiated mass labor/black mobilizations in many urban centers against these race-hate terrorists, who "debate" with the lynch rope and firebomb, who stage provocations in order to recruit to a program of racist genocide and the destruction of the left, trade unions and all working-class organizations through instituting totalitarian capitalist rule. Mass fascist movements are extraparliamentary mobilizations of the petty bourgeoisie, made desperate by economic and social crisis, along with the lumpenproletariat and even a section of backward workers. If fascists succeed in smashing the workers movement on behalf of the capitalists, as in Germany in the 1930s, the end product is a bonapartist bourgeois regime with sections of the fascists absorbed into the state apparatus and others purged (as was the Nazi SA in the June 1934 "Night of the Long Knives").

Minuteman Project

Anti-Immigrant rally by reactionary Minuteman outfit in Los Angeles, June 2006.

The Minutemen, however, are similar to other single-issue right-wing movements like the Boston-based anti-busing outfit Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) of the mid 1970s or the anti-abortion Operation Rescue. These organizations also have included violent vigilante components and attracted fascist participation, and we have sought to mobilize the power of the multiracial working class to stop them when they have attempted provocations and violence. But the primary aim of such groups is to pressure the bourgeois politicians and state agencies to further their reactionary agenda.

The self-proclaimed aim of the Minuteman border patrols, for example, is to act as auxiliaries to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), sheriffs and National Guard, agitating for the government to more thoroughly "secure" the border. And as we noted in our article in *WV* No. 891, "Though consisting primarily of white racists, the Minutemen have sought to recruit blacks and Latino citizens who buy into anti-immigrant bigotry, with some modest success." Needless to say, such is not the case with the KKK!

Not so long ago, the IG itself described the Minuteman Project in an April 2007 *Internationalist* article as a "*fascistic vigilante group*" (emphasis ours). One month later, however, the IG denounced us for "making believe that the deadly Minuteman terrorists are *not* fascist, and merely 'fascistic'." What's up with that?

The IG's wordplay has precious little to do with the nature of the Minutemen and everything to do with providing a militant-sounding cover for the antics of the reformist left. This was seen at Columbia University last October, when the College Republicans brought Minuteman Project leader Jim Gilchrist to speak on campus. The protest against Gilchrist was co-sponsored by the College Democrats and built heavily by the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL). As demonstrators rallied outside, the ISO, PSL and some others went into the speech and unfurled a couple of banners on the platform denouncing the Minutemen, whose supporters physically attacked the protesters. The leftist protesters subsequently faced reprisals from the university.

A leaflet issued by the New York Spartacus Youth Club defended the protesters while pointing out that their actions "played into the hands of the reactionaries' false and absurd claim that the left is trampling free speech, when in fact it is the right-wing bigots that have been waging a massive campaign to purge the campuses of leftists, immigrants, blacks and any voice that is in opposition to the ruling-class agenda" (see "Defend Anti-Minutemen Protesters at Columbia!" *WV* No. 879, 27 October 2006). The leaflet quoted an SYC speaker at the protest outside the speech who denounced the anti-immigrant policies of both capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats.

Predictably, the ISO and PSL breathed not a word of criticism of the Democrats in their newspapers' coverage of this event. For its part, the IG's May 2007 article kept a discreet silence about the reformists' pandering to the Democrats except when citing *our* polemics against the fake left. The IG writes: "The SL rightly excoriates groups like the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) for working with the Democratic Party, in 'antiwar' coalitions and elsewhere." Actually, the point is that the ISO, PSL et al. do not denounce the Democrats—the *other* party of American capitalist imperialism—in their joint actions with the likes of the College Democrats. The reformists played a similar role during the massive protests for immigrant rights last year, which were led by bourgeois liberals, union bureaucrats and others whose aim was to "make the Democrats fight" in the mid-term Congressional elections (and who demobilized those protests as the elections approached).

Young Spartacus

WV Photo

Columbia University, October 2006: SYC speaker addresses protest outside event featuring Minutemen. Below: SL (with sign) joins workers to stop provocation by anti-immigrant bigots at L.A. Labor Day picnic, September 2006.

The IG, salivating over the sheer size of the protests, have gone hook, line and sinker for the reformists' campus stunts. And holstering the reformists' "anti-fascist" credentials and slandering the SL is the price of admission into this "broad movement." Thus the IG's diatribe accuses us of being "well to the right of the ISO and PSL reformists." Never mind that the ISO has never met a genuine anti-fascist mobilization it did not seek to sabotage. To take but one example: in New York City in October 1999 the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a labor/black mobilization that drew 8,000 people to stop the Ku Klux Klan, which had announced its intention to rally. The ISO worked in league with black Democratic Party politician Al Sharpton to *derail* this expression of labor/black power, building an anti-anti-fascist rally that included Latino cops.

Should bona fide fascists set foot on campus or anywhere else, we advocate mass, labor-centered mobilizations to drive them off. But when it comes to reactionary ideologues, we oppose the idiotic liberal "no free speech for racists" appeals by the likes of the ISO, which essentially call on the bourgeois campus administrations to regulate speech. In February, College Democrats demanded that the union-busting New York University administration revoke the charter of the College Republicans, who had staged a vile "game" of "find an illegal immigrant." As we wrote in our article on the Columbia protest: "We oppose demands on the campus administration and on the capitalist state to police 'hate speech' because it bolsters the repressive power of those institutions, enabling them to use such codes and laws to victimize student protesters, minorities and leftists."

At Columbia, our comrades participated in the protest outside Gilchrist's speech. As for the misguided attempt to "shut down" the meeting, we defended these protesters while explaining how we differed with their tactics and the liberal politics from which those tactics flow. Huff and puff as it will about driving the Minutemen off campus, the IG, as the *Internationalist* article recounts, took part *in the same protest* we did—*outside* the speech. Unlike the IG, we took up the political cudgels against the reformists.

But "fighting fascism" is not the point of the IG's polemic against us in the first place. Rather, it is to pledge anti-Spartacist allegiance to the "Anybody but Bush" crowd in the U.S. The IG's "anti-fascist" hoopla over the Minutemen also

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 31.**

Jena Six...

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attorney called no witnesses, and the jury spent less than three hours deliberating before finding him guilty. As Marcus Jones described in a July 10 radio interview on *Democracy Now*, it was "just a 2007 modern-day court lynching."

With anger spreading in local black communities, some 300 supporters of the Jena Six marched in Jena on July 31. Assisting the defense of the Jena Six is "Friends of Justice," a group from Tulia, Texas, formed in the wake of the outrageous railroading of black people in that rural town. In 1999, some 10 percent of the town's black population was rounded up and jailed as part of the government's racist "war on drugs." They were finally released in 2003 after the whole operation was exposed as a grotesque frame-up. We pointed out at the time that in such isolated areas, the government's forces of repression are capable of "literally decimating black communities" ("After Four Years in Racist Prison Hell—Tulia Victims Freed, Finally," *WV* No. 813, 7 November 2003).

As for Louisiana, the state has the highest incarceration rate in the U.S. and its prison hells are notorious. Jena itself is the site of the infamous Jena Juvenile Justice Center, which was closed in 2000 after reports of massive abuse of prisoners. Among those rotting in Angola prison, a former slave plantation, is Gary Tyler. In Destrehan, Louisiana, in 1974, amid raging battles over school integration, Tyler, then a high school sophomore, was on a bus with other black students when it was attacked by a white mob with a barrage of bricks and bottles as 200 cops stood by. A bullet hit a white child, and although a man with a rifle was seen nearby, Gary Tyler was arrested. Though no gun or other evidence was found on him, he was framed up for the killing, convicted by an all-white jury and given the death penalty (since changed to a life sentence). Free Gary Tyler!

The racist humiliations, provocations and physical and legal attacks that Jena's black youth have endured exemplify the brutal reality of racist oppression in capitalist America. Jena lies not far from the impoverished Mississippi Delta. It was after the massive civil rights struggles that this country's rulers dismantled the Jim Crow system of de jure segregation. But the liberal-reformist strategy of reliance on the Democratic Party, the federal government and the courts brought the fight for black freedom to a dead end in the 1960s. This was particularly seen when the civil rights struggles went North and ran into the solid core of racist American capitalism in the ghettos: segregated, wretched housing, rampant cop brutality, entrenched unemployment. And especially in small Southern towns like Jena and Tulia, Jim Crow "justice" is still the order of the day.

The incompetence, cruelty and contempt for black and poor people demonstrated at all levels of the U.S. ruling class before, during and after Hurricane Katrina is emblematic of this murderous capitalist system. After Katrina, the Jena juvenile prison was opened to house New Orleans prisoners, some of whom barely survived after being initially abandoned in locked cells with water up to their necks. On the legal front, the June U.S. Supreme Court decision throwing out school desegregation plans struck another blow against black rights. The situation today cries out for a class-struggle fight for black rights, mobilizing the *social power* of the labor movement, where black workers play a crucial role. That potential power was seen in the shipyard strike in Pascagoula, Mississippi, earlier this year, where workers, many of whom had lost their homes because of Katrina, shut down one of the world's largest shipbuilders.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for *revolutionary integrationism*, a strategy counterposed to both the liberal integrationist notion that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of the capitalist profit system and to black nationalism, which capitulates to and helps perpetuate the racist segregation fostered by this country's rulers and despairs of multiracial class struggle. While fighting against all forms of racist segregation and discrimination, we realize that, as we wrote in "Supreme Court: Segregation Forever" (*WV* No. 895, 6 July): "Ultimately, social conditions cannot be fundamentally altered short of the overthrow of the racist capitalist system and the construction of an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacist League is committed to the fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that can lead all the exploited and the oppressed in the struggle to sweep away this decaying capitalist system." We say: Finish the Civil War—For black liberation through socialist revolution!

* * *

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the Jena Six defense. We urge our readers to send donations to: Jena 6 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2798, Jena, LA 71342.■

Churchill...

(continued from page 6)

supposed indifference to the suffering that U.S. rulers cause abroad. He argued that the attack on the World Trade Center was a counterstrike in a war between the First and Third Worlds, and referred to the "technocrats" in the World Trade Center as "little Eichmanns."

As Marxists, we find Churchill's interpretation of the attack on the World Trade Center—a criminal act that resulted in the deaths of thousands of ordinary people and a godsend to the imperialist rulers—a grotesque version of liberal "collective guilt." As we wrote in "Right-Wing Thought Police Assault Free Speech on Campus" (*WV* No. 842, 18 February 2005):

> "Churchill's outlook divides the world into good peoples and bad peoples rather than into opposing classes. Those who carried out that attack embraced the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Unlike the World Trade Center, the Pentagon is the command and administrative center of the U.S. imperialist military, and as a military installation the possibility of getting hit comes with the territory. That recognition does not make the attack an 'anti-imperialist' act, nor does it change the fact that terrorism almost always gets innocent people—in this case, the passengers on the plane as well as the maintenance workers, janitors and secretaries at the Pentagon. Nevertheless, we vigorously oppose the persecution of Professor Churchill for his unpopular views. The witchhunters, transparently, have seized on his World Trade Center statement in order to censor him, as payback for his long-time activism and exposure of the crimes of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad."

One of the allegations against Churchill by the CU administration is that he fabricated evidence that the U.S. Army deliberately spread smallpox among Native Americans at one location in 1837. In a *Wall Street Journal* (26 July) op-ed piece titled, "Why I Fired Professor Churchill," CU president Brown claimed that "Mr. Churchill rewrote history to fit his own theories." In fact, smallpox is widely recognized as playing an important role in devastating the indigenous population in the Americas. An article on "bioterrorism" by Dr. Mark Graber, a professor at the Iowa College of Medicine, in *Emergency Medicine* (January 2002) states:

> "The first use of smallpox as a biological weapon, albeit inadvertently, occurred when Spanish conquerors led by Cortez introduced smallpox in 1520 during their assault on the Aztec capital city of Tenochtitlan in Mexico. In the years that followed, almost 90% of the population of the New World was killed by smallpox. The disease was used deliberately as a biological weapon during the French and Indian war in 1754 by the English, who distributed tainted blankets to Native Americans; the mortality reached 50% in many tribes. Smallpox was also used by the American government during its wars with Native Americans."

The administration's allegations against Churchill have the quality of disputing the timetables of the trains going to Auschwitz. As Churchill wrote in a May 2006 statement: "I have published some two dozen books, 70 book chapters and scores of articles containing a combined total of approximately 12,000 footnotes. I doubt that any even marginally prolific scholar's publications could withstand the type of scrutiny to which mine has been subjected." Even the University of Colorado's "Report of the Investigative Committee" admits: "We do not find academic misconduct with respect to his general claim that the U.S. Army deliberately spread smallpox to Mandan Indians at Fort Clark in 1837, using infected blankets. Early accounts of what was said by Indians involved in that situation and certain native oral traditions provide some basis for that interpretation."

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand the reinstatement of Churchill. The firing of Churchill clearly demonstrates the role of the campus administrations, which run the universities in the interests of the capitalist rulers in order to train the future layer of ideologues, technocrats and government officials to administer the capitalist system. We revolutionary Marxists call for free, quality education for all and to abolish the administrations—for student/worker/teacher control of the universities!■

obscures the fact that the main source of violence against immigrants seeking to cross from Mexico into the U.S. is the *capitalist state*, with its border guards and other armed forces. The Mexican bourgeois state carries out its own murderous attacks on immigrants at *its* southern border.

The IG has quite a track record of "anti-fascist" demagogy in the service of "fight the right" opportunism. A case in point was the French presidential election in 2002, when the fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen ran in the second round against right-wing president Jacques Chirac. We noted at the time that while the elections marked a sharp shift to the right in the bourgeois political spectrum and would further embolden Le Pen's National Front thugs, his success was mainly an electoral phenomenon. Since the proletariat did not pose a threat to bourgeois rule, the French rulers saw no need to unleash their fascist dogs as a last resort to annihilate the workers movement.

In the end, Le Pen was defeated by Chirac, who had the support of a class-collaborationist alliance extending from the Gaullist right to the "far left." While the reformist group Lutte Ouvrière (LO) drew a crude class line against voting for Chirac, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France could extend no electoral support, however critical, to LO given its pandering to the racist security campaign that was going on in the country. The IG threw its lot in with the bulk of the "far left" by screaming about the imminent danger of "fascism." The IG also falsified our position on the subsequent parliamentary elections, accusing us of giving "conditional critical support" to LO. As the LTF wrote in "Why We Still Don't Call for a Vote to Lutte Ouvrière" (see *WV* No. 782, 31 May 2002):

> "Such absurdly flagrant lies have all the hallmarks of political desperation. The IG has been trying to posture as the militant in-the-streets wing of the anti-fascist electoral 'unity' pushed by the French left in the tow of the popular front—heating the drums for mass mobilizations, even for 'demonstrations and workers strikes' to 'boycott' the second round of voting. While admitting in passing (in its 4 May statement) that 'Le Pen is not about to take power,' the IG's articles are full of the same 'fascism is around the corner' rhetoric—with analogies to Adolf Hitler in Germany, Marshal Pétain in France, etc.—that the French 'left' used to justify lining up behind Chirac."

The IG sang the same song two years before, when Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ) entered a coalition with the right-wing People's Party (ÖVP) in Austria. Social democrats across Europe howled that Austria was on the verge of a fascist takeover and mobilized to pressure the ÖVP to kick out Haider and reinstate its longstanding coalition with the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ). While noting that Haider's political outlook was indeed fascistic, we wrote: "Haider's FPÖ is purely an electoral machine and does not correspond to what Marxists understand by fascism. Reactionary views alone do not define fascism" (*WV* No. 730, 25 February 2000).

Denouncing us for "lulling the masses," the IG devoted 20 pages of the *Internationalist* (June 2000) to "proving" that Haider's FPÖ is fascist. So does the IG believe Austria is fascist today? Have the unions been crushed, political parties driven underground, concentration camps set up? No, in fact the SPÖ now once again heads the Austrian government. By the IG's lights, victorious Austrian fascism came and went—but nobody noticed. Wielding "anti-fascism" as an electoral prop for "democratic" bourgeois rule serves only to prolong the capitalist order, which is the very basis for the existence of fascism in the first place. (We also refer our readers to our polemic against the IG on the question of the capitalist state, "The IG and Executive Office: Sewer Centrism," in *WV* No. 895, 6 July.)

Behind all its "militant" bluster, the fact is that the IG is ensconcing itself comfortably on the left bank of the reformist stream. In contrast, our role as Marxists is, as Trotsky pointed out, to swim *against* that stream as we fight to build the vanguard party necessary to lead the exploited and oppressed in sweeping away the racist capitalist order through socialist revolution.■

AP

April 2002: Mass Paris rally protests electoral gains of fascist presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen; placard at right reads: "Against the National Front, Resist, Vote." "Far left" joined Gaullist right in class-collaborationist alliance behind incumbent president Jacques Chirac.

U.S. Out!...

(continued from page 1)

General Gonzales. The same Democratic Party that has been trying to out-Bush Bush as proponents of the "war on terror" is using its control of Congress to stage hearings on Gonzales' role in carrying out that "war" on the home front, during which he reveals himself to be, flatly, a liar (nothing new there for an attorney general or, for that matter, a denizen of Capitol Hill).

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Socialist Revolution!

As the U.S. launched the invasion of Iraq over four years ago, the Spartacist League/U.S. declared (*WV* No. 800, 28 March 2003):

> "It is in the class interest of the international proletariat to clearly take a side in defense of Iraq without giving any political support to the bloody Saddam Hussein regime. Every victory for the U.S. imperialists can only encourage further military adventures. In turn, every humiliation, every setback, every defeat they suffer will serve to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed around the globe."

We also called for military defense of Afghanistan against U.S. attack without extending any political support to the barbaric Taliban. The occupation of Afghanistan has resulted in a seemingly endless string of atrocities, such as a bombing campaign early this month in the western part of the country that, according to local elders, killed 108 civilians. We call for the military defense of Iraqi and Afghan forces on the ground insofar as they aim their blows against the imperialist occupiers and their lackeys. This does not entail the least political support to either the Islamic fundamentalists or the nationalist remnants of the Ba'athists in Iraq, or to reactionary forces in Afghanistan. Thus we vehemently oppose the communal violence—kidnappings, car bombings, suicide bombings—wracking the Iraqi population.

We also stressed from the beginning that the chief means of defending neocolonial Afghanistan and Iraq against the overwhelming military might of American imperialism is through international class struggle, particularly in the United States. The bombings in Afghanistan and the devastation of Iraq have gone along with the U.S. rulers' onslaught against working people, minorities and most everyone else at home. The "war on terror" that served as the pretext for the occupations abroad has included the shredding of democratic rights in the U.S. and a massive increase in the state's repressive powers, targeting not only immigrants but also black people and, ultimately, the multiracial working class as a whole. As the obscenely rich capitalist class further gorges itself on profits, the workers they exploit are having their health and pension benefits torn up and many are losing their homes to loan-shark creditors.

In raising the call for class struggle at home, we promote the understanding of the need to mobilize the proletariat to sweep away the murderous imperialist order through socialist revolution. What is required is a struggle to break the political chains forged by the labor bureaucracy, and reinforced by the reformist left, that tie the working class to the class enemy, chiefly through support to the Democratic Party. The Spartacist League/U.S. is committed to forging the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead the working class to power.

Democrats: The Other Party of U.S. Imperialism

The Democrats have long complained that "Bush's war" in Iraq has diverted attention and resources from the broader "war on terror." A report this month by U.S. intelligence agencies asserting that Al Qaeda had rebuilt its strength was seized upon by Democratic Party spokesmen who criticized Bush for not having gone after Osama Bin Laden in his presumed Pakistan base. The White House countered by threatening military intervention in northwestern Pakistan, despite protests from the embattled regime of General Pervez Musharraf, who is facing mounting opposition from both Islamic fundamentalists and secular forces.

WV Photo

SL/SYC at March 18 San Francisco antiwar rally.

Meanwhile, the threat of a military attack on Iran still looms large. A front-page article in the influential magazine *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2007) titled "Who Wins in Iraq?" noted: "For Iran, the war in Iraq has turned out to be a strategic windfall" that "turned a large part of Iraq into an Iranian sphere of influence." The article declared that "the United States has decided that the path to regional stability lies in confrontation and rolling back Iran's regional influence." The Bush administration has announced plans to provide additional billions in advanced weapons for Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt to beef up the regional bulwarks against Iran.

According to the London *Guardian* (16 July), almost half of the U.S. Navy's 277 warships, including two aircraft carrier groups, are now patrolling the waters close to Iran. Titled "Cheney Pushes Bush to Act on Iran," the article observed: "The balance in the internal White House debate...has shifted back in favour of military action before President George Bush leaves office." The U.S., Britain and France are pushing other members of the United Nations Security Council to step up sanctions against Iran in retaliation for its uranium enrichment program.

On July 11, the Senate voted 97-0 to approve a resolution calling on Tehran to end all forms of "support" to "Iraqi militias and insurgents" while accusing Iran of responsibility for "the murder of members of the United States Armed Forces." Democratic presidential hopefuls Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama voted in favor of this bellicose declaration. Clinton has said she favors a "diplomatic track" with Iran; Obama feels war would be a "profound mistake"; John Edwards supports a "non-aggression pact." But none of these three leading Democratic presidential candidates rules out military force—including with nuclear weapons—if Iran continues its nuclear program.

The Spartacist League opposes any economic sanctions against Iran, which are acts of war. As we have repeatedly stressed, in the face of imperialist nuclear blackmail and with continuing threats of attack, Iran needs nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems as deterrence. In the event of a military attack against Iran by the U.S. or its allies, we declare that the international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran. At the same time, as Marxists we give not one iota of political support to the reactionary mullah regime in Tehran.

Kurdistan Trip Wire

Currently, the only support for a continuing U.S. presence in Iraq lies in the North, where the nationalist Kurdish leadership has staked its claim with the U.S. imperialists and thus subordinated itself to the occupation forces. The 8 July *New York Times* editorial proposed that U.S. forces be concentrated in military bases in the Kurdish regions of northeastern Iraq, from which they could "stage effective raids and airstrikes against terrorist forces in Iraq." Likewise, Peter Galbraith, formerly President Clinton's ambassador to Croatia, wrote in the *New York Review of Books* (16 August):

> "Senator Hillary Clinton, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joe Biden, and former UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke are among the prominent Democrats who have called for the US to protect Kurdistan militarily should there be a withdrawal from Iraq. The argument for so doing is straightforward: it secures the one part of Iraq that has emerged as stable, democratic, and pro-Western; it discharges a moral debt to our Kurdish allies; it deters both Turkish intervention and a potentially destabilizing Turkish-Kurdish war; it provides US forces a secure base that can be used to strike at al-Qaeda in adjacent Sunni territories; and it limits Iran's gains."

A "democratic" Iraqi Kurdistan under U.S. sponsorship? Hardly. The "Kurdistan Regional Government" set up under the U.S. occupation is essentially a lash-up between two rival parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which have a long and bloody history of uniting with the worst enemies of the Kurdish people while stabbing each other in the back (see "The Kurdish People and the U.S. Occupation of Iraq," *WV* Nos. 804 and 805, 23 May and 6 June 2003). In the mid 1990s, the KDP and the PUK were at each other's throats over how to divide up the profits from smuggling Iraqi oil to Turkey. The PUK got Iran to send in troops on its side, so the KDP invited Saddam Hussein to send in his tanks. While a formally unified Kurdish regional government was cobbled together last year, both organizations maintain security forces in areas they control that are notorious for their brutality. And Kurdish *pesh merga* militias have bolstered U.S. operations in Falluja, Baghdad and elsewhere.

A potential flash point is Kirkuk, where a referendum is to be held by the end of the year on whether the city is to be included in the semi-autonomous Kurdish region. Kirkuk, which sits atop a vast oil field, is a focus of ethnic conflict between its Kurdish, Arab and Turkmen populations. The Saddam Hussein regime carried out a program of "Arabization" in which Kurds and others were driven from the oil-producing regions around Kirkuk and Mosul. Since the U.S. invasion, thousands of Arabs and Turkmen have been driven out of Kirkuk and as many as 350,000 Kurds, encouraged by their leaders, have moved in, thousands of them living in dilapidated camps.

The rulers of Turkey and Iran fear that if the Kurds gain control of Kirkuk, it would provide the economic basis for Iraqi Kurdistan to move toward independence, encouraging Kurdish minorities in their own countries. Turkey has massed tens of thousands of troops on Iraq's northern border in recent weeks, threatening to intervene militarily if the Kurds take over Kirkuk. At the same time, the *Guardian* (24 July) reports that Turkish prime minister Recep Erdogan is seeking to use the strong showing of his Justice and Development Party in recent parliamentary elections (including among voters in Turkish Kurdistan) to resist pressure from the military for an intervention and to push for concessions by the U.S. and Iraqi Kurdish leaders. Ominously, the Pentagon briefed Congress last week on plans for a joint U.S.-Turkish military operation against the northern Iraq bases of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has waged a decades-long struggle against the Turkish state.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination—i.e., to form their own state—is a just struggle, requiring the overthrow of four capitalist states: Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran. The International Communist League has long raised the call for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan. However, in Iraq any fight for Kurdish independence must take as its starting point opposition to the U.S. occupation and to the nationalist parties that serve it.

Liberal Pipe Dreams

In American imperialism's staunchest ally, Britain, Gordon Brown has replaced Tony Blair as prime minister in the Labour government whose own hands are soaked in the blood of Iraqis. While Britain has already withdrawn hundreds of troops from southern Iraq, Brown promptly mixed talk of reducing troop levels below 5,000. Countering suggestions that he would move to distance himself from Washington, Brown described British ties with the U.S. as "our strongest bilateral relationship" (*New York Times*, 24 July).

As our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote in *Workers Hammer* No. 199 (Summer 2007): "Brown stands foursquare on the record of Blair-led Labour governments that relentlessly attacked jobs, pensions, health and education services for the working people at home. He is notorious among public sector unions for his pay freeze below inflation and for slashing tens of thousands of civil service jobs. If anything, Brown intends to outdo Blair in the racist 'war on terror'." Indeed, Brown declared last week that he wants to increase to 56 days the period that people suspected of "terrorism" can be held without charge. The SL/B seeks to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party in political combat against the British reformist left whose main aim is to pressure a Labour government to administer the murderous capitalist state in the interests of the oppressed.

As in Britain, the reformist left in the U.S. campaigns against the Iraq war by appealing to ruling-class sentiment that it's a lost cause. ANSWER, now led by the Party for Socialism and Liberation, and the Troops Out Now Coalition of the Workers World Party are organizing demonstrations in Washington in September to coincide with Petraeus' report to Congress on the status of the troop "surge." As always, these coalitions claim that mobilizing masses of "the people" can pressure the imperialists to adopt a "peaceful" foreign policy and spend money on human needs, not war. Combatting such liberal-pacifist notions, the Spartacist League declared in the March 2003 statement quoted earlier:

> "You were told by all the organizers of antiwar protests—from International ANSWER to Not In Our Name and United For Peace and Justice—that to stop the war from happening what was needed was the broadest possible movement. This can only mean a movement built in alliance with 'antiwar' Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson. *You were told lies!*...
>
> "To put an end to war, one must start with a perspective that challenges the very basis of the capitalist system. War is not simply a policy but the logical outgrowth of this irrational capitalist order. The question facing antiwar activists and workers is not merely one of more militant tactics. If there is one lesson to be drawn, it is the absolute necessity of fighting to get rid of this deeply inhumane system through workers revolution. *Only socialist revolution can put an end to imperialist war!*" ■

Sicko...

(continued from page 12)

millions are starving, almost a quarter of the population lives below the official poverty line, infant mortality has skyrocketed and life expectancy has plummeted.

None of this is mentioned by Moore, who turns to the pulpit near the end of *Sicko* and asks: "Who are we?" Not surprisingly, it turns out that Americans are a decent and generous people who are all in the same boat. Why then, he righteously queries, can't we simply take care of each other: "Why can't we do that?"

The answer is simply that when it comes to divvying up the social product there is no "we," not in America and not in any other capitalist country on the planet. In such societies there are fundamentally two classes, the capitalists who own the means of production and the workers who produce the mass of commodities that fuel the profit system. The profits that accrue from the capitalists' exploitation of the labor power of the workers belong to the owners and to them alone. The workers in turn receive approximately what they require to be able to work another day, and if death or illness intervenes they are simply replaced.

Getty

NYC, September 2006: World Trade Center clean-up workers and neighborhood residents demand government-funded medical treatment programs.

Lionsgate/Weinstein Company

Still from *Sicko* shows worker from WTC site getting MRI in medical facility in Cuba.

For that reason, health benefits on a national scale have always been the by-product of class struggle by the workers to combat the depredations of capitalism. The first such national plan was enacted in late 19th-century Germany by Bismarck in an effort to placate workers after the government enacted the Anti-Socialist Laws aimed at squashing the German Social Democratic Party (which in spite of the laws continued to grow apace). Similar plans followed in several countries in Europe, roughly coinciding with the spread and growth of socialist parties (in England, with the growth of the Labour Party).

The greatest expansion of such national coverage occurred in the aftermath of the Red Army's victory over Nazi Germany, a victory that ended World War II in Europe. On the part of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and other advanced capitalist countries, WWII was an interimperialist conflict in which revolutionary Marxists (Trotskyists) had no side. With regard to the Soviet Union, however, the Trotskyists did have a side: in defense of the workers state. In the aftermath of the war, working-class militancy swept through the industrialized countries, including the U.S. Not infrequently on the European continent, this militancy was coupled with workers' aspirations—fueled, in no small degree, by the Soviet victory—to euthanize the capitalist order.

The seeming cornucopia of improvements in the social well-being of European workers, as contrasted to their American counterparts, was aimed at both placating working-class militancy and counteracting the influence of the Soviet Union. It is, thus, no accident that since the collapse of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92, the capitalist rulers in Europe have launched an offensive to reverse the gains conceded in the postwar period.

Things went quite differently in the U.S. Shortly after WWII, the American imperialists under Truman launched the Cold War against the Soviet Union. With full government backing, the Democrats and their social-democratic hangers-on in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) collaborated to drive the reds—the very people who had built the giant industrial unions during the class battles of the 1930s—out of the trade-union movement. To be sure, Truman was, at least in contrast to Ronald Reagan, something of a liberal. But it was the Truman administration's Cold War that set the stage for McCarthyism and his government that sponsored the purge that gutted the CIO of its militant core.

In that reactionary climate, there was simply no way that America's capitalist rulers would bow to the call for national health care. Employer-paid health care was a sop to the working-class militancy that had followed the war, facilitated by making the cost of the benefits non-taxable for both the employer and the employee. This was a gain, although a stinting one compared to the improvements in Europe. By 1958 75 percent of Americans were insured. While the population may have become healthier as a result of being insured, physicians became financially obese. (We refer interested readers to "Wealth Care USA" in *Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991, for a history of the AMA's despicable and largely successful efforts to combat health care reform.)

Pushed by liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy, the bill creating the life-sucking HMOs that are so starkly portrayed in *Sicko* was signed into law by Nixon in 1971. But it was in the aftermath of Reagan's 1981 smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, and the precipitous decline in strike activity that followed immediately in its wake, that the bosses began a concerted effort to roll back health costs and HMOs proliferated. Today, given the dearth of social struggle and the continued quiescence of the trade unions, it is the willingness of a section of the bourgeoisie to consider some form of national health plan that has led many, in the main Democratic, presidential hopefuls to offer some reform proposals. Many U.S. corporations seek to improve their competitive position vis-à-vis their competitors in other imperialist countries by shedding the burdensome costs associated with employer-paid insurance. In the current social context, health care "reform" could well result in an actual worsening of the benefits available to unionized workers.

Meltzer/Roanoke Times

Some 400 people waiting in the rain for flu vaccine in Roanoke, Virginia, in 2004.

ISO *Sicko*phants

Much left commentary on *Sicko* is not just laudatory, it's goo-goo-eyed sycophancy. Both the rad-lib *Nation* (16 July) and the newspaper of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), *Socialist Worker* (16 July), covered the film at length, the former in an article by a self-professed social democrat, Christopher Hayes, the latter in articles by Helen Redmond and Alan Maass. The fawning is understandable, for there is little apparent difference in the worldview promulgated in these articles from that portrayed in the movie. Both Hayes and the ISO praise Harry Truman's health care plan; the ISO observes that it was even more radical than that of Dennis Kucinich, who captivates the ISO as the only Democratic presidential candidate currently proposing single-payer legislation. Both Hayes and the ISO find Tony Benn to be powerfully persuasive, and both are sold on the possibility of fundamentally taming the capitalist order through reform. In the lingo of the ISO and many other left types, the struggle is in the service of constructing a system where people come before profits.

There is, however, some falling out around Cuba. Hayes, who viewed the film with Moore, criticizes the director for going to Cuba and thereby reinforcing "the decades-old slander that equates social democracy with repressive socialism." The ISO is content to acknowledge that health care in Cuba is pretty good. Not to worry—these skin-deep differences are simply designed to appeal to different audiences.

The Social Democracy ensconced itself as the opponent of working-class revolution in reaction to the proletarian overturn of imperialist rule in Russia in October 1917. The ISO's political tendency originated in the McCarthy period, when it refused to defend the USSR, China and North Korea against U.S. imperialism during the Korean War (promulgated by Truman—no wonder the *Socialist Worker* review is partial to Truman). The ISO danced on the grave of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92. For these social democrats, a Stalinist dictatorship is, after all, a Stalinist dictatorship, which goes for Cuba, too. The benefits to the toiling masses from the overturn of capitalism are of little consequence when contrasted to these threats to imperialist "democracy."

More intriguing is the ISO's view of *Sicko* as the modern-day counterpart of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The miserable circumstances of black people that go unmentioned by both Hayes and the ISO will not be alleviated through moral suasion. For the starry-eyed reformists of the ISO, pressure by whomever is preferable to class conflict.

The current situation cries out for a revival of labor struggle to stop the attacks on health and pension benefits. Virtually every strike in the past two decades has been over defense of workers' health and pension benefits, and the United Auto Workers today faces major attacks on union gains in contract negotiations with Ford, GM and Chrysler. The labor movement must fight for free, quality health care for all, including free abortion on demand. (Women are another portion of the population omitted in the *Nation* and *Socialist Worker* reviews.) Every significant reform extracted from the capitalist order has been wrested through hard class and other social struggles. And if class struggles do not culminate in socialist revolution, the capitalist exploiters will attempt to whittle at or wrench away such reforms after the conflicts subside.

The main reason that workers in this country suffer in comparison to what is available to their counterparts in other advanced industrial societies is that the race-caste oppression of black people is a powerful tool in the hands of the bosses in dismantling unified class struggle. It is necessary to build a revolutionary party that yokes the struggle against exploitation and oppression to the fight for black freedom. As we wrote in "Wealth Care USA":

> "The crisis of medical care cries out for a socialist revolution which will lay the basis for a society which will end all exploitation and social oppression. Health means much more than shots and pills and surgical knives: it is a decent place to live; plenty of good food to eat; knowledge of human biology; air clean of pollution; safe, decent working conditions; the principles of public health rigorously applied....
>
> "When we have thrown out the vicious capitalist system which sells human life for dollars, we will be able to build a new socialist society where human life, human worth and human dignity count."■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Michael Moore's SiCKO

WV Graphic based on Lionsgate/Weinstein Company Poster

Good Diagnosis, Quack Cure

A Review by Cliff Edwards

Sicko is a compelling movie. By expressed intent, its focus is not on the 50,000,000 Americans who lack any form of health coverage but primarily on the more than 60 percent of the population supposedly covered by employer-paid medical plans. If utter destitution is thereby, for the most part, neglected in the film, what is shown evokes disgust, tears and rage.

There is the ludicrous: a woman denied coverage for an ambulance transporting her from an auto accident because the service was not pre-approved. There is the grotesque: a man without insurance coverage is forced to choose between having his ring finger reattached for a mere $12,000 or spending $60,000 for the reunion of his middle finger with his hand (the ring finger survived). And then there is what can only be described as corporate murder. A black woman who took her desperately ill child to a hospital was denied service because the facility was out of her HMO's network. The black husband of a white woman is refused a bone marrow transplant for kidney cancer because their insurer proscribed the treatment as "experimental." Both victims died, the latter slowly and painfully.

All of this has elicited no outraged cries of malicious muckraking (except from a few mainly right-wing media yahoos). Virtually everyone acknowledges that the U.S. health care "system"—ranked 37th in the world—sucks, and almost all know someone who has similarly suffered its abuses. For Moore, the cure for this social cancer is readily at hand. To illustrate, he takes us on a tour of countries much like the U.S.—Canada, England and France—save that in these societies medical care is available to all at no or little cost. Extremely comfortable middle-class types seem to abound in these lands, where all interviewed appear satisfied and happy with the medical care they receive and none are stressed by the onerous rates of taxation or by any of life's vicissitudes except, perhaps, the price of fish. Disappeared is the wretchedness and despair of Canada's Native peoples in the cities and on the reserves, and the segregation and deprivation of the denizens of England's slums and France's *banlieues*.

The film gives Tony Benn, onetime darling of the left wing of Britain's Labour Party, the task of explaining how the wonders of state-paid, universal health care originated. Benn quotes from the 1948 manifesto proclaiming the National Health Service and avows that a country that could kill and maim in the World Wars could also heal. How? According to Benn, all that is required is "democracy," which he says is "far more revolutionary than socialist ideas or anybody else's idea." Benn counsels the ballot, a simple trip to the polls, to cure society's ills.

Unmentioned by Benn is the decades-long assault on the trade unions and the social benefits available to working people and the less fortunate in Britain, an assault that was massively accelerated with the defeat of the British coal miners strike of the mid 1980s. Benn's omission is no accident, for the miners strike, in a no less nationalized industry than health care, was knifed by the Labour Party, including its left wing, abandoning workers to the merciless, all-out onslaught by the "democratic" bourgeois order. (Benn is rather outrageously filmed sitting before a National Union of Mineworkers commemorative plate, reminding one that Iago was Othello's loyal lieutenant.)

In the last segment of *Sicko*, Moore takes several volunteer rescue workers—impaired due to their heroic attempts to extricate survivors from the ruins of the World Trade Center after the September 11 attacks and then abandoned in their efforts to get their health care paid for—to Cuba. The first stop is the U.S. prison camp at Guantánamo, where Moore apparently bought into assurance by the authorities that nothing but the best in health care is being provided to detainees. Fortunately the rescue workers, who were not in search of being rehabbed for the next water-boarding torture session or in need of forced feeding, were denied entrance when they arrived. Then it's off to Cuba proper, where the volunteers received thorough, competent and free medical workups and treatment. One woman who required inhalers to assist in breathing, at more than $120 a pop in the U.S., obtained these for a nickel each in Cuba.

Moore cannot explain how this small, poor and essentially resource-less island nation can provide such care to all, while sending its doctors and medical technological know-how to countries in Africa and Latin America, and even offering help for the U.S. Immediately after Hurricane Katrina's devastation of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, and the indelible images broadcast worldwide of victims, overwhelmingly black people, abandoned to die by the U.S. government, Cuban doctors mobilized, packed their medical kits...and were forbidden to enter the U.S.

The answer is that the 1960-61 Cuban Revolution created a workers state by expropriating the domestic and imperialist capitalists. The establishment of proletarian property forms—e.g., collectivized property and a planned economy, the nationalization of industry and a monopoly of foreign trade—set the stage for an advance in the well-being of the working masses unobtainable in other backward, underdeveloped countries where the chains of imperialist domination have not been broken. Where they have, as in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea, these countries must be defended unconditionally against imperialism and domestic capitalist counterrevolution.

The Cuban workers state was, however, bureaucratically deformed from its inception by the Castro-led regime, which has continued to suppress the working class in the interest of maintaining its bureaucratic caste privileges. A complete victory over backwardness and want cannot be obtained absent the spread of working-class revolution to the advanced countries and the institution of a worldwide planned, socialist economy. Such a perspective is anathema to the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be overthrown through proletarian political revolution.

Wealth Care U.S.A.

Socialist revolution is decidedly not the model, in any of its variations, that Michael Moore envisions or desires. Moore, after all, is what he is: a liberal populist with a decided taste for the Democratic Party, although he expresses disenchantment with what he sees as the weak-kneed politicos who currently inhabit its positions. In the film, he portrays Democratic president Harry Truman as virtuous because, after World War II, he proposed a national health insurance plan supposedly unrivaled in its comprehensiveness and generosity by anything previously or subsequently put on the table. In fact, Truman's proposal was made amid a bitter series of strikes by the United Mine Workers for union-controlled health benefits, part of a massive postwar strike wave in which millions of workers poured out of the factories and onto the picket lines.

Moore attributes the failure of Truman's plan to the American Medical Association (AMA) and a cabal of corporate interests that employed Ronald Reagan, then an actor and spokesman for General Electric, to combat the supposed threat of "creeping socialism" posed by the legislation. *Sicko* is in no small part an attempt to expose this fear as unfounded. The experience in the former Soviet Union—the world's first workers state—is dispensed with by anti-communist mockery: a mildly absurd socialist-realist film clip of hundreds of singing, smiling and quite attractive Russian workers happily toiling in concert to bring in an award-winning bumper harvest.

Despite its bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet workers state with its planned economy had provided all with a job, housing, health care and education. An examination of the tragedy that has befallen the peoples of the former Soviet Union since capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92 speaks volumes about the "magic of the marketplace." In capitalist Russia today,

continued on page 11

Indymedia

Striking UFCW grocery workers in Inglewood, California, January 2004. Defense of health benefits was central goal of five-month strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Bridges, Levees, Runways, Tracks

Capitalists Starve Infrastructure: Working People Die

Takushi/Pioneer Press

Rourke/American-Statesman

Top: August 1 Minneapolis highway bridge collapse. Bottom: New Orleans residents fleeing after Hurricane Katrina, 2005.

- July 18—An 83-year-old Con Edison steampipe explodes in Midtown Manhattan at the height of the evening rush hour, injuring many with scalding steam and setting off widespread panic. One person dies of a heart attack.
- August 1—The I-35W bridge over the Mississippi River in Minneapolis suddenly collapses during evening rush-hour traffic. The main span plunges into the river along with dozens of cars, then both approach spans buckle. Thirteen people are killed and nearly 100 injured. The body of the last remaining victim, construction worker Gregory Jolstad, is pulled out of the dark waters on August 20, nearly three weeks later.
- August 6—Six coal miners are buried in a collapse of the non-union Crandall Canyon Mine in Utah, where deadly "retreat mining" techniques were used. Then three rescuers are killed as the mountain continues to shift around them.
- August 18—Two New York City firefighters die trying to put out a fire in the Deutsche Bank building being demolished at the World Trade Center site. The building was a firetrap, produced by a combination of mammoth corruption and official indifference. The following week, a forklift on the 23rd floor plunges to the ground, crashing through a construction shed and injuring two more firefighters.
- August 29—The second anniversary of Hurricane Katrina arrives with no guarantee that the barely patched-up levees will hold this hurricane season, while much of the dispersed black population of New Orleans is told in no uncertain terms: Stay out!

This is the picture of the anarchic and decaying system of American capitalism. From coast to coast, the country's bridges, roads, airways, mass transit systems, waterways and power grids are disasters waiting to happen. The country's rulers have looted basic industry and criminally neglected the infrastructure of society, and their drive for ever-greater profits means depraved indifference to the lives of those they exploit. The destructive irrationality of the capitalist system is highlighted by frenzied financial speculation, most recently seen in the subprime mortgage meltdown, that threatens to touch off a world recession. Meanwhile, the bloody U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, carried out in pursuit of American global dominance, thunder on unchecked.

With practiced ritual, capitalist politicians from Bush on down offered their prayers for the victims' families in Minnesota, Utah and New York, while Congressmen once again called for "hearings" that would amount to little more than cover-ups for the crimes of the capitalists who call the shots. Not only the Minneapolis victims, but the Utah miners and the thousands who died or were displaced following Katrina are not victims of "natural disasters" but of a capitalist system that always holds safety hostage to profit.

Conditions in the U.S. cry out for a counteroffensive by the working class against the exploiters

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From NSA Wiretapping to Death Row Speedup

Republicans, Democrats Step Up War on Our Rights

AUGUST 27—The resignation today of Attorney General Alberto Gonzales was quickly cheered by Democrats in Congress who had for months been calling for his resignation. Gonzales had pursued the White House quest for ever-greater repressive powers with such maniacal and deceitful purpose that he made his predecessor, John Ashcroft, a religious nut and fan of the Confederate slavocracy, look almost reasonable. But Gonzales' resignation in no way signals a slowing of the government's assault on democratic rights.

In the past several weeks, the Bush administration, with the complicity of the Democratic-controlled Congress, has instituted a series of measures in the name of the "war on terror" that represent a further ominous rollback of the rights of the population. On August 5, President Bush signed legislation that would allow the National Security Agency (NSA) to monitor telephone calls and e-mail messages of U.S. citizens—without a court warrant—as long as there is a "reasonable belief" that one party in the conversation is not in the U.S. Then it was revealed that the government had approved a plan to grant police forces wide access to military spy satellites in order to carry out domestic surveillance.

To top it off, it was made known that the Justice Department was preparing regulations under the renewed USA Patriot Act giving the Attorney General new authority over death penalty cases, including the power to greatly shorten the time that condemned inmates have to appeal their convictions to federal courts. Illustrating the broad reach of the state's "war on terror," Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen charged in 2002 as an "unlawful enemy combatant," now faces a possible life sentence after being found guilty of "conspiracy" charges in criminal court despite the lack of concrete evidence of any plot or criminal act on his part.

The September 11 attacks gave the U.S. rulers the pretext to put in place repressive measures that they had long sought. And this program has been carried out by both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital and with the imprimatur of a pliant judiciary. The measures include a vast government program aiming at nothing less than spying on the whole population. For years, the NSA, in collusion with some major telecommunications companies, executed warrantless wiretaps allowing the Feds to "data mine" millions of phone and Internet communications records. A huge pool

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Protest Padilla Conviction!
Free All the Detainees!

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Jamal Hart Now!

The following Partisan Defense Committee letter, addressed to Warden Ronald R. Holt of Schuylkill Federal Correctional Institution in Pennsylvania, was issued on August 25. Jamal Hart has been imprisoned since 1997 on bogus firearm possession charges.

The Partisan Defense Committee reiterates our vehement protest of the severe and onerous restrictions against Jamal Hart. Mr. Hart is still being denied all non-legal personal visits and phone calls long after he was finally released from solitary confinement.

We also protest the actions of Case Manager Walter Whalen who, we have been informed, has improperly adjusted Mr. Hart's security level to prevent him from being transferred to a lower-level security facility. We have also been informed that this Case Manager Whalen displays a poster condemning Mumia Abu-Jamal, the death row political prisoner who is Mr. Hart's father. This is a conscious provocation.

This repression comes in the context of, and is meant to hinder, Mr. Hart's legal efforts to file a writ of *habeas corpus* in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals. Mr. Hart's petition argues that his current incarceration is based on a 1995 conviction *that does not exist*. By all rights, Jamal Hart should be released.

Jamal Hart is only imprisoned because he sought to highlight the case of his father, an innocent man. We demand you stop the outrageous repression of Jamal Hart now and that all his visitation and telephone rights be restored immediately!

* * *

To correspond with Jamal Hart, send letters to: Jamal Hart, #50597-066, FCI Schuylkill, P.O. Box 759, Minersville, PA 17954-0759.■

Stop the Execution of Kenneth Foster!

Texas

We print below an August 22 letter from the Partisan Defense Committee to Texas governor Rick Perry protesting the scheduled August 30 execution of Kenneth Foster, Jr., a writer, poet and fighter for prison reform who has been on Texas death row for ten years.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that your office stop the execution of Kenneth Foster, Jr. We join in the worldwide outrage against the scheduled legal lynching of this man *who has never killed anyone*.

Mr. Foster is charged under Texas' infamous Law of Parties, which permits someone to be executed for the acts of others. In this case, it was a passenger in Mr. Foster's car who was accused and convicted of murder. Like hundreds of poor and black prisoners on death row, Mr. Foster was saddled with legal counsel who failed to mount a vigorous defense or appeal. Now he is threatened with execution for a crime he did not commit.

The impending execution of Mr. Foster exemplifies what the racist death penalty is all about. It is a legacy of chattel slavery and a barbaric outrage, it is the lynch rope made legal.

Mr. Foster has put it eloquently: "Texas is about to commit a vile injustice. What is about to happen is beyond extreme—it's sadistic." We say again: Stop the execution of Kenneth Foster, Jr.!■

Foster Family

Kenneth Foster with Nicole Johnson and their daughter during 2001 visit to Texas death row.

TROTSKY

Against Illusions in Bourgeois "Justice"

Writing shortly after the execution of anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti 80 years ago, Max Shachtman, then editor of the International Labor Defense monthly Labor Defender, *upheld the ILD's fight for class-struggle defense against those in the official Boston-based defense committee who preached reliance on the capitalist courts.*

LENIN

The courts, the judges and executives of Massachusetts, never had any idea of giving "justice" to Sacco and Vanzetti. Their intentions were at no time characterized by a desire to consider the abstract principles of equity and fairness in the case. All the delays, all the illusive legerdemain of the courts, the pompous and fraudulent going through with the motions, was only for the purpose of demonstrating to naive people the thoroughness and legal sanctity of the final decision.

The blows dealt the liberation movement for Sacco and Vanzetti by the elements who fastened themselves on the Boston Committee and dominated its policy consisted essentially in this: that they failed to see the case as a class issue, a part of the bitter and inexorable international struggle between the ruling class and the ruled; that they nursed and fostered the illusion that it was possible to extract an essence of "justice" from the murderers of Sacco and Vanzetti by dignified and respectable supplication. They tried to smother the militant protest movement and hurled the mud of slander upon the workers who organized it. They sought to cover the rough clothes of the workers' movement with the cap and gown of the lawyer, and substitute a cultured Boston accent for the violent shouts of the masses in a dozen tongues.

It was quite different with the masses of the world. Their magnificent and almost unprecedented solidarity was based on a common understanding of who was enemy and who was friend. The earth-shaking rise of the workers everywhere for Sacco and Vanzetti not only showed how much explosive is contained in the working class of the world, how dangerous it is for the capitalists to tamper with these powder kegs, but it also proved that the world proletariat pierces and contemns the shams and pretences of the American ruling class and its "peace" and its "justice" and its "golden opportunities."

If anything was demonstrated by the Sacco-Vanzetti case it was that labor cases cannot be fought with fat volumes of legal spider webs alone but that the class character of the prosecution must be pointed out and the defense organized on that basis.

—Max Shachtman, *Sacco and Vanzetti: Labor's Martyrs* (1927)

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Mexico City: Right-Wing Reaction Against Abortion Reform

We reprint below an excerpted article translated from Espartaco *No. 28 (Summer 2007), published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.*

On April 24, the Legislative Assembly of Mexico City, dominated by the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], voted to change the city's legal codes to allow abortion on demand, an elementary democratic right, in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. This not only gives the city the most liberal laws on abortion in Latin America outside of Cuba and Puerto Rico, but, by providing it in public hospitals free to city residents, makes abortion far more accessible than in the U.S. and most of Europe.

Some researchers estimate that in Latin America and the Caribbean the primary cause of death for women between the ages of 15 and 39 is complications from illegal abortions, which kill some 1,500 Mexican women each year. Abortion reform is an important gain for all women but will have particular impact on the lives of working-class, poor and young women—those who do not have the means to obtain safe abortions by traveling to other countries or paying a hefty price to have one illegally at a decent facility. Still, the law maintains penalties of three to six months in jail for women who receive an abortion after the first 12 weeks, and from one to three years of prison for those who perform it. We say: Down with all penalties! For free abortion on demand *in all of Mexico*! No to the 12-week limit!

As revolutionary communists, the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), supports this reform and every gain that has been won for women, no matter how partial. On April 19, the Juventud Espartaquista [youth group of the GEM] held a

ESPARTACO

speakout at the UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico] Political Science school calling for "Free abortion on demand! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!" This was one of the very few leftist pro-abortion rights events held on campus this spring. Our comrades laid out the Marxist perspective for ending women's oppression, called on students and workers to mobilize in support of the abortion reform and warned against illusions in the PRD.

The demise of the USSR, the world's first and most powerful workers state, has ushered in a global offensive against the living standards and basic democratic rights of the working class and the oppressed, as well as an ideological climate dominated by widespread belief in the "death of communism" and a resurgence of religious fanaticism. Where abortion rights exist, as in the U.S.—ruled by Bush's gang of religious fanatics—they have been under constant attack both by Republicans and Democrats, and it is increasingly hard to get an abortion, particularly for poor women.

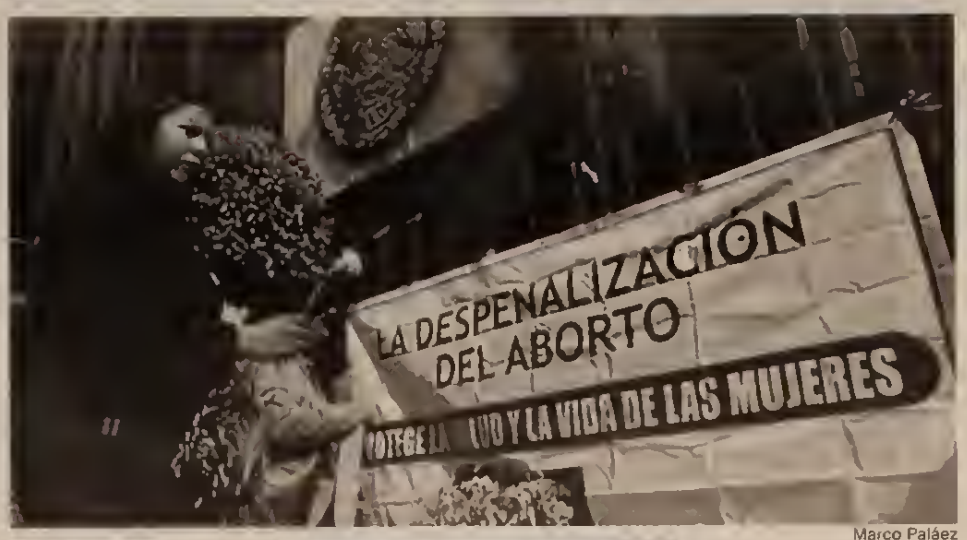
Mexico, of course, has been no exception to this bourgeois offensive: two decades of anti-worker, neoliberal policies have devastated the standard of living of the working class. Furthermore, in the last seven years, PAN [National Action Party] rule has combined privatizing, openly pro-American-imperialist policies with right-wing, religious ideology. Recently, the country has been rocked by powerful, combative strikes as well as massive mobilizations of the working class, the poor and the oppressed demanding that their most elementary needs be addressed and defending gains won through hard-fought struggles. The bourgeoisie itself is highly polarized, and the differentiation is on social as well as economic issues. The bourgeois-nationalist PRD of [former presidential candidate Andrés Manuel] López Obrador seeks to co-opt and deactivate workers' discontent through concessions. It is in this context that the abortion reform, originally drafted by the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] and passed due to the PRD's support, came into being.

Abortion, which provides women with some control over whether or not to have children, is an explosive political issue. In Mexico, with the second-largest Catholic population in the world after Brazil, the medieval Catholic church has played an ever-growing political role especially since the PAN's Vicente Fox took the presidency in 2000. Since it was first proposed, the reform has caused an uproar of indignation from obscurantist, right-wing forces that egg on the most violently backward layers of the population and represent a deadly threat to women, leftists, workers, gays and indigenous people.

The PAN government and the Catholic church joined hands in a reactionary, anti-woman campaign against the proposal. They ranted from the pulpits of national television, priests and nuns demonstrated in the streets of Mexico City, and there were laughable threats of excommunication by the Vatican itself. After the city's Legislative Assembly approved the reform, there was a renewed attack, now spearheaded by the grotesquely misnamed National Human Rights Commission (CNDH) and the Attorney General's Office (PGR) to challenge the constitutionality of the new law, with the PGR arguing that an embryo is *sujeto de derecho* [worthy of rights]! We say: For the separation of church and state!

In supporting this reform, we place no confidence whatsoever in the PRD or the PRI, which are as much parties of capital as the PAN. Reforms under capitalism are not only partial but reversible. The oppression of women is a necessary part of capitalism and can be uprooted not through reforms but only through the revolutionary overthrow of the system of exploitation based on private property. We fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist proletarian party to lead the struggle for a socialist revolution that would begin to lay the basis for the genuine emancipation of women together with the emancipation of the working class and all of the oppressed.

Free Abortion on Demand!



Marco Paláez

Espartaco

Above: Mexico City protest against attorney general's attempt to reverse legalization of abortion in the city. Left: April 19 GEM rally at UNAM; placard at right reads: "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"

Material Basis of Women's Oppression

Marxists view the institution of the family, a necessary component of the regime of private property, as the main source of the special oppression of women. The family is not an immutable, timeless institution but a social relation subject to historical change. Ancient hunter-gatherer society was one of equality between men and women, where the necessary division of labor, based on women's childbearing role, entailed no subordination by sex and where lineage was traced through the mother. In the classic *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884), Friedrich Engels (using information available at the time) traced the origin of the institution of the family and the state to the division of society into classes. The development of technology—agriculture, metallurgy, domestication of animals and other revolutionary advances—allowed for a surplus beyond what was necessary for the minimal subsistence that characterized hunter-gatherer societies, making possible the existence of an idle ruling class. The state arose to ensure the dominance of that ruling class by force. The centrality of the family flowed from its role in the inheritance of property along the male line, which required

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No Illusions in Bourgeois PRD!
For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

80th Anniversary of Legal Lynching

Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti

August 23 marked the anniversary of the executions of anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Massachusetts in 1927. Arrested in May 1920 at the height of the anti-immigrant Red Scare that followed the 1917 Russian Revolution, the two were convicted the next year on frame-up murder and robbery charges. Sacco, a skilled worker in a shoe factory, and Vanzetti, who supported himself as a fish peddler, were singled out because they were Italian immigrants and because they had dedicated their lives to fighting for the emancipation of the working class.

Boston Public Library

Labor Defender

Above: Bartolomeo Vanzetti (left) and Nicola Sacco. Right: ILD led 20,000 workers at April 1927 rally in New York City's Union Square demanding freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

PART ONE

With their executions, Sacco and Vanzetti joined a long list of working-class fighters subjected to the barbaric death penalty or entombed in prison by the rulers of "democratic" American capitalism: the Haymarket martyrs, labor organizers and anarchists executed in 1887; Joe Hill, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) activist framed up on murder charges and killed by a firing squad in Utah in 1915; Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, also framed up on murder charges stemming from a bomb explosion at a 1916 San Francisco "Preparedness" rally that drummed up support for U.S. entry into World War I, an interimperialist war. (Mooney and Billings were released from prison in 1939.) Up to their last breaths, Sacco and Vanzetti remained unbowed. As the guards strapped him in the electric chair, Sacco declared, "Viva l'anarchia." Moments later, Vanzetti turned to the warden and stated, "I am innocent of all crime, not only of this one, but all. I am an innocent man." He was electrocuted within minutes.

The story of Sacco and Vanzetti is also one of militant struggle for their lives and freedom led by the International Labor Defense (ILD), associated with the early Communist Party (CP). The U.S. affiliate of the International Red Aid (MOPR), which was established by the Communist International, the ILD blazed a trail of class-struggle defense by mobilizing workers across the U.S. on Sacco and Vanzetti's behalf, in conjunction with MOPR's efforts internationally.

Following the executions, ILD secretary James P. Cannon, a leader of the early CP and later of American Trotskyism, drew the lessons of this struggle in an article in the ILD's *Labor Defender* (October 1927) titled, "A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti." Cannon wrote: "In this act of assassination the ruling class of America shows its real face to the world. The mask of 'democracy' is thrown aside." In appealing for workers solidarity, Cannon pointed out, the ILD "endeavored to link up the fight for them with the general defense of the scores of labor prisoners confined in the penitentiaries today and with the broader fight of the toiling masses for liberation from the yoke of capitalism."

That is the perspective that guides the work of the Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League. The work of the ILD provides vital lessons for working-class militants, leftists and radical youth in the struggles of today, in particular the fight for the life and freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal. A Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, later an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, Mumia was framed up on false charges for the 9 December 1981 murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Mumia's case is the racist and political frame-up of an innocent man. As we have stressed since the PDC first took up his cause some 20 years ago, the road to his freedom lies in mobilizing the proletariat in the U.S. and internationally, whose social power lies in its numbers, organization and ability to bring production to a halt.

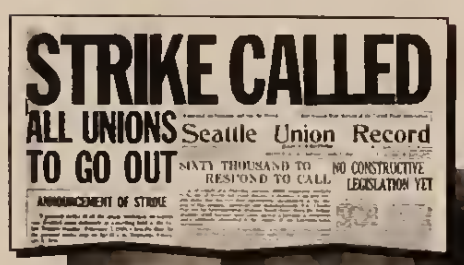
The similarities between the frame-ups of Sacco and Vanzetti and of Mumia are striking. All three were victimized for their political beliefs and activities. Sacco and Vanzetti were among the anarchists targeted for repression by the federal government; Mumia had been targeted by the FBI and Philadelphia cops from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panthers, also earning their wrath for his later defense of the MOVE organization against brutal cop attacks. Both cases featured jury-rigging, concealment of evidence, coercion of witnesses and phony ballistics, with trials presided over by judges openly biased against the defendants.

In 1924, after denying a motion for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, Judge Webster Thayer told Dartmouth College professor James Richardson, "Did you see what I did with those anarchistic bastards the other day?" (quoted in Herbert Ehrmann, *The Case That Will Not Die* [1969]). At the time of Mumia's 1982 trial, Judge Albert Sabo was overheard by a court reporter boasting, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." In both cases, another man ultimately confessed, absolving the defendants of any involvement, only to have the courts disregard the confessions. And for Mumia as well as for Sacco and Vanzetti, workers and oppressed around the world rallied to their support, seeing their own struggles in the fight for their freedom.

Of crucial importance is that in the Sacco and Vanzetti case—as in Mumia's case today—the policy of class-struggle defense was pitted against illusions sown by bourgeois liberals, trade-union misleaders and reformist leftists in the "fairness" of capitalist justice. Up to the day of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, the ILD waged a tireless fight for unity in action on their behalf, based on the class struggle. The ILD supported using any legal means available for Sacco and Vanzetti. But as Cannon insisted, the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti had to be taken to the "supreme court of the masses." At every turn of the legal battle—motions for a new trial, appeal before Massachusetts' highest court, petitions for clemency or appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court—the ILD fought against those who undermined the struggle by preaching reliance on the black-robed justices or the Massachusetts governor, a policy accompanied by slanders, exclusions and even physical attacks against the ILD and CP.

A Proletarian Cause

By the time of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, their cause had been taken up by a wide spectrum of organizations and prominent individuals: from labor unions and socialist organizations in the U.S.



Museum of History and Industry, Seattle

February 1919: Workers gather groceries in preparation for five-day Seattle General Strike.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

to Members of Parliament in Britain and world-renowned writers and artists. Albert Einstein signed a protest to U.S. president Calvin Coolidge. Playwright George Bernard Shaw denounced the frame-up, while Pulitzer prizewinner Edna St. Vincent Millay publicized their cause in her poems. Upton Sinclair, author of *The Jungle*, the classic muckraking novel about the meatpacking industry, championed their defense as did John Dos Passos in his 1927 pamphlet *Facing the Chair*. Sacco and Vanzetti were later memorialized in paintings by Ben Shahn, music by Woodie Guthrie, Ennio Morricone and Joan Baez, and in plays and movies.

An article by Harvard law professor and later Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1927), later expanded into the book *The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti*, laid bare the legal farce to a national and international audience. Frankfurter's book created such a stir that the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, former president William Howard Taft, blasted it as "vicious propaganda" and Frankfurter's phone was tapped.

Support for Sacco and Vanzetti was notable for its breadth, including from liberal figures like Frankfurter who saw in their frame-up a stain on the image of American democracy. But their case belongs to the international proletariat. As early as 1921, there were protests in European capitals like London, Rome and Paris, as well as in Casablanca, Morocco, Mexico City, Caracas, Venezuela and Montevideo, Uruguay. The identification of workers around the world with the two militants was captured by the Syndicate of Truck Drivers of the Port of Veracruz, Mexico, who in a 1921 protest demanded, "Free Sacco and Vanzetti or the proletarian world will rip out your guts!" In the U.S., various unions and even the conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) tops, along with the Socialist Party (SP), IWW and other leftist and civil libertarian groups, would also add their voices.

Organized defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was initiated by Italian anarchists in Boston and joined shortly after by a number of civil libertarians. But it was the intervention of the International Red Aid and the ILD in the U.S. that played a central role in the proletarian protest movement. And at a time when executions routinely took place shortly after convictions,

Labor Defender

James P. Cannon, leader of International Labor Defense in 1920s. ILD poster during class-struggle campaign on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

it was the mobilization of millions that kept Sacco and Vanzetti alive for six years.

The Communist International and the CP in the U.S. issued appeals for a worldwide campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti in the fall of 1921. The first issue of *Labor Herald* (March 1922), publication of the CP-allied Trade Union Educational League, called for "Labor! Act at Once to Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti!" The CP's *Daily Worker* reported on each twist and turn in the case and regularly reported on protests internationally. In a front-page appeal, the CP called in the *Daily Worker* (27 December 1924) for "all organizations of workers in America to join with it in a united front for Sacco and Vanzetti, against their capitalist enemies and for their immediate release."

The Sacco and Vanzetti case was a feature of the founding convention of the ILD in 1925. The ILD grew out of discussions in Moscow between James P. Cannon and ex-"Wobbly" Big Bill Haywood. Nonsectarian labor defense had been a theme of Workers (Communist) Party propaganda since its inception, but the ILD gave it flesh and blood. A former IWW member himself, Cannon had a history of experience in labor defense cases. He recalled, "I came from the background of the old movement when the one thing that was absolutely sacred was unity on behalf of the victims of capitalist justice" (quoted in Bryan Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* [2007]). Seeking to overcome the limitations of past labor defense practices, in which each case would lead to the establishment anew of an ad hoc defense committee, Cannon sought to build a labor-based defense organization for the entire workers movement.

As Cannon described in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962), the ILD was founded especially to take up the plight of "any member of the working class movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinions." The ILD fused the IWW tradition of class-struggle, non-sectarian defense—captured in the Wobbly slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all"—with the internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution. Upon its founding, the ILD identified 106 class-war prisoners in the U.S. and instituted the policy of financially assisting them and their families. Within a little more than a year, the ILD had branches in 146 cities with 20,000 individual members as well as 75,000 members of unions and other workers organizations collectively affiliated to the ILD.

The ILD publicized Sacco and Vanzetti's struggle and organized rallies and political strikes to demand their freedom. The ILD struggled to prevent the workers' militancy and class solidarity from being dissipated by the liberals, social democrats and AFL tops who preached the inherent justice of the capitalist courts. The ILD mobilized on the basis of the united front, seeking maximum unity in struggle of the various organizations standing for defense of Sacco and Vanzetti while giving a thorough airing of the political differences between the CP/ILD and others. The slogan "march separately, strike together" embodies the two aims of the united-front tactic: class unity and the political fight for a communist program.

The international protest movement wrote a historic page in the textbook of class-struggle defense. The ILD initiated 500 May Day Sacco and Vanzetti meetings in cities across the country and played a key role in organizing labor protests and strikes, from a rally of 20,000 in New York City's Union Square in April 1927 to protests and strikes involving hundreds of thousands on the eve of the executions. The ILD understood that in order to stop the executions and win their freedom, it could rely only on mounting such a powerful wave of labor action that the capitalist rulers would refrain from carrying out their plans.

However, the anti-Communist AFL tops sabotaged the strike movement at decisive moments, abetted by the SP social democrats and others. Countless articles and books have since been written vilifying the CP and ILD—from those that acknowledge a "miscarriage" of justice in the case to others preposterously claiming that either Sacco or both men were guilty. Representative of the former is the newly published *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind* by Bruce Watson, which parrots anti-Communist slanders passed on for generations, from the grotesque claim that the CP couldn't have cared less whether Sacco and Vanzetti lived or died to the lie that the ILD pocketed the money they raised for the defense.

The Red Scare

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on 5 May 1920 amid a virulent anti-immigrant, anti-Red hysteria. When U.S. imperialism entered the First World War, the government implemented a plethora of repressive measures criminalizing anti-war activity. The 1917 Espionage Act mandated imprisonment for any act deemed to interfere with the recruitment of troops. Haunted by the spectre of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the

continued on page 14

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

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Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
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Young Spartacus

Detroit News

Danny Lyon

Chevrolet workers in Detroit at start of November 1945 strike (left). Sit-in to integrate Atlanta restaurant during civil rights movement, winter 1963-64. Power of multiracial working class must be mobilized in fight against racial oppression.

"Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics"

Crystalizing out of student and youth struggles against segregation and, later, against the Vietnam War, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) became the iconic organization of the New Left radical student movement of the late 1960s. Originally the youth group of the Cold War "socialists" of the League for Industrial Democracy, under the impact of events, SDS was drawn increasingly to the left. In 1965, SDS dropped its anti-Communist exclusion clause and soon was separated from the League entirely. It grew rapidly, drawing in tens of thousands of young activists at its peak. However, after years of rejecting the history of the "old left" as sectarian, sterile and irrelevant, SDS found itself confronting the same questions, centrally: what force can bring about social change, what attitude should be taken toward the Soviet Union and other workers states, and how to combat racial oppression.

A broad span of tendencies began to gain followers within SDS, ranging from the Moscow-line Stalinists of the Communist Party to the revolutionary communist Spartacist League, as well as anarchists, Maoists and uncritical cheerleaders for Third World and black nationalism. Intense ideological struggles ensued in which spokesmen for various positions were able to compete for hegemony. Some of the petty-bourgeois radicals in SDS were able to overcome the oppressive weight of bourgeois ideology and relearn lessons set forth in the *Communist Manifesto* regarding the working class as the modern agency of social revolution.

At the national SDS convention in the summer of 1969, a split took place between the National Collective, a bloc of groups that tailed national-liberation movements and dismissed the proletariat, and the crudely pro-working-class tendency of the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA) led by the left-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party (PL). The Revolutionary Marxist Caucus, supporter of Spartacist politics within SDS and forerunner of today's Spartacus Youth Clubs, worked within the WSA wing (known as PL-SDS), struggling to transform SDS into a socialist youth organization open to all political tendencies seeking revolutionary political change. It was in this context that "Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics" was produced as a position paper presented for discussion at PL-SDS's December 1969 New Haven conference.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST CAUCUS
Newsletter
Number 1 — February 1970
LEFT OPPOSITION AT NEW HAVEN

Revolutionary Marxists at 1969 PL-SDS Conference

The National Collective degenerated rapidly on the one side into Weatherman-style anarcho-terrorist despair, and on the other into internecine Maoist factional squabbling driven by the twists and turns of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. (Today's Revolutionary Communist Party is one result.) Some, such as Bernardine Dohrn, have found their place braintrusting the "New SDS," a liberal talkshop whose main purpose so far seems to be drawing in youth to aid the Democrats' prospects in the 2008 elections.

The PL wing of SDS also degenerated, although not as rapidly, eventually retreating into campus parochialism and ordinary reformism, leading pointless and tepid campaigns against "racist textbooks." Today Progressive Labor, still Stalinist and now without the leftward pressure imparted by the radicalization of the 1960s, vacillates between increasingly hollow sectarian "revolution now" rhetoric and run-of-the-mill liberalism. Readers may also note that the position paper devotes some attention to the Labor Committee of Lyn Marcus, who is currently known as Lyndon LaRouche. While LaRouche today is a right-wing crackpot, at the time he was a left-wing crackpot. The Labor Committee was a tendency to be contended with in SDS, and served as a useful polemical foil for the exposition of our Marxist program.

Youth now are far more likely to encounter liberal hand-wringing over racism à la the "New SDS" than the distorted orientation to the working class that the RMC's main fire was directed against at the time. However, this position paper, written in a period of significantly higher consciousness and struggle, remains a powerful exposition of a genuine Marxist approach to black oppression, laying out a perspective in which the struggle for black freedom is bound up with the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class.

* * *

It hardly needs saying that increasing black-white conflict is the dominant feature of the current American political scene. The polarization of U.S. society along racial lines has been reflected even within the left, which has become increasingly split between supporters of Black Nationalism and advocates of an oversimplified pro-working-class line, indifferent and sometimes hostile to the Black liberation movement. One effect of the increasing black-white hostility is that any struggle involving Black people is viewed as the same struggle. Everything, from demands for Black Studies departments to integrating the building trades, is seen as part of a larger Black liberation movement, and attitudes toward each particular struggle are determined by general theoretical outlook.

The position of this paper is that Marxists must aggressively fight against the oppression of the Black masses while rejecting Black Nationalist pseudo-solutions. This must be done in ways that are compatible with the over-all goals of socialism. This means making clear and careful distinctions between different demands and struggles of the Black movement and different facets of the race question generally. Our guiding concern must be to link up a pro-working-class political line with demands aimed at fighting the pervasive double oppression of Black workers.

Racism and Racial Oppression

One result of the ghetto uprisings in Watts, Detroit, Newark and elsewhere was that it was no longer possible to deny that Black people were deeply hostile to the state of American society. The liberals argued (e.g., in the Kerner Report) that the oppression of Black people was a result of the racism of the white population, rather than locating the source of oppression and hostility in the working of the economic system and the policies of the ruling class and deliberately obscuring the fact that some whites have qualitatively more social power than others. To blame the oppressed condition of Black people on pervasive racist attitudes is a variant of the classic reactionary argument that social ills stem from a flawed human nature. By placing the blame for racial oppression on the white population en masse, the liberal wing of the ruling class not only deny their own responsibility, but even pose as champions of the Black people against the ignorant and bigoted white workers. In some cases, blaming racist attitudes begs the question. Many liberal capitalist bosses do not believe any of the myths of racial inferiority, yet deliberately pursue oppressive policies aimed at dividing workers along ethnic lines.

The widespread acceptance on the left of the liberal myth that the oppression of Black people results from the racism of the white lower classes has been totally destructive of the left. Its most extreme exponents are, of course, the Weathermen, who regard the white working class as hopelessly corrupted by racism, and,

therefore, "the enemy." However, even those who realize that racism is against the long-term interests of white workers, such as the Worker-Student Alliance caucus, see changing racial *attitudes* as the key to the problem.

It is essential to make a distinction between those actively responsible for racial oppression and the masses, who passively accept it. An analogy of the relation between national chauvinism and imperialism is useful here. National chauvinism is rampant in the U.S.—look at the recent proliferation of American flag decals. Yet, no one would contend that U.S. counter-revolutionary policy in Viet Nam is the result of the nationalist attitudes of the American workers! National chauvinism helps sustain U.S. imperialism, but is not the cause of it. In a like manner, the racist attitudes of the white working class help sustain the oppression and economic degradation of the Black masses, but do not cause it.

Most white workers are neither active racists nor thorough-going integrationists. Rather, their attitude toward Black people is contradictory and differs according to the context. Many white workers will treat Black workers on the job as equals. Many believe Blacks should have equal rights, yet maintain racist attitudes on social and sexual questions. (A white worker might vote for a Black as union official, yet, as the saying goes, wouldn't let his daughter marry him.) In general, there are many more white workers who will support the political and economic *rights* of Blacks and unite with them in struggle than there are who are really free of race prejudice. In addition, the level of racism is affected by the level of class struggle. Involvement in a militant strike action, for example, often combats backward consciousness on many levels.

The Southern Populist movement of the 1890s was the highest point of class struggle reached in the post-Reconstruction South. It not only united poor white and Black farmers around their shared economic interests, it also aggressively fought for the political rights of Black people. Yet, in deference to the white supremacist attitudes of most Southern farmers, the leaders of the Populist movement stressed that they were not in favor of social integration. Thus, by today's standards, the Populist movement would be considered racist, although it aggressively fought for the political rights of Blacks. Certainly we should make no concessions to racism. But this example shows that fighting racism and fighting racial oppression are not identical.

For a Materialist Approach

The practical conclusion to be drawn from making this distinction between racism and racial oppression is that SDS is more likely to gain the support of white workers if we oppose concrete acts of racial oppression in the name of democratic rights and class solidarity, than if we rant about "fighting racism" as a social attitude (which has a moralistic tone to it—like fighting sin). Again, an analogy with the fight against imperialism is useful. In fighting American imperialism, we make specific demands, such as the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam and all other countries. We do not approach this struggle mainly by calling moralistically on the American working class to give up its national chauvinism and solidarize with the international proletariat. To be sure, the demand for immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam implies an attack on patriotic attitudes, just as the demand to integrate a union implies an attack on racist attitudes. But we attack these attitudes at their weakest point, where they come into conflict with other powerful social attitudes.

There is an important tactical reason for using the terminology of fighting racial oppression rather than fighting racism. To announce that we are fighting racism within the working class implies that the rank and file white worker is the target of our hostility. To say we are opposing the double oppression of Black workers puts the responsibility where it belongs—on the capitalists and trade union bureaucrats. Rather than saying we expect the mass of white workers to oppose us, we are calling on white workers, as potential comrades, to fight the oppressors of Black people, who are the oppressors of white workers as well.

Wayne State University

Cops invade Detroit ghetto during 1967 upheaval. More than 7,000 people were arrested and over 40 killed.

Black Rights and Economic Insecurity

Within SDS, the Labor Committee is considered the main exponent of the view that the widespread hostility of white workers to the Black liberation movement stems from a belief that Black equality will be achieved at their economic expense. So far as this view goes it is substantially correct. However, the Labor Committee has drawn a fundamentally wrong conclusion which leads to de facto tolerance for most forms of racial discrimination—namely that equality for Blacks be made *conditional* on whites not suffering any loss.

Given the insecurity of white workers, it is necessary to combine demands for equal opportunity for Blacks with demands aimed at assuring white workers that the benefits accruing to Blacks will not come at their expense. Thus, in demanding that more Black workers be admitted into skilled jobs, we should also raise demands (such as a shorter work week with no loss in pay) aimed at expanding total employment. However, an end to discrimination should not be made conditional to these broader demands being realized.

Under normal conditions, demands aimed at improving the condition of the working class as a whole are less within the power of the presently constituted labor movement than demands for the upgrading of one section of the class. Socialists have traditionally contended—and rightly—that permanent full employment and a continuously rising standard of living are not possible under capitalism. We can and must raise demands which take the level of consciousness outside the framework of capitalism—transitional demands which workers will accept as necessary but which cannot be achieved under this social system. But it would be a cruel joke on the legitimate aspirations of Black workers involved in struggle for socialists to make struggling for their rights conditional on the acceptance of other demands. If the attack on the economic oppression of Black people is to be postponed until the eradication of economic insecurity on the part of whites, racial oppression would continue to exist until several decades *after* the victory of the socialist revolution.

Labor Committee Default

In practice, the Labor Committee's politics have meant toleration of racial oppression while posing ultimatistic solutions to the problem of the limited resources available to the working class under capitalism. A good example of this is the Labor Committee's opposition to the so-called CCNY solution. After considerable agitation by Blacks, the City University system officials agreed to replace the existing admissions selection—based on academic qualifications—with an ethnic quota system increasing Black admissions. (The city government later rejected the agreement.) The Labor Committee argued that this was no solution to the problem and, correctly, called for open admissions for all working people. So far, so good. However, instead of critically supporting the CCNY solution against the present system, which is both class and race biased, while continuing to agitate for open admissions, the Labor Committee supported the status quo in effect, until the advent of free universal higher education. In other words, according to them the whites might as well have the lion's share of social services until these services become unlimited.

The Labor Committee's empathy for white workers worried about losing their jobs to Black militants causes them to blur an important distinction. It is the distinction between firing a white worker to replace him with a Black and eliminating discrimination in hiring. We should almost always oppose firing a white worker to replace him with a Black. On the other hand, we should always oppose discrimination in hiring even if this means (as it will in the building trades) that a larger percentage of the white labor force would be unemployed. The former would exacerbate racial antagonisms; the latter would tend to unite the working class in the fight against unemployment. The underlying principle is that Black workers should be treated as equals. We wouldn't expect any employed worker to give up his job to an unemployed worker regardless of color. In a like manner, an unemployed Black worker should have the same chance to find a job as a white worker, and vice versa.

If the Labor Committee's principle that the economic oppression of Blacks can be opposed only provided there is no redistribution of income against whites is accepted, Blacks are slated to remain on the bottom of American society until socialism. If the desires of white workers must be substantially met before attacking the problem of racial discrimination, the benefits accruing to the Blacks will lag behind those of the class as a whole. In the Labor Committee schema, Blacks are given the role of residual claimants on the social and economic gains of the working class.

Black Rights as Class Demands

The Labor Committee's belief that racism is simply a result of economic insecurity and will disappear when that insecurity is alleviated is as naive and wrong as the Weathermen's view of racism as the radical equivalent of original sin. The Machinists and Shipbuilders unions attempted to maintain their white-only policies in shipyards and aircraft plants even in the middle of the World War II employment boom! On the other hand, some unions were established on an integrated basis during the Depression. The widespread racial oppression in the labor movement isn't going to be eliminated without a political fight in the trade unions. Economic prosperity makes that fight *easier to win*. It doesn't make it any less *necessary*.

The Labor Committee's propaganda presents the economic effects of racial equality as only negative—namely, that such gains come only at the expense of white workers. It appears the Labor Committee has taken the arguments of racist demagogues too much at face value or that, for all their pretensions to expertise, they know very little about the economic facts of life. The upgrading of Black workers provides a higher floor for general wages and strengthens the competitive position of all workers. From the integration of the Mine Workers in the 1890s, the main factor bringing Black workers into the trade unions has been a desire to eliminate cheap, non-union labor, not moralism. One doesn't have to be very sophisticated to see the connection between the systematic terrorization of the Black population and the maintenance of the South as a bastion of anti-unionism, low wages, and the runaway shop. If the indirect benefits of Black equality are not as obvious to white workers as the direct losses, part of our job is to make them obvious. Socialists have a responsibility to refute the lies of racist demagogues like [Alabama governor George] Wallace, that Black liberation means white workers will lose "their jobs, their money, and their women." SDS should present the

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Militant

New York, 1965: Spartacists at antiwar march call for victory for the Vietnamese Revolution, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

SDS...

(continued from page 7)

economic case for combatting racial oppression in the most attractive manner possible.

Black Liberation and Upward Mobility

An important aspect of the oppression of Blacks is the small size of the Black middle class. Not only are Black workers concentrated in lowest paid jobs, but there is a relatively small percentage of Black professionals, administrators and businessmen. Moreover, much of the Black middle class is restricted to the Black communities rather than being integrated into American corporate society.

Given the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Black movement, it is not surprising that many demands of that movement are aimed at increasing the upward mobility of the Black population. In its reaction against bourgeois aspirations in the Black movement, the WSA has made a major error—namely, it has refused to oppose those aspects of racial oppression expressly designed to keep Blacks out of the middle class. It is correct and necessary to denounce expanding the "Black bourgeoisie" as the solution to the problems of the Black masses. However, the WSA has taken the further step of refusing to fight discrimination against Blacks for middle-class positions. (Their position recalls a section of the French Marxists who thought they should be indifferent to the Dreyfus Case of anti-Semitism in the French officer corps. This sectarian disorientation actually facilitated their later collapse into opportunism.) The petty-bourgeois "hustlerist" aspect of the Black movement must be defeated politically, by being rejected by the Black masses. It will not and should not be defeated by erstwhile revolutionaries making a de facto alliance with the most reactionary sections of the ruling class to keep Blacks out of middle-class positions.

There is a parallel between the Labor Committee's reaction to white workers' fear of economic integration and the WSA's approach to bourgeois goals in the Black movement. Both begin with correct premises, but reach conclusions which mean tolerance for certain forms of racial oppression. Thus, the Labor Committee opposes the CCNY solution because they don't want educational resources redistributed against the white population, while the WSA opposes it because they don't want more black B.A.s. Of the two positions, the Labor Committee's is worse because it leads to acceptance of the worst forms of economic exploitation. However, the WSA's position is also fundamentally sectarian.

The Worse the Better?

The principle of not opposing racial discrimination to the extent equality would strengthen the upward mobility of the Black population is impossible to implement. This is so because *any* improvement in the condition of the Black masses provides a basis for upward mobility. If the quality of ghetto primary school education is improved, for example, Black youth will be better able to compete for college admission. If Black workers have access to better-paying jobs, more of them will send their children to college.

The WSA's position on this question is also incorrect at a higher theoretical level. Socialists have usually contended that racial oppression is inherent in capitalist society. The WSA, however, seems to be afraid that the ruling class is going to seriously ameliorate the oppression of Blacks. The whole line of argument has a "the worse, the better" flavor to it—Blacks should be kept down so they'll be more revolutionary. It is similar to the position one usually associates with the Socialist Labor Party—opposition to reforms for fear that they may work! Coming from people who consider themselves orthodox Leninists, this faith in the ability of reformism to dampen class struggle and change class structure is as surprising as it is false, to say the least.

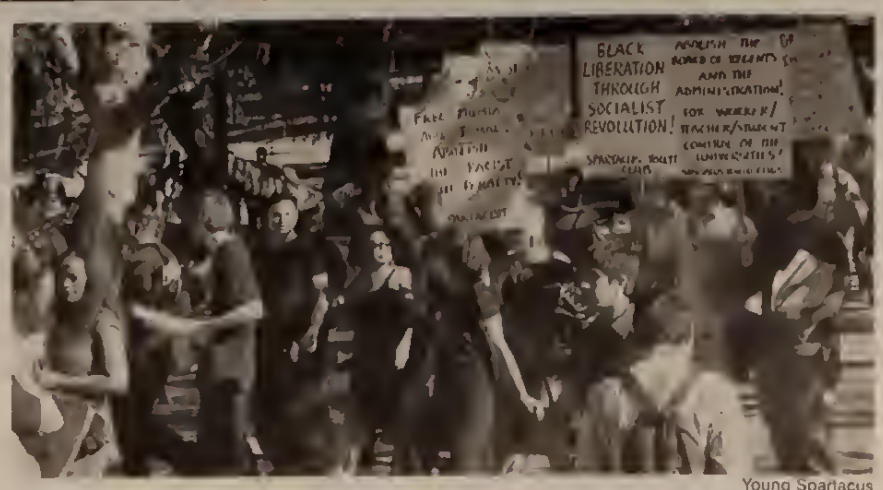
Moreover, from the standpoint of proletarian socialists, the expansion of the Black middle class would not be an unmitigated disaster. To the extent that the social structure of the Black population resembles that of the white population, class rather than race consciousness will be strengthened among both Black and white workers. The split between those Black Nationalists who consider themselves revolutionary and the "pork chop" Nationalists occurred precisely because the government was successful in co-opting large sections of the Black liberation movement. A Black worker who slaves for a few years under a Black boss is much more likely to see class, not race, as the fundamental division in American society.

The converse is also true. A white worker striking with fellow Black workers against a company which had a significant percentage of Black executive and managerial personnel would develop a more class-conscious attitude toward the Black population. It is precisely the overwhelming concentration of the Black population at the lowest social levels that tends to cause white workers to view Blacks with feelings of fear and contempt. The integration of sections of the ruling class would be paralleled by increased Black-white unity in the working class.

Trade Unions and the State

One of the most difficult problems facing American radicals is the widespread racial discrimination in the trade unions. In dealing with this problem, there is considerable social pressure, particularly on a campus-based group, to follow the lead of the liberals and use government action against discriminatory unions. Thus, most of the California left, including the Independent Socialist Clubs (now called International Socialists [predecessor of the International Socialist Organization]), supported a suit against Harry Bridges' International Longshore and Warehouse Union under the Civil Rights Act. Likewise, there has been no significant left-wing opposition to the Nixon Administration's "Philadelphia Plan" for the construction industry (aimed at breaking union hiring halls by setting quotas for minority hiring).

That liberals should look to the state to enforce equal rights in the labor movement is understandable. The fundamental principle of liberalism (and all other forms of capitalist political philosophy) is the supreme authority of the state over all other social institutions. However, Marxists consider the state an instrument of class oppression and regard the labor movement as the legitimate source of all social authority. In calling upon the state to integrate the unions, radicals are calling upon the capitalists to fight their battles for them, in a movement radicals eventually intend (or should intend) to lead against that very state. This is a contradiction that cannot be reconciled. Any increase in state control over the unions, regardless of the ostensible reason, must strengthen capitalism politically and ideologically.



Young Spartacus

Los Angeles, November 2006: Spartacus Youth Club at protest against racist purge of black and minority students from University of California.

A section of the ruling class realizes that the civil rights issue is an effective way to weaken the unions by turning Black people and middle-class liberals against them. Thus, a recent issue of *Fortune* magazine—an authoritative organ of the liberal bourgeoisie—contained an attack on the monopolistic abuses of the building trades unions. It concluded with a ten-point program, addressed to construction companies, on how to break the power of the unions. One of the ten points was union de-certification for failing to comply with the 1965 Civil Rights Act.

As the above example shows, ruling-class efforts to control the unions in the name of "public good" are usually a cover for union busting. The Nixon Administration is openly wooing Southern racists and doesn't even pay lip service to civil rights. The only area of American society where Nixon is pushing civil rights is where unions are the target. This indicates that the motives behind the "Philadelphia Plan" are neither concern for the welfare of Black workers nor response to pressure from below. Rather, the only purpose is to discredit and weaken the labor movement.

When the ruling class seeks to weaken the power of the unions, they do not openly state they're out to gouge the working class. They look for an attractive-sounding pretext. We are all against organized crime and for internal democracy in the unions. But the Landrum-Griffin Act hasn't reduced gangsterism in the labor movement. Its principal effect has been to railroad Jimmy Hoffa, a tough and troublesome business unionist. And these laws would be used faster and harder against a communist union leadership than they will ever be used against the Mafia!

Permitting the government to determine the racial policies of unions gives the state a powerful weapon for union busting and influencing the selection of union leadership. And this weapon will not be used in the best interest of the working class. Whatever doubtful immediate gains Black workers get by the government opening up some jobs for them will be more than offset by the losses sustained by the entire working class due to the long-run effects of expanding state control over the labor movement. The only force on which we can rely is an organized, militant, class-conscious rank and file defending the gains of their unions against the bosses, the bureaucrats and the state.

New Left Notes

PL-SDS national convention in Chicago, 1970. Revolutionary Marxist Caucus fought for Trotskyist program against Progressive Labor-dominated leadership.

Resolutions

I. In its propaganda and actions, SDS must concentrate on fighting concrete acts and practices of racial oppression, rather than simply opposing racism as a pervasive social attitude.

II. It may at times be necessary to support gains against Black oppression even if they imply short-term economic losses for sections of the white working class. However, our basic propagandistic thrust must be to keep gains for Blacks from being counterposed to white workers' interests by raising the appropriate demands, and to seek to unite Black and white workers in common struggles.

III. SDS must oppose all forms of racial inequality, including those that are specifically designed to limit the upward mobility of the Black population.

IV. Under all circumstances SDS must oppose the expansion of state control over the labor movement, even when this is done in the name of the rank and file (e.g., fighting corruption, securing racial justice).■

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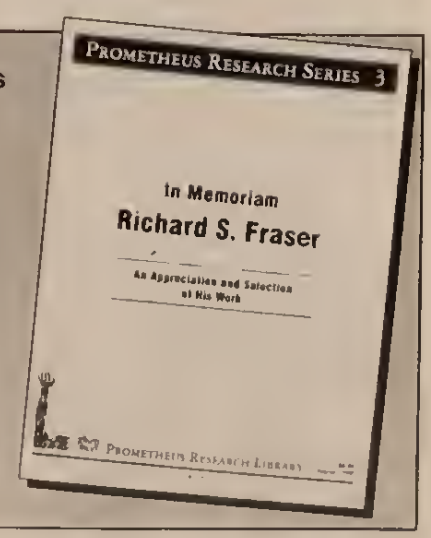

Organize Non-Union Mines!

Utah Mine Collapse: Industrial Murder

Hogsten/Salt Lake Tribune

Trapped miners' relatives and others on way to August 19 press conference where families charged Crandall Canyon bosses with giving up on rescue.

AUGUST 27—Capitalist profiteering is behind the disaster in the canyons of central Utah, where six miners were trapped on August 6, and three people died ten days later when a rescue tunnel collapsed. With criminal disregard for their safety, the six men were sent 1,500 feet below ground to remove the great chunks of coal that held up the ceiling of the mine. After having placed the miners in harm's way, Crandall Canyon mine owner Robert Murray, joined by federal mine safety officials, sealed their fate by hungling and then effectively abandoning the rescue effort. The miners' families, who want to recover the bodies even if the men are dead, have not let Murray get away with this. Yesterday, a seventh borehole was being drilled into the mine and a camera lowered through a separate opening.

Mining at non-union Crandall Canyon was a disaster in the offing. Utah's mines are tunneled deep to reach wide seams of profitable coal, placing a massive amount of weight on the coal pillars. Not only did the Crandall Canyon tunnels go well beyond the depth considered safe by many engineers, but the section where the cave-in occurred had been abandoned by an earlier owner in part because further mining posed a risk to miners. Shortly after purchasing a 50 percent stake in the mine last August, Murray petitioned the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) for permission to extract coal from the pillars, a procedure known as "retreat mining," which by design triggers tunnel collapses. One United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) official described this practice to *Workers Vanguard* as "mining with one leg in the grave." Showing how it is mainly a rubber stamp for the coal barons, MSHA approved this self-evidently dangerous plan.

The bosses repeatedly ignored warning signs of the impending catastrophe. Prior to the cave-in, miners complained to supervisors about the heaving mine floors. The force of the mountain settling above reportedly was so strong that it was breaking coal off the walls and ceiling. A violent shift of the tunnels in March did prompt the mine operators to move the crew—to another section a mere several hundred feet away. Meanwhile, the mine had racked up 325 safety citations since January 2004, including 116 considered life-threatening. For the bosses, the accompanying fines are just a small cost of doing business. The month before the cave-in, for the third time in less than two years the mine owners were cited for failing to provide at least two separate emergency escape routes. The penalty for the previous offense last September: $60.

Whenever he opens his mouth, Murray comes across as especially greedy and deceitful. Last week, he was forced to do a public about-face after his bid to resume production at the mine provoked angry protests by the families and friends of the missing miners. However unhinged Murray might be, his is a typical capitalist enterprise. In fact, many mines have far worse safety records than Crandall Canyon's, a symptom of the drastic decline in unionization of the coal industry as well as the do-nothing policies of the UMWA leadership. It is no surprise that Murray's rants have taken aim at the UMWA, as any union representation would make it more difficult for him to toy with miners' lives.

At the request of Crandall Canyon miners, the UMWA is now helping them in discussions with MSHA. But by the admission of UMWA head Cecil Roberts, the union leadership has made no attempt to organize the mine since Murray took it over. Without aggressive organizing, the UMWA will continue its decline, leaving increasing numbers of non-union miners at the mercy of the ruthless coal barons. As we wrote in *WV* No. 862 (20 January 2006) following the Sago, West Virginia, mine disaster: "The only way to establish and enforce safety is through mobilizing labor's power. Any real measure of protection workers have gained in U.S. mines—or elsewhere in industry—was won through hard struggle by the unions." A strong union can control working conditions and shut down unsafe work sites. By the same token, unless the union fights to defend the lives and livelihoods of its members, it will find it more difficult to organize the unorganized.

The UMWA bureaucracy keeps the union's power in check by relying on capitalist politicians and government agencies like MSHA while renouncing the class-struggle methods that built the union. For example, following a 1993 strike in West Virginia, the UMWA tops refused to organize an all-out defense of Jerry Dale Lowe, a union safety rep who was framed up and sent to prison for nearly eleven years. Now, Roberts has written to Democratic Party leaders in Congress requesting an "independent" investigation of the Crandall Canyon disaster. Investigations by Democrats currently under way will amount to little more than a smokescreen for the malicious indifference of the bosses.

Government investigations following the Sago disaster resulted in passage of a 2006 law called the MINER Act. Based on a cover-up report on Sago, this legislation gives the coal bosses three years to introduce into the mines already existing wireless communications technology. With an average of over 33 miners killed on the job per year in the U.S. this decade (to say nothing of the countless numbers who have fallen victim to black lung and other diseases), how many more miners' lives is Congress willing to write off to give the companies this reprieve? As far back as 1969, Congress had mandated MSHA to oversee development of equipment allowing miners to signal their whereabouts. The coal bosses largely ignored this mandate, as they have the safety provisions of the 2006 legislation, to avoid cutting into profits. Other proposals for inclusion in the MINER Act, such as requiring mine shelters stocked with food, water and oxygen, were rejected by Congress out of hand at the coal operators' insistence.

Most if not all of the deaths in U.S. coal mines in the past year could have been prevented if safety measures had not heen blocked and quashed by officials from *both* Democratic and Republican administrations. Whereas the George W. Bush White House, elected with the support of Big Coal, has outright killed safety measures, MSHA under Bill Clinton routinely put off implementation to allow time for testing and study of the proposals.

When rule changes were to the benefit of the bosses, though, Clinton's MSHA was all too willing to oblige. To take one example, MSHA at that time did nothing to stop the use of the foam material Omega Block as a seal to close off abandoned mine tunnels, despite inadequate testing. Not until the "test" of the Sago mine explosion, which an Omega Block seal failed to contain, and the deaths of 12 miners did minds change. Bush has turned the top spot at MSHA into a way station for former mine bosses like current director Richard Stickler. But the model for MSHA today was Clinton's "New OSHA," defined by its "partnership" with business and "voluntary compliance."

It will take hard class struggle to defeat the profit-hungry coal barons. In the booming coal industry in the Rocky Mountain area, where growing numbers of people from Mexico and Central America have flocked in recent years to work, this battle is directly linked to the defense of immigrant workers. In fact, three of the trapped miners were born in Mexico. Some 20 miles from Crandall Canyon in Price, Utah, an organizing drive by the UMWA at the Co-Op Mine recently ran straight up against a campaign by the bosses to use workers' legal status to intimidate and fire them. This underscores the need for the labor movement to demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Organizing the unorganized into the unions will require an uncompromising fight for the independence of the labor movement from the state agencies and political representatives of the capitalist class enemy. ■

Infrastructure...

(continued from page 1)

and their Democratic and Republican parties. To begin with, what's needed is a fighting labor movement determined to use its power to enforce safety standards and shut down dangerous structures and facilities without regard to the capitalists' bottom line. Ultimately, the well-being of the population can only be secured when the capitalist class is expropriated through a workers revolution and a collectivized, planned economy is established based on production for human need and not profit.

The Minnesota Bridge: Case Study in Criminal Neglect

Under capitalism, engineering practice, like everything else, is profit-driven. The Minnesota I-35W steel truss bridge, completed in 1967, was designed to save on the amount of steel required. Like many such bridges, it lacked redundancy: if any structural member fails, the bridge collapses. It was designed without adequately accounting for fatigue and cracking in structural steel due to cyclic stress and corrosion. Although of a different design, the Silver Bridge in West Virginia collapsed in 1967 due to similar factors, killing 46 people.

The science underlying crack propagation as a principle failure mechanism in structural materials emerged in 1913 and was elucidated by A. A. Griffith in 1920, and further refined by scientists afterward. Metal fatigue and stress cracking were certainly understood well enough by the mid 1960s to evaluate existing bridges. But it took a disaster like the Silver Bridge collapse for the bourgeoisie to even establish a mandatory bridge inspection program. Nevertheless, more than 30 years later less than 4 percent of "in-depth" inspections correctly identify weld crack indications.

Even a well-built bridge will not last if it is not properly maintained. As the former chief engineer for the New York City Department of Transportation, Samuel Schwartz, explained in a *New York Times* (13 August) op-ed piece, "Bridges are machines with movable parts" that need to he regularly cleaned, lubricated and painted to prevent corrosion or the seizing up of moving joints. But, as Schwartz noted, routine maintenance is routinely scuttled because states and localities only receive federal funds for major projects rather than the "mop and pail" work that bridges really need.

These kinds of cost-driven irrationalities in infrastructure would not be tolerated if the working class ruled society. But faced with aging, deficient bridges, you might expect that common sense would dictate that even this profit-driven system would, at a minimum, limit traffic load, ensure necessary maintenance and plan for early replacement of the I-35 and other outmoded bridges. Instead, by the late 1980s, more lanes and increased truck weight limits—authorized by Congress—greatly increased the load on the Minneapolis bridge. By the time of the collapse, vehicle traffic had more than doubled from the original projections.

In 1990, after only 23 years of service, the bridge was rated by federal inspectors as "structurally deficient," i.e., it was in poor condition but still considered nominally safe. As deterioration continued in the 1990s, the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MDOT) increased inspections and stop-gap repairs. A 2000 report by MDOT engineers cited numerous structural problems, concluding that "eventual replacement of the entire structure would he preferable." However, the state had no plans to do so until 2020.

A 2006 study by the URS Corporation recommended redundant "steel plating of all 52 fracture critical truss members" as the safest interim solution. The MDOT rejected this and instead adopted the study's cheaper option, which was to inspect the welds. Even then, they halted the inspection halfway through in order to start repaving and other work on the bridge roadway. This work was taking place when the bridge collapsed. Corroded and frozen hinge joint bearings, which eventually caused one of the support piers to tilt slightly, were prominently cited in several MDOT inspections. A forensic engineering study will eventually discover which structural member failed—but in the end it was about money.

They Don't Starve the Pentagon

Historically, the hourgeoisie has produced massive puhlic works when this has suited its purposes, particularly in periods of capitalist expansion...and to prepare for war. In the 19th century, the American system of canals and railways was the path of expansion to the West. The 42,000-mile interstate highway

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Infrastructure...

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system, named the "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways," was completed in the 1950s during the anti-Soviet Cold War. Developed in part to facilitate military operations in case of war, this network was patterned after the Autohahn system developed during Hitler's Third Reich, which was designed to speed the Nazi invasion of Europe.

However, for nearly four decades the government has slashed infrastructure spending so much that the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE) 2005 report card gives an overall grade of "D" (poor) to the country's infrastructure as a whole. Yet bridges, with a "C" grade, are in hetter shape than almost every other category! Aviation, dams, drinking water, power grids, hazardous waste, navigahle waterways, roads, school buildings, transit and wastewater treatment all received "D" grades. Almost 20 years ago, we headlined: "New York Bridges Are Falling Down" hecause of conscious capitalist policy (*WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988). The next year, sections of the Oakland Nimitz Freeway collapsed during an earthquake, killing scores and leaving many more homeless. As we stated in "Freeway Death Trap—A Capitalist Crime" (*WV* No. 488, 27 October 1989), people died "because of a willful refusal to repair and maintain structures that were *known* to be inadequate."

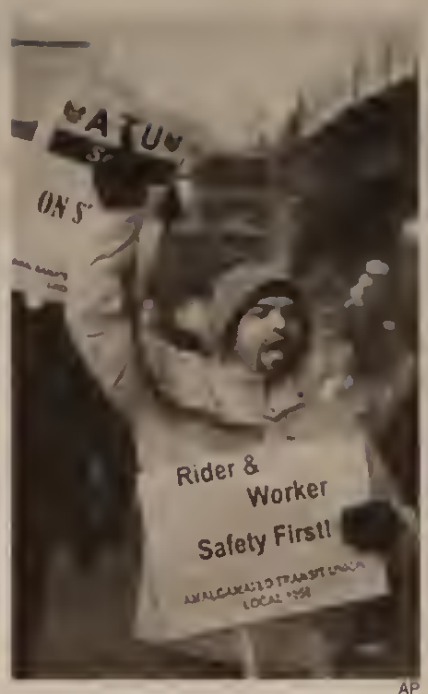
Today, nothing has changed. The ASCE projects that it will take $1.6 trillion over five years to restore public infrastructure to acceptable conditions. Few dispute the accuracy of the ASCE cost projections, but the capitalist ruling class has no intention of shelling out. With the decline of American industry, the U.S. bourgeoisie has lost its hegemonic economic position and faces increased competition from other imperialist powers, primarily Japan and Germany. Since 1980, hand in hand with deindustrialization, the U.S. has spent less than 2 percent of Gross Domestic Product on infrastructure, far less than many other advanced industrial countries. The only significant increase in "public spending" has been an explosion in prison construction, under both Democratic and Republican administrations. In large part, this has been in the service of the racist rulers' "war on drugs." As of two years ago, some 60 percent of the U.S. prison population was black or Latino.

What America's capitalist rulers will never starve is the Pentagon budget, which is greater than the *combined* total military spending of all other major states in the world. The direct budgetary costs thus far for the Iraq war and occupation are about $450 billion, which understates the real expense that includes supplementary spending and other such measures. The actual costs could eventually reach $1-2 trillion. The U.S. earlier spent trillions in its war drive against the Soviet Union, which, following American imperialism's stinging defeat in Vietnam, was renewed under Democrat Jimmy Carter and deepened by the Republican Ronald Reagan. A good part of the imperialists' calculations was to compel the Soviet Union to spend a great amount on its own defenses, undermining its economic development. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, a historic defeat for the proletariat and the oppressed worldwide, removed a military and industrial powerhouse that had been a countervailing force against U.S. imperialism.

In response to the recent disasters, the reformist *Workers World* (18 August) all too predictably headlines: "Los Angeles Activists Demand: 'Money for Bridges—Not for War'." What's wrong with this nice idea? The "Anybody but Bush" liberals and their reformist followers push the *lie* that the U.S. imperialist system, which shatters whole countries like Serhia and Iraq, can be reformed to "end war" and "rebuild America," particularly if the lesser-evil Democrats are in office. The reality is that the capitalist system is based on production for profit and not on satisfying human needs. The imperialists' wars are fought centrally in order to secure control of markets, resources and new sources of labor to exploit. As long as the capitalist system exists, this government will wage wars. Creating a society where human needs come first requires nothing less than the overthrow of capitalist class rule, through a series of proletarian revolutions across the planet.

Workers Revolution Will Rebuild America

The Democrats like to blame Bush's tax cuts for billionaires for contributing to the country's decay. But cutbacks in infrastructure and social services are Democratic as well as Republican policy. Over two decades of neglect of the flood control system around New Orleans prior to Katrina included the eight years of the Clinton administration, during which the U.S. experienced an economic boom and the federal government ran a sizahle budget surplus. Now, after the Minnesota hridge collapse, Hillary Clinton calls for a paltry $10 billion increase in bridge spending over ten years, in line with other Democratic proposals. This is despite the fact that the ASCE report projects it will cost almost $10 billion per year *for 20 years* just to eliminate all bridge deficiencies.



AP

ATU members on picket line during December 2005 NYC transit strike that was led by TWU Local 100.

A working-class fight for safety and to rebuild this country would powerfully resonate throughout society. But this requires a fight against the labor misleaders who support this murderous profit system and bind workers to the Democratic Party and other agencies of capitalist rule. When Hurricane Katrina hit two years ago, we outlined a fighting program for labor in "New Orleans: Racist Atrocity" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005):

> "The masses of displaced people must he provided with jobs—*union jobs* at union wage scales, with health care, housing, clothing and all other necessities. Instead of being regarded as victims, these working people can be incorporated into a force for their own revitalization. What is needed at the minimum is a massive program of federally funded public works to rebuild New Orleans and the rest of the devastated Gulf Coast. There should be workers committees that would make sure that shoddy designs and penny-pinching construction could be vetoed before they endangered people's lives, and that lifesaving repairs and maintenance would not fall victim to the ax of austerity."

It doesn't take a natural disaster for this profit system to threaten people's lives. Look at the chaos that reigns in air transport today, with chronic staffing shortages, critical equipment failures and horrible working conditions. Massive accidents are just waiting to happen. One already did: in August last year a jet in Lexington, Kentucky, crashed on takeoff, killing 49 of the 50 people aboard, because there was only *one* air controller on duty. This is the bitter fruit of the most massive union-husting attack since the 1930s, when Reagan smashed the PATCO air traffic controllers strike in 1981 (with plans drawn up by the Carter White House). Criminally, Reagan was abetted by the heads of the Machinists, Teamsters and other unions who refused to shut down the airports in solidarity with PATCO.

Such dangers loom daily in NYC's antiquated subway system, which the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) runs without regard for the safety of workers or riders. This was seen yet again in April when two track workers, members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, were killed within a week. We noted in "NYC Transit: Murder by Speedup" (*WV* No. 892, 11 May) that "track workers have for years demanded radios for everyone working in the dark, filthy, dangerous subway tunnels, so that they can be connected with train crews and control centers. But for the MTA, a worker's life is not even worth the cost of communications equipment." The system cannot run without the TWU, as the union powerfully demonstrated in the December 2005 transit strike. Our article called for the TWU to "fight for *elected union safety committees with the power to shut down unsafe worksites on the spot*."

The capitalists and their politicians have demonstrated many times over that they are the enemy of human progress. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 October Revolution, declared in the 1938 Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International: "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin.... If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated hy itself, then let it perish."

The experience of the Soviet Union shows the enormous power of collectivized property and centralized economic planning, despite the degeneration of the workers state under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. A year after the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, 90,000 of the people evacuated had been provided with new homes, while those directly responsible for criminal mismanagement were punished. Two decades earlier, when an earthquake demolished Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan, a massive reconstruction program had the entire city—population 1.1 million—rehoused in three years. In Cuba, masses of people are routinely moved to safe areas of the island during major hurricanes. And after Katrina devastated New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, Cuba offered medical brigades to give emergency care, only to be turned down by Washington.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialist assault and internal counterrevolution, as we did in regard to the Soviet Union. We fight for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies that undermine the collectivized economies and that oppose the struggle to extend socialist revolution to the wealthy, advanced capitalist countries. Instead, they preach "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Stalinist misrulers must be replaced by regimes of workers democracy and proletarian internationalism based on workers councils (soviets).

The fight for a socialist future is necessarily international. The horrific images of homeless, starving men, women and children in New Orleans, the dead lying on the streets for days, prompted many to compare it to the Third World. "That's not supposed to happen *here*," was the shocked response. But it shouldn't have to happen *there* either. More than 500 are dead in the latest earthquake in Peru, while in Bangladesh and South Asia, nearly 25 million have been displaced by the worst monsoon floods in living memory. Humanity cannot stop tsunamis and tornadoes, or tectonic plates from shifting. But the world proletariat can alter human society, by overthrowing the capitalist imperialist system that cripples the economic development of semi-colonial countries. From the Indian subcontinent to Africa and Latin America, natural disasters are compounded hy imperialist subjugation, which deprives the masses of such hasics as safe housing and clean water.

In concluding our 1988 article on New York hridges, we wrote:

> "A workers revolution would put America back to work rebuilding the bridges, highways and factories. And not just here—massive aid programs to rebuild Vietnam, Latin America, Africa, everywhere the imperialists have plundered and destroyed. The capitalist class in its twilight has shown that it is incapable of maintaining society. The working class led by its revolutionary vanguard must wrench society from the bourgeoisie's death grip."

It is to that end that the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build a revolutionary workers party, section of a reforged Fourth International. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events—Meet the Marxists

BAY AREA

Thursday, August 30, 5 p.m.
SF State University, Rosa Parks D,
Cesar Chavez Student Center
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Monday, September 10, 7 p.m.
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall Lobby
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@tiac.net

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!
For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution—Finish the Civil War!
Break with the Capitalist Democrats and Greens!
For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party that Fights for All the Oppressed!

With an update on the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal

TORONTO

Wednesday, September 12, 2:30 p.m.
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Bldg.
100 St. George Street, Room TBA
For information: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, September 12, 6 p.m.
Students: Ally with the Working Class!
Victory to the CUPE Workers Strike!
For Socialist Revolution to Smash the Capitalist System of Racism, War and Oppression!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

BAY AREA *Spartacus Youth Club Video Showing*

"From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal"

Thursday, September 13, 5 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Cesar Chavez Student Center, Room T-153
For information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

War on Our Rights...

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of personal data has been amassed enabling fishing expeditions for "terrorist suspects."

Since the existence of Bush's surveillance program became widely known almost two years ago, Democratic politicians have heen up in arms over the fact that it bypassed special courts set up by the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). Billed by liberals as a barrier to NSA/CIA domestic spying, the FISA courts are actually rubber stamps that have almost never refused a request for a wiretap warrant. By signing legislation allowing warrantless wiretaps, Bush countered the criticism that his actions were illegal through the simple expedient of...legalizing them. Congress even went further in the law than Bush had requested. Henceforth, the FISA court will not review specific applications but only the broad wiretap procedures used by the government. After months of hearings, subpoenas and other posturing, Democratic leaders in the Senate and House let the new law sail through committees and put up virtually no resistance to its passage.

The NSA's invasion of privacy can carry drastic consequences. Today, if you are singled out and labeled a terrorist based on "classified" evidence, the government claims the right to disappear you as an "unlawful enemy combatant" with no legal recourse. The "war on terror" has greatly accelerated the drive toward unfettered power by the executive branch. As it has for many decades, much of the constitutional power originally vested in Congress is increasingly being transferred to the presidency. This corresponds to the needs of U.S. imperialism, relying on its overwhelming military might, to assert itself as cop of the world, as seen today in the ongoing murderous occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, its provocations against Iran and in many other ways.

Frame-ups, spying, infiltration and terror are part of the everyday workings of government in the U.S., whether under Democratic or Republican administrations. The veneer of "democracy" is meant to cover the reality of the capitalist state —consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and armed forces—as an apparatus of violence designed to protect capitalist profits and rule against the exploited and the oppressed, and to defend the bourgeoisie's interests against its foreign rivals.

A statement by the Spartacist League/U.S. Political Bureau issued the day after the September 11 attacks warned that "the most immediate targets of the forces of repression will be any and all people of Near Eastern descent" (printed in *WV* No. 764, 14 September 2001). The statement explained that the more fundamental purpose of the "anti-terror" campaign "is to intimidate and constrain the multiracial working class from any social struggle." As the SL has stressed since the onset of the "war on terror," what the capitalist rulers get away with will largely depend on the level of social struggle. The rulers of this decaying capitalist society are plenty dangerous. But they are also dependent on the labor of the working class for their profits. If mobilized independently of the capitalist political parties and at the head of all the oppressed, the many-millioned proletariat would be a powerful force in defense of its own interests and of the rights of immigrants, black people and others under attack by the bourgeoisie.

Jose Padilla: Abducted, Tortured, Framed Up

The sinister web of the "war on terror" is exemplified by the ordeal of Jose Padilla, who was summarily stripped of elementary rights of citizenship. Padilla's show trial in Florida ended on August 16 with the jury finding him and co-defendants Adham Hassoun and Kifah Jayyousi guilty of "conspiracy to murder, kidnap and maim" people overseas and other charges. The case against Padilla and his co-defendants was a blatant frame-up from beginning to end. In what was supposedly a murder conspiracy case, federal prosecutors presented no evidence that the defendants had plotted to commit murder—or any other violent act. Instead, the vaguest correlation that could be inferred between Al Qaeda and any defendant—such as favorable statements by Hassoun and Jayyousi regarding a televised interview with Osama bin Laden —was depicted as participation in the conspiracy.

Padilla was seized in May 2002 at Chicago's O'Hare airport and held as a "material witness." One month later, he was declared an "unlawful enemy combatant" and disappeared into a Navy brig in South Carolina, where he had no way to challenge his imprisonment, no contact with his family and—for almost two years—no access to lawyers. While in the brig, Padilla was tortured by being subjected to extreme sensory deprivation, shackled in "stress positions," drugged and deprived of sleep to break his will and force him to provide incriminating evidence about himself and others. Two psychiatrists and a psychologist who conducted detailed examinations of Padilla on behalf of his defense team say his treatment in the brig left him with severe mental disabilities; all three say he may never recover. One former military interrogator told the *Christian Science Monitor* (14 August): "If he is not profoundly psychologically disturbed from that experience then he is a stronger man than me."

In concluding a powerful three-part series detailing Padilla's ordeal, the *Christian Science Monitor* (15 August) wrote: "US treatment of Padilla shows the inclination to do anything to break the silence of a suspected terrorist, even [if] it means violating such basic citizen rights as protection against self-incrimination and harsh interrogation, as well as the right to a trial. In short, the US military used terror—Padilla had little or no human contact for more than three years —to fight terror."

When the Bush administration finally brought criminal charges against Padilla in November 2005, it was to avoid a decision in the U.S. Supreme Court on his "unlawful enemy combatant" designation. The previous year, in the case of Yaser Esam Hamdi, a U.S. citizen captured in Afghanistan and held without charges as an "unlawful enemy combatant," the Court had ruled that Hamdi must have a "fair opportunity" to challenge the government's case. At that same time, the Supreme Court refused to hear Padilla's case on the pretext that his *habeas corpus* petition had been filed in the wrong court. The judge in the recent Miami trial barred both sides from even mentioning Padilla's military detention, insuring that the legality of his detention, abuse and denial of due process would continue to be sidestepped by the courts.

Padilla's conviction underlines how conspiracy prosecutions provide legal cover for repression of the government's political opponents when the state can find no evidence of criminal activity. As law professor Peter Margulies noted in reference to Padilla's case, the conspiracy charge "basically allows someone to be found guilty for something that is one step away from a thought crime" (*New York Times*, 18 August). The early trade unions in this country were outlawed as "criminal conspiracies." Leftists and union organizers were imprisoned in the U.S. on charges of conspiracy for opposing both World Wars I and II. Such prosecutions continue to this day, as seen in the frame-up of radical attorney Lynne Stewart (see "Outrage! Lynne Stewart, Mohamed Yousry, Ahmed Ahdel Sattar Convicted," *WV* No. 842, 18 February 2005).

The government succeeded in making Padilla's name virtually synonymous in the public mind with "dirty bomber" by repeatedly accusing him of having planned to set off a radioactive bomb on U.S. soil. Yet when it came time to put Padilla on trial, the government's case made no mention of a bomb, dirty or otherwise. This was not least due to the fact that the people who fingered Padilla had themselves been tortured by U.S. authorities and made no secret of that fact.

Practically the entire case against Padilla rested on what the prosecution called a "data form" allegedly representing his attempt to be admitted to an Afghan *mujahedin* training camp. But the "data form" bears no mention of Al Qaeda and does not even have Padilla's name on it. Prosecutors were allowed to blatantly inflame the jury by playing a seven-minute television interview with bin Laden—a device also used in the Lynne Stewart trial—in which he called for *jihad* against the U.S., even though there was no evidence that Padilla had even seen the clip. Despite the lack of any evidence, the jury took only a little more than a day to reach a verdict. Showing that the fix was in, they walked into court on the eve of the July 4 holiday dressed in outfits such that the rows in the jury box were colored red, white and blue! Free Padilla, Hassoun and Jayyousi!

As the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee argued in an *amici curiae* brief filed on behalf of Padilla in July 2003:

> "The 'war against terrorism' is a fiction, a political construct, not a military reality. It is a political crusade conducted in the name of ridding society of a perceived evil. It is no more a 'war' in a military sense than 'war against cancer,' 'war against obesity' or a 'war against immorality.' Like the 'war against communism' and the 'war against drugs,' this 'war' is a pretext to increase the state's police powers and repressive apparatus, constricting the democratic rights of the population. The Executive's declaration that its 'war against terrorism' forfeits constitutional protections for designated individuals echoes the regimes of shahs and colonels and presidents 'for life' from the Near East to Africa to Latin America, to justify the mass imprisonment and

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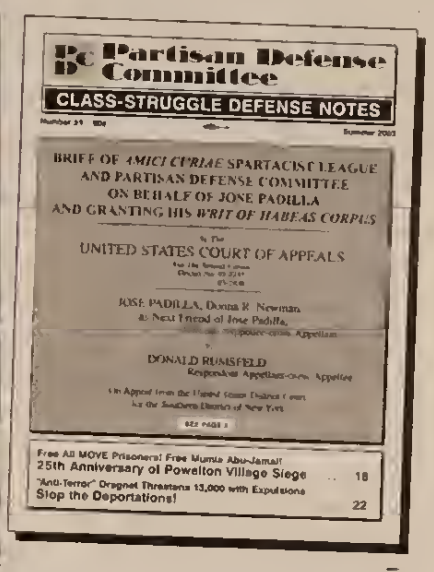
Corbis

Joint Operations Command Center in Washington, D.C., centralizes all branches of city and national security operations, including spying on political protests.

AP



Jose Padilla being transferred from military to civilian custody, January 2006. SL/PDC *amici curiae* brief on behalf of Padilla can be obtained for $.50. Order from/pay to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013-0099.

WV Photo

July 1981: San Francisco protest against California attorney general's attempt to brand Marxist SL as "terrorist."

Mexico City...

(continued from page 3)

the woman's sexual monogamy and social subordination. Engels describes the victory of private property over primitive, natural communal property as "the *world-historic defeat of the female sex*."

Capitalist society is divided into two principal classes: the bourgeoisie that owns the means of production and the proletariat that sells its labor power to create wealth and keep society running. For the working masses and the poor who have no wealth to pass on to new generations, the family serves to feed and clothe the workers and raise the next generation. Engels notes, "The modern individual family is based on the overt or covert domestic slavery of the woman; and modern society is a mass composed solely of individual families as its molecules." Still today, the institution of the family plays an economic and social role, and that is the basis of women's oppression. Thus, the struggle for women's liberation is a strategic part of the fight for socialism and can only be realized through socialist revolution.

Our perspective is not the redivision of household tasks within the family, but rather the transfer of housework altogether to the public sphere. The institution of the family as an economic unit of society cannot be abolished but must be replaced, with communal kitchens, childcare and laundries. The dictatorship of the proletariat, to the degree that it has sufficient resources at its disposal, will immediately change the material condition of women in particular, over and above the general liberating effects of the revolution, and far beyond making women and men equal in the eyes of the law.

Women's oppression is not simply a question of backward ideology and the denial of democratic rights. Male-chauvinist ideology is propagated to justify the concrete economic oppression and subjugation of women. Abortion is restricted to bolster the institution of the family, whose social role, alongside other institutions such as the church, is to teach respect for authority, act as a conservatizing force, regiment the population (especially youth) and instill a morality that proscribes anything deviating from the family ideal—from premarital sex to gay sex. Youth sexuality, even if some do not want to admit it, is a biological fact. Adolescent girls will get pregnant and need abortions. For free contraception and free abortion on demand! Down with parental consent requirements! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! We oppose "age of consent" laws in which the capitalist state dictates at what age one (typically women) can or cannot decide to have sex. We are against laws against "crimes without victims," like consensual sex, pornography and drug use.

David Bacon

interet-general.info

Left: Residents of impoverished barrio outside Monterrey. Right: Women workers at *maquiladora* textile plant.

In Mexico, with half of the population living in poverty even by official figures, the family's stultifying influence acquires even greater significance as a means for economic survival, especially for young adults who cannot find decent jobs, for the aged trying to live on miserable pensions—if they even have one—and for women, forced to stay in marriages they don't want to be in simply because they couldn't survive on their own, especially if they have children. For free 24-hour childcare!

Women and Permanent Revolution in Mexico

In all societies, the degree of women's emancipation is an accurate indicator of general emancipation. Many aspects of the anti-woman nature of Mexican society are known throughout the world. Ciudad Juárez is infamous for the hundreds of murders of women workers; the victims are typically young and often sexually mutilated. In March, Ernestina Ascencio, a 73-year-old indigenous woman, was raped and killed by members of the Mexican army in Veracruz, and [Mexican president Felipe] Calderón had the gall to declare that she had died of gastritis. Police sexually abused and raped women arrested during the brutal occupation of the town of Atenco in May 2006.

But in large part the horrid conditions of women in Mexico do not make the headlines because it is just a matter of daily life. Violence against women occurs in 60 percent of households. Open discrimination in hiring is the norm. Women are usually relegated to the most repetitive, dangerous jobs in industry, especially in the *maquiladoras* [foreign-owned "free trade" factories]. They are subjected to degrading procedures, such as regular pregnancy tests, and earn less than men for the same work. At the same time, by being integrated into industry women gain some economic independence and have become a powerful and vibrant component of the proletariat. We say: Equal pay for equal work! Organize the unorganized!

Conditions for indigenous women in Mexico are particularly brutal and demeaning, due to the intersection of greater poverty and backward traditions. In some regions, young girls are still sold into marriage! In some cases, women do not speak to men who are not family members. Indigenous women typically live in poor peasant family homes or in urban slums. Over 34.5 percent of households in indigenous municipalities lack running water and 21.1 percent lack electricity. The illiteracy rate for women aged 15 and up living in indigenous

War on Our Rights...

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> unmarked graves of political dissidents. Like them, the Executive is proclaiming the *right to disappear* citizens of its choosing."

In Britain, where preventive detention is sanctioned by law, Labour Party prime minister Gordon Brown has sought to double to 56 days the time that detainees can be held without charge. The Bush administration has sought to affirm the government's right to impose preventive detention *for life* by declaring someone an "unlawful enemy combatant"—or by accusing him of conspiracy. Adam Liptak in the *New York Times* (18 August) pointed out that while criminal prosecutions concern an alleged crime already committed, conspiracy prosecutions tend to focus on the future—to stopping supposedly dangerous people from completing their plans. He noted: "The weaker the evidence of conspiracy is, the more such a prosecution can look like a request for judicially sanctioned preventive detentions."

"Although civil libertarians protested Padilla's detention without charge, there was no significant public outcry," observed the *Christian Science Monitor*. That was not an accident. The Bush administration's evisceration of constitutional rights has been largely supported by the Democrats, whose opposition to the White House gang is based on their claim to be better suited to pursue the "war on terror." As opposed to the "Anybody but Bush" swamp of liberals and so-called leftists who seek to pressure the Democrats to "fight" all the way to the White House in 2008, we understand that the system of capitalist imperialism has been and will continue to be enforced by barbaric measures of repression until it is swept away through proletarian revolution.

Down With the Racist Death Penalty!

The new Justice Department regulations giving the Attorney General power to speed up executions hark back to the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed by Clinton. That law implemented the previous speedup on death row by gutting the right of federal *habeas corpus* appeals for those sentenced to death in the state courts. It also set up a system in which states could use "fast track" procedures enabling them to carry out death sentences more speedily and with fewer opportunities for appeal, as long as they could attest that they provided adequate representation for capital defendants. In fact, in a number of cases federal courts ruled that states were not doing enough to ensure that defendants had adequate counsel.

In last year's reauthorization of the USA Patriot Act, the job of deciding whether states were providing condemned inmates with decent lawyers was moved from federal judges to the Attorney General. The Patriot Act reauthorization passed Congress with the support of a number of key Democrats, including Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. As law professor Eric Freedman put it, since "the states were not providing competent defense representation in capital cases, Congress decided to solve the problem by the simple device of having the attorney general announce that it did not exist" (*New York Times*, 20 August).

This move to speed up executions comes at a time when ever more death row inmates are being exonerated by DNA evidence and public opinion has shifted away from previous overwhelming support for the death penalty. According to the Death Penalty Information Center, the number of executions fell from a peak of 98 in 1999 to 53 last year. Several states have halted executions in recent months because of legal challenges to the use of lethal injection.

The death penalty stands at the pinnacle of the capitalist state's arsenal of repression. And in the U.S., this barbaric institution is a legacy of black chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. Squarely in the capitalist rulers' sights today is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth and later a MOVE supporter and award-winning journalist, who was framed up and convicted of a crime he did not commit and sentenced to die explicitly for his political beliefs. The forces of racist "law and order" represented by both the Democratic and Republican parties want to see Mumia dead or locked away in prison for life because they see in him the spectre of black revolt, a voice of defiant opposition to the oppression of black people that is a cornerstone of American capitalism. Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

"War on Terror" Targets Everyone

It is not only federal agencies but local police forces whose powers have expanded as part of the "war on terror." What used to be "red squads" have resurfaced in many cities under different names as part of a broad attempt to intimidate and suppress political dissent.

In addition, under the banner of "homeland security," military and intelligence agencies are implementing changes that cross a well-established line, drawn by the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878, prohibiting military forces from conducting law enforcement on U.S. soil. This was exemplified in 2002 by the Pentagon's creation of the Northern Command, a military branch charged with coordinating operations in the U.S. against terrorism and other "threats on the homeland." The administration's plan to expand domestic access to some of the most powerful tools of 21st-century spycraft, giving police the ability to view data obtained from satellite and aircraft sensors that can see through cloud cover and even penetrate buildings, extends this danger.

Another domestic police project using military technology is a mapping "data inventory" of 133 cities being carried out by the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. Reporting on this project several years ago, military analyst William Arkin wrote: "A national 'spatial data infrastructure' will be created down to the house level. Intelligence analysts speak of one day being able to identify individual occupants, as well as their national background and political affiliations" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 November 2003).

There is an inherent tendency of the ruling class—a tiny class of exploiters who produce nothing but reap trillions in profit out of the sweat and blood of working people and who wreak death and destruction around the world—to tighten the screws on the workers and oppressed. Continuing to build up the forces of domestic repression, which the capitalists have long deployed against the brutally oppressed black masses and other minorities, is crucial to maintaining their class rule. None of the rights and gains that working people hold dear will be secure as long as the capitalists hold power. Our purpose is to build the workers party necessary to lead the proletarian socialist revolution that smashes the murderous capitalist state and replaces it with a workers state, where those who labor rule. ■

households is an astounding 32.2 percent, while for men it is 19.4 percent; in non-indigenous households it is 6.7 percent, with a minimal sex differential.

Especially in Mexico City and other large urban centers, an important sector of the population, mainly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie, does not buy into the PAN's fundamentalist Catholic ideology. Recent polls show that unlike at the national level, a larger section of the capital's population supports the abortion reform than opposes it (although by a slim margin). While some people at PRD and union demonstrations reject our paper when we point out our position on abortion, others—especially students and young women workers—will buy it precisely for that reason. We find particular receptivity among nurses, likely well aware of the results of illegal abortions, who mobilized against the dismantling of social security. In May, in a refreshing display of irreverence, a large portion of the 20,000 naked people posing in the Zócalo [main plaza in Mexico City] for Spencer Tunick's photo shoot—right in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral on a Sunday morning—chanted, "*¡Norberto Rivera, el pueblo se te encuera!*" [(Cardinal) Norberto Rivera, the people get naked for you!].

This socially more liberal sector represents an important base of support for the PRD, and it is to them that this party appeals through the abortion reform, the *sociedades de convivencia* (broadly understood as gay marriage) and proposals to legalize prostitution. But illusions in the PRD as a friend of workers and the oppressed are suicidal. The capitalist class as a whole, regardless of its conjunctural postures, is opposed to free access to abortion on demand with no restrictions because it gives women some freedom from total subordination to the family structure. It is in the interest of the working class to take up the struggle against women's oppression in counterposition to the bourgeoisie.

Neocolonial Mexico is a country of combined and uneven development, where the most modern methods of capitalist production coexist with the most archaic agricultural methods and the near-total absence of infrastructure, especially but not solely in the countryside. A fundamental obstacle to making free abortion on demand a reality, not only in Mexico City but throughout the country, is the scarcity of quality health care facilities and trained personnel, aggravated now by the PAN federal government's attacks on social security. We say: Down with social security "reform"! Free, quality health care for all!

The material resources to fully integrate women into the productive process, to begin to lay the basis for women's emancipation, to free the peasants and indigenous people from their ancestral misery, isolation and ignorance are simply lacking and cannot be achieved short of a socialist revolution that extends internationally. In our struggle for socialist revolution, we are guided by the perspective of permanent revolution formulated by

W.E. Debenham

Friedrich Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) explained basis of women's oppression in development of family system and private property.

Leon Trotsky. In the imperialist epoch, the tasks associated with bourgeois-democratic revolutions (like the French Revolution of 1789), such as national emancipation, agrarian revolution and political democracy, can only be carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry and the urban poor. Thus, the democratic aspirations of the masses—from the right to vote (which was trampled on by the attempted *desafuero* [stripping of immunity] against López Obrador and the [2006 presidential] election fraud) to the legal equality of women—are motor forces for socialist revolution. For Mexico, the overthrow of the brutal U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie by the powerful multiracial working class north of the Río Bravo will be an urgent life-and-death question. For joint class struggle in the U.S. and Mexico!

The PRD seeks to channel these just aspirations into the dead end of capitalist politics, thinly veiled with the rags of bourgeois democracy. Through bourgeois-nationalist ideology, it also seeks to blur the class divisions in society, pushing the lie that all Mexicans should "stick together" for the sake of the country. This is sheer deceit. Not only are the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie irreconcilable, but furthermore, the weak Third World bourgeoisies are inextricably tied to their imperialist masters and are utterly incapable of breaking with them to play any revolutionary role whatsoever. At best, they seek to renegotiate the terms of their own subordination to the imperialists and in the process deactivate the struggles of the mighty proletariat. When nationalist ideology is not sufficient, the PRD does not hesitate to unleash the full repressive force of the capitalist state, as it has done many times in the past.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Vanguard Party, Tribune of the People!

Lacking any interest in the preservation of the bourgeois order, the proletariat's historic mission is one of universal emancipation. Yet in every society, the ruling ideology is the ideology of the ruling class. In countries of belated capitalist development, the acute degradation of women is profoundly rooted in pre-capitalist "tradition" and religious obscurantism. The bulk of the Mexican proletariat today imbibes male-chauvinist ideology, anti-indigenous and anti-black racism and anti-Semitism, which the capitalists use in order to keep the working class divided and unaware of its social power and historic interests.

A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party —the fundamental instrument to lead the working class in a socialist revolution— can only be forged in struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology. We fight for the working class to take up the struggle for women's rights and to stand as the leader of all the oppressed. This is an essential part of the battle against capitalism. We have no illusions that this will be easy, but it is the only way to liberate humanity from the chains of exploitation and oppression.

We reject, as did the Bolsheviks before us, the degrading conception, embraced by much of the Mexican pseudo-left, that the liberation of women is "women's work"; it is an integral part of our program, fought for by our entire international organization. In sharp contrast, the left adapts to *machista* society and often indulges in disgusting displays of backward bourgeois ideology. At our April 19 speakout, we denounced the common practice by activists in Mexico of using anti-woman and anti-gay epithets to insult government officials or right-wing reactionaries. Our public exposure of this practice by the Rebeldía UNAM student collective, among others, threw them into a rage. In a more violent reaction, a member of the fake-Trotskyist Liga de Trabajadores por el Socialismo-ContraCorriente physically attacked one of our comrades who denounced his use of a vile anti-gay epithet at the October 2 Tlatelolco demonstration in 2001.

Many youth who are outraged by the horrible oppression of indigenous people look to the Zapatistas [EZLN] for leadership. But they will not get women's liberation or anything resembling a revolution from them. During the EZLN upsurge in 1994, the Zapatistas explicitly rejected the struggle for proletarian revolution, and [EZLN leader Subcomandante] Marcos regularly rejects the legacy of Lenin. Their 1993 "Revolutionary Law of Women" asserts a number of elementary democratic rights for women, but according to statements by their own members during a gathering in Oventik in December 2006 and published on their official Web site, "There is no policy regarding abortion in Zapatista territory."

It is no surprise then that Marcos has kept conspicuously silent in the heat of the present polarization. The EZLN's program is entirely circumscribed within the framework of capitalism and bourgeois democracy; it stands for reforms, like a new constitution, without touching the regime of private property, which is the basis of women's oppression. The Zapatistas are simply another manifestation of traditional Latin American populist nationalism with a certain base among the peasantry. Thus, necessarily, regardless of its conjunctural criticisms of the PRD, the EZLN remains in its orbit.

The idealization of traditional peasant culture and economy, as in the Zapatista "*caracoles*" [autonomous indigenous communities], means idealizing misery and backwardness and retaining the family structure. For the peasantry, the family *is* the economic unit of small-scale agriculture. The class interests of the peasants are based on private ownership of land, and the peasantry is incapable of reorganizing society on a collectivist basis. Their conservatizing influence can only be overcome through the leadership of the workers who participate in socialized production in industrial factories.

What is needed to put an end to the misery of indigenous people and the peasantry in general is the introduction of modern technology into the countryside: tractors, fertilizer, irrigation, along with schools, hospitals, roads and transportation. This goal can only be achieved through socialist revolution and the implementation of a collectivized, internationally planned economy.

Feminism: Bourgeois Ideology

Any struggle that does not challenge the material basis of women's oppression will not liberate women. Feminism is a bourgeois ideology that places the source of women's oppression in ideas, equating the fight for the liberation of women with the fight for women's democratic rights, i.e., for the equality of women with men under capitalism. Feminism thus opposes the possibility of liberating the masses of working women in reality, through the overthrow of the economic system that is the source of their oppression, and instead presents the main division in society as that between men and women. The goal of bourgeois feminism is to allow bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women into the male club of power and privilege, as an enemy of the proletariat.

Rejecting abortion as an ***elementary democratic right***, popular bourgeois feminist Marta Lamas writes that "we are all for abortions to come to an end; the problem is that in order to make that goal a reality there are those who think it should be penalized and others who think it should be decriminalized" (quoted in *La Jornada*, 12 April). In the face of the reactionary anti-abortion offensive, the PRD and bourgeois feminists moralistically and defensively embrace the guilt- and fear-inducing idea that abortion is dangerous and traumatic. Performed under proper sanitary conditions and by trained personnel, abortion is actually a very simple and safe medical procedure. Much of the squeamishness over abortion comes from the idea, invented by the Catholic church, that a fetus is a human being endowed with a soul, and that abortion is thus wrong. As materialists, we reject the idea of a soul.

V.I. Lenin forged the Bolshevik Party with the understanding that "the Social-Democrat's ideal should not be the trade-union secretary, but ***the tribune of the people***, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects" [*What Is To Be Done?* (1902)]. We Spartacists are committed to forging such parties internationally as the fundamental levers to bring about a communist future through socialist revolutions around the world. In the struggle for new October Revolutions, Leon Trotsky's words from 1924 ["Perspectives and Tasks in the East"] addressing the women of the East are quite applicable to Mexico and the entire semicolonial world: "There will be no better communist in the East, nor better fighter for the ideas of the revolution and the ideas of communism than the awakened woman worker."■

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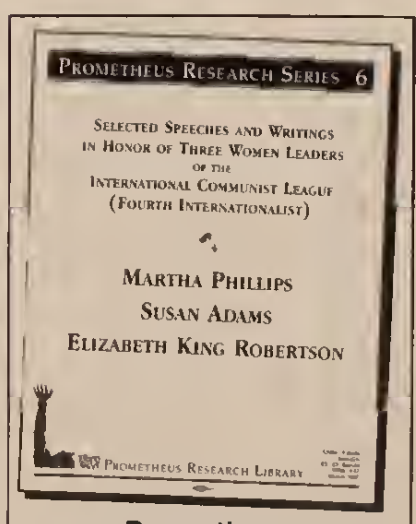

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Sacco and Vanzetti...

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following year Congress passed the Sedition Act that made criticizing the "U.S. form of government" a felony.

The Red Scare hit full stride in 1919. That year saw the crest of a wave of labor radicalism that swept Europe in response to the carnage of WWI and under the impact of the Russian Revolution. In the U.S., the ranks of the SP swelled to more than 100,000, mostly foreign-born workers, with two-thirds supporting the pro-Bolshevik left wing. The U.S. was hit by the biggest strike wave up to that time, as four million workers walked off their jobs in response to inflation induced by the war. In Seattle, a general strike brought the city to a halt for five days in February 1919, while later that year longshoremen refused to load munitions being sent to counter-revolutionaries seeking to overthrow the young Soviet workers state.

The U.S. bourgeoisie whipped up hysteria over a series of bombings attributed to anarchists. After an attempt to bomb his home in June 1919, U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer unleashed an additional wave of repression, ranting that revolution was "licking at the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundation of society." In November the Palmer Raids were launched with the arrests of over 3,000 foreign-born radicals. Ultimately, at least 6,000 would be deported. As the world capitalist order stabilized, the 1920s in the U.S., now

UPI

Labor Defender

Massachusetts judge Webster Thayer sentenced Sacco and Vanzetti to death. Right: Electric chair used in their execution.

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as 15-year-old Minister of Information of Philadelphia Black Panthers.

the world's chief capitalist power, was a decade of rampant reaction: further anti-immigrant legislation was passed in 1921 and 1924; anti-trust laws were used to break strikes; labor militants and Communists were thrown in jail. Growing by leaps and bounds, the Ku Klux Klan marched 40,000-strong in Washington, D.C.

Sacco and Vanzetti came to symbolize those caught in the web of repression. Each had come to the United States in 1908. Within five years they had become anarchists and subscribers to the Italian-language anarchist newspaper *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Chronicle of Subversion) of Luigi Galleani. Sacco's name appeared frequently in the paper's column announcing organizing activities, particularly raising money for political prisoners and jailed strikers. Sacco helped raise funds for workers and their arrested leaders during the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts. The following year he helped organize strike pickets at the Hopedale Paper Mill and in December 1916 was one of three Massachusetts anarchists arrested for holding a meeting without a permit in solidarity with striking iron workers in Minnesota. Also in 1916, Vanzetti raised funds to support strikers at the giant Plymouth Cordage plant, at which he had previously worked.

Sacco and Vanzetti met for the first time in 1917 in Mexico, where many Galleanists had gone to avoid registering for the draft. Sacco returned to the U.S. after a few months. Vanzetti returned later, at a time of intense repression against *Cronaca Sovversiva*, including repeated raids on its offices and confiscation of the paper, which was banned from the mails. In February 1918, federal agents raided the *Cronaca* office in Lynn, Massachusetts, seizing 5,000 addresses of subscribers, including Sacco and Vanzetti. Eighty Galleanists were arrested, and Galleani himself was deported in 1919.

The Frame-Up

On 24 December 1919, an attempt was made to rob a payroll truck as it approached the L. Q. White shoe factory in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. When payroll guards fired back, the two gunmen fled to a waiting black car which drove off. Witnesses described the gunmen as "foreigners." One who fired a shotgun was said to have a dark complexion and black moustache. On 15 April 1920, two employees of the Slater & Morrill shoe company in South Braintree, outside of Boston, were attacked by two men as they carried the factory payroll. Paymaster Frederick Parmenter and his assistant Alessandro Berardelli were shot and killed, and the bandits escaped with others in a dark-colored car.

Three weeks later, on May 5, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested in a trap set by Bridgewater police chief Michael Stewart, who sought to pin both robberies on anarchists. The two anarchists, along with their comrades Ricardo Orciani and Mike Boda, had sought to retrieve Boda's car from a West Bridgewater garage where it was being repaired. As prearranged with Chief Stewart, the owner refused to turn over the car, and his wife called the cops. After the anarchists left the garage, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on a streetcar to Boston.

Never told that they were robbery suspects, Sacco and Vanzetti believed that they were being arrested for their political activities. In his court testimony, Vanzetti described the questioning by Stewart: "He asked me why we were in Bridgewater, how long I know Sacco, if I am a Radical, if I am an anarchist or Communist, and he asked me if I believe in the government of the United States."

The immediate backdrop to their arrests was the death two days before of fellow anarchist Andrea Salsedo, who had plunged 14 floors from the Department of Justice office in New York City. Arrested in February, Salsedo and Roberto Elia had been held incommunicado. In late April, Grupo Autonomo, a cell of Italian anarchists, had sent Vanzetti to New York to obtain information about the two. There he was advised by the Italian Defense Committee to dump any radical literature as more raids were anticipated. For that purpose, on May 5 they went to retrieve Boda's car. When arrested, they did not tell the cops the purpose of their visit to the garage.

Vanzetti was first tried on frame-up charges for the failed robbery in Bridgeport in an attempt by the state to stick either him or Sacco with a criminal record before trial on the Braintree murder charges. Felix Frankfurter described the farce in *The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti* (1927):

> "The evidence of identification of Vanzetti in the Bridgewater case bordered on the frivolous, reaching its climax in the testimony of a little newsboy who, from behind the telegraph pole to which he had run for refuge during the shooting, had caught a glimpse of the criminal and 'knew by the way he ran he was a foreigner.' Vanzetti was a foreigner, so of course it was Vanzetti!"

Despite the testimony of 18 witnesses that he was in Plymouth selling eels at the time, Vanzetti was convicted of assault charges. Vanzetti and Sacco were then immediately indicted for the Braintree murders.

The murder trial began on 31 May 1921 in Dedham, Massachusetts, with a platoon of cops armed with riot guns stationed on the courthouse steps. Even a federal agent noted that "the feeling in Dedham against Italians is very strong, and will probably get stronger as the trial progresses" (quoted in William Young and David E. Kaiser, *Postmortem: New Evidence in the Case of Sacco and Vanzetti* [1985]). Five of the jurors were chosen from a pool of personal acquaintances of a sheriff's deputy. Jury foreman Walter Ripley was a former police chief who began every court session by ostentatiously standing and saluting the flag. When a friend told Ripley before the trial that he didn't believe Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty, Ripley snapped back, "Damn them, they ought to hang them anyway!"

In his opening remarks, Judge Thayer called on the jurors to render service "with the same spirit of patriotism, courage and devotion to duty as was exhibited by our soldier boys across the seas." With Thayer's support, prosecutor Frederick Katzmann cross-examined Sacco as to whether his collection of anarchist and socialist literature was "in the interests of the United States." To inflame the jury, Katzmann asked repeated questions about their avoiding the draft by going to Mexico, and in his jury instructions Judge Thayer repeatedly referred to Sacco and Vanzetti as "slackers."

As in Mumia's 1982 frame-up trial, there was a total lack of evidence. None of the stolen loot was ever found on or near them. Thirteen alibi witnesses placed Vanzetti in Plymouth selling fish. Witnesses also testified that Sacco was in Boston at the time of the killing. Among them was a clerk from the Italian consulate, where on the day of the killing Sacco had gone to get a passport.

Eyewitnesses initially told the cops that they had not seen enough to identify the gunman; they were coerced to change their accounts. Two of them initially identified a photo of New York bank robber Anthony Palmisano, who was in prison at the time, as that of the shooter. Witness Lola Andrews, a part-time nurse with a history of prostitution and insurance fraud, identified Sacco as a man whom she asked for directions shortly before the shooting. On cross-examination, Andrews conceded that she was pressured by Katzmann to say that Sacco was that man. Other eyewitnesses testified that Sacco was not the killer. Barbara Liscomb testified that the gunman she saw standing over Berardelli looked directly at her, and it wasn't Sacco. Additional witnesses were concealed by the prosecution, such as Roy Gould, who was crossing the street when he was shot at by someone in the get-away car. The description of the shooter Gould gave to the cops could not have been that of either Sacco or Vanzetti.

Equally specious was the ballistics evidence. Six .32 calibre bullets were removed from Parmenter and Berardelli, ruling out the .38 revolver Vanzetti had on him when arrested. There was no formal record of custody for the bullets to document who handled them and when. All of the witnesses testified that there was only one gunman and only one pistol used. This was confirmed by the doctor performing the autopsy, George McGrath, who testified to the grand jury that all of the bullets "looked exactly alike," with the same markings. Nevertheless, the prosecution came up with a "Bullet III" that, unlike the others, had a left twist, claiming that this was from Sacco's .32.

In a post-trial affidavit submitted by the defense in 1923, the state's chief ballistics expert, Captain Proctor, noted that he had told the prosecutor that if asked specifically whether tests showed that Bullet III passed through Sacco's gun, he would have answered no. But after repeated badgering by the D.A., Proctor agreed to testify that the bullet was consistent with one from Sacco's gun. Proctor later stated that he never believed the bullet passed through Sacco's gun.

Despite the utter lack of evidence, the jury returned with guilty verdicts after only five hours of deliberation. In December 1921, Judge Thayer turned down a motion for a new trial. Though conceding the weakness of the prosecution's case, Thayer ruled that "the evidence that convicted these defendants was circumstantial and was evidence that is known in law as 'consciousness of guilt'," supposedly manifested by the lies Sacco and Vanzetti told when arrested in order to protect themselves and their comrades. As the 1927 ILD pamphlet *Labor's Martyrs* written by Max Shachtman put it, "The consciousness of guilt attributed to Sacco and Vanzetti was nothing but a healthy consciousness of the class struggle and the methods of the enemies of the working class."

Parallels with Frame-Up of Mumia

Everything used to convict Sacco and Vanzetti—phony ballistics, terrorization of witnesses, use of the defendants' political background to inflame the jury—would be replicated in Mumia's trial 60 years later. Prosecutor Joseph McGill argued to the nearly all-white jury that Mumia's Black Panther Party membership 12 years earlier proved that he had been planning to kill a cop. The prosecutors' two main witnesses were coerced into changing their testimony, and witnesses who could exonerate Mumia were terrorized into not coming forward.

As documented in the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*, a ballistics expert testified that the fatal bullet was "consistent" with Mumia's gun—but there is no evidence that Mumia's gun, a .38 calibre, was even fired that night, or even what gun was used! The Medical Examiner's report states that Faulkner was shot with a .44 calibre bullet. A witness to the shooting, William Singletary, said that the killer used a .22 calibre. Years later, Arnold Beverly came forward to confess to the killing and said that the gun he used was a .22. As part of a broad-ranging conceal-

ment and doctoring of evidence, there is a missing bullet fragment from Faulkner's wound and a missing Medical Examiner's X-ray of Faulkner's body.

The most spectacular evidence that Sacco and Vanzetti and later Mumia did not commit the crimes for which they were sentenced to death consisted of the confessions of professional criminals exonerating them. And in both cases, the courts threw out the evidence.

In November 1925, Celestino Madeiros, in Dedham prison awaiting an appeal for his 1924 conviction for murdering a bank guard, passed a note to Sacco stating, "I hear by confess to being in the south Braintree shoe company crime and Sacco and Vanzetti was not in said crime" (*The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti*). Medeiros subsequently swore an affidavit stating that the robbery was carried out by a group fitting the description of the Morelli gang, which was wanted for a series of freight train robberies, and that five others were involved. Shortly after the robbery, Medeiros had $2,800 in the bank, which would represent his share of the stolen payroll. Two friends of Medeiros later confirmed that he had described to them the role he and the Morellis played. Many years later, in his book *My Life in the Mafia*, Vincent Teresa described a meeting with Frank Morelli in the 1950s during which Morelli complained about a *Boston Globe* article accusing his gang of involvement in the Braintree murders. Morelli told him, "What they said was true, but it's going to hurt my kid."

In 2001, Marlene Kamish and Eliot Grossman, attorneys for Mumia at the time, submitted to state and federal courts the affidavit of Arnold Beverly that he, and not Mumia, shot officer Faulkner. According to Beverly, he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly's testimony is supported by a mountain of evidence and ties together loose threads previously unexplained. Beverly had sworn his confession in 1999 to PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was on Mumia's legal team at that time but who resigned that year when his lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, along with Dan Williams, suppressed Beverly's confession.

The ILD waged a hard political battle against those who threw up obstacles to class-struggle defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Today we face similar obstacles, and then some, in our effort to mobilize labor-centered protest to demand Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man. The Sacco and Vanzetti case occurred in a period marked by the October Revolution, which inspired militant fighters around the world and drew a sharp dividing line between those who defended the Soviet Union and those who sided with the capitalist rulers. Today's world is profoundly shaped by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92, following decades of Stalinist betrayal. As the bourgeois rulers proclaim the lie of the "death of communism," the bulk of the left, which in the main joined in the imperialists' anti-Soviet campaigns, places its political activity solidly within the framework of the "democratic" capitalist order.

Whereas in Sacco and Vanzetti's case it was the prosecution who vilified the Medeiros confession, today many liberals and reformist leftists among Mumia's defenders sling mud at the Beverly confession and even cast doubt on Mumia's own 2001 statement that he did not shoot Daniel Faulkner. Representative of these types is David Lindorff, whose book *Killing Time: An Investigation Into the Death Row Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (2003) is dedicated to trashing the Beverly evidence. Lindorff states, "I'm not convinced that Mumia Abu-Jamal was simply an innocent bystander" and concludes that Mumia may have shot Faulkner (see "David Lindorff, Michael Schiffmann: Undermining Mumia's Fight for Freedom," *WV* No. 892, 11 May).

Why would Mumia's ostensible defenders attack the Beverly confession? The Beverly evidence makes clear that the injustice to Mumia was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice. This understanding is directly contrary to the liberal framework of Lindorff & Co., who embrace the very "justice" system that at every level has declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case, that Mumia has no rights that it is bound to respect. Imbibing bourgeois liberalism, Socialist Action, Workers World Party and other reformist groups helped demobilize what had been a powerful protest movement by subordinating the call for Mumia's freedom to the call for a new trial. In so doing, they have sought to appeal to those in the "mainstream" who see the legal hell that Mumia has been put through as a stain on the image of American "justice."

The political battle against such illusions in capitalist "justice" must be won if labor's social power is to be wielded on Mumia's behalf. Many unions and union organizations have voiced their support for Mumia. But to turn this sentiment into labor protest and strike action requires fighting against the policies of the pro-capitalist union leaders, who see "friends" in the bosses' government and political parties. We fight for a class-struggle defense strategy that places no faith in the justice of the courts and all faith in the power of the workers. In doing this, we honor the memory of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Germany, France...

(continued from page 16)

charges against Olivier Besancenot and the RAID-H!" Noting a recently issued restriction on the right to strike for railway workers as well as roundups of immigrant workers, the letter stated that the attack on the LCR and RAID-H "targets all of the workers movement. It is intended to intimidate and send a clear message to all those who oppose increased state repression against the left, the unions, *banlieue* [working-class and minority suburb] youth and immigrants."

Also, Gauche Révolutionnaire, French affiliate of Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers' International, reports in the July-August issue of their newspaper *l'Egalité* that two of their members were detained for three hours after ten cops descended on them while they sold their newspaper in the town of Creil. The "offense," according to the title of the official police report, was "Unauthorized Street Selling of Militant Material Against the Head of State."

If left unchallenged, these attacks on the left and the workers movement will serve as a precedent for silencing any criticism or opposition to the bourgeois rulers. Particularly following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalists and their government in Europe have attacked health care, pensions and other gains as part of their attempt to intensify the exploitation of the working class, the better to compete against their U.S. and Japanese imperialist rivals. The attempt to roll back these gains has met with resistance from workers and youth throughout Europe. It is in the direct interest of the workers movement to fight the rulers' attacks on the left and their attempt to equate political opposition with terrorism.

We print below an August 21 letter by the Committee for Social Defense, associated with the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, to the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office protesting the attack on the Militant Group. Since the letter was written, the Humboldt sociologist, Andrej Holm, has been released on bail.

* * *

Axel H., Florian L., Oliver R. and Dr. Andrej Holm have been held in investigative detention in Berlin since July 30-31, suspected of "belonging to a terrorist organization." They are thus threatened with lengthy jail sentences under the rightly hated paragraph 129a pertaining to thought crimes. Three of the men are suspected of having tried to set a Bundeswehr vehicle on fire. Andrej Holm, a sociologist at Humboldt University, is accused of holding criminal political views and of having ties to the other people arrested. On the basis of his academic work and leftist activity, the charge of intellectual leadership of an ostensible "terrorist organization," the "Militant Group" (MG), has been fabricated. Detention of this sort, resting on scholarly writings and connections, is a transparent fabrication intended to frighten academics and social scientists away from even researching social protest. In addition to these four, three other people, including Matthias B., are being investigated. Because he holds a doctorate in political science, Dr. Matthias B. has been accused of being intellectually capable of writing "the sophisticated texts of the 'Militant Group'." Additionally, it is claimed that "as an employee in a research institute, libraries were accessible to him that he could use inconspicuously to carry out the research requisite to drafting the texts of the 'Militant Group'." This charge is a threat to all those whose reading activities the state cannot yet keep track of via the Internet or other sources.

We protest these arrests in the strongest possible terms! We demand the immediate release of the four prisoners and the dropping of all proceedings against the seven accused.

Reportedly, the victims of these arrests have been persecuted and spied on in their most intimate activities for nearly a year in the search for pretexts for their arrest. The aim of such attacks on the elementary right to privacy can only be to threaten and isolate all those who protest against war, exploitation and oppression. This dismantling of democratic rights is ultimately aimed at the working class and its organizations.

These arrests constitute a further provocative escalation of state oppression of the left and the entire workers movement. They are in line with the arbitrary raids against leftist centers in the context of the protests against the G8 summit, including protests against the deployment of the Bundeswehr to Afghanistan. When banning the demonstrations proved unsuccessful, the state unleashed massive terror against the demonstrators whom it is now trying to brand and persecute as "terrorists." We stand with millions in defense of such justified protests against torture chambers like Guantánamo, against the bloody occupation of the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, against the daily racist deportations and massive assaults on wages and social benefits. We will do everything in our power to make this monstrous attack on the most basic democratic rights known to the international working class.

We demand that all surveillance of the accused and their families be stopped and that all the data that has been collected be wiped out. Now as ever we demand that the "anti-terror" paragraph 129a/b be stricken from the books!■

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

into the bedrock of American capitalism, from the days of slavery through the days of Jim Crow to today. The cops' job is to "serve and protect" this racist capitalist system from the just anger of those being oppressed: blacks, immigrants, workers, the poor. We need labor-centered protest against racist cop terror! The multiracial labor movement has the power which needs to be mobilized in defense of black rights.

I don't care whether you're a Democratic or Republican politician. The Democrats have been running this city for 80 years—"Segregation City." It's not just Daley either. I don't care if you're a black Democrat. Remember: Harold Washington was mayor during part of the time when Burge was doing his torturing.

We can't have any illusions in the federal government that they are any better. The Feds—these are the people who are shredding everybody's civil rights at home, the government that is waging a brutal imperialist war on the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan in the name of the "war on terror." And who is filling up the prisons with black youth? It's the government's "war on drugs," a war against the ghettos and the barrios. The Feds are the people who carried out the COINTELPRO attacks on the Black Panther Party, including the assassinations of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark right down the block here, including the surveillance of former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner on death row right now for 25 years who was framed up for his political views. We say: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!

So people are angry, and people have a right to be angry. People have been brutalized, oppressed, segregated. The wrecking ball has been taken to their homes. They've been laid off, jailed, beaten and murdered for too long. It's the system, the racist capitalist system. And there's no reforming it. We need to mobilize the power of the multiracial labor movement to protest racist cop terror. The only way we're going to end racist cop terror is by fighting to put an end to this racist capitalist system, by fighting for socialist revolution.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.
Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-li.org • **E-mail address:** vanguard@tiac.net

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, (212) 732-7860

Chicago ..... Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680, (312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 222 S. Morgan (Buzzer 23)

Los Angeles ..... Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029, (213) 380-8239
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 2-5 p.m., 3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York ..... Box 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008, (212) 267-1025
nysl@tiac.net
Public Office: Sat. 1-4 p.m., 299 Broadway, Suite 318

Oakland ..... Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604, (510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: Sat. 1-5 p.m.,1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco... Box 77494, San Francisco, CA 94107, slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto ..... Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
spartcan@on.aibn.com

Vancouver ..... Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353
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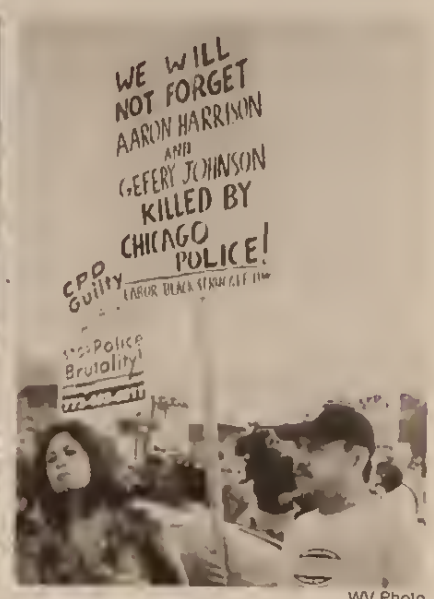
WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago Cops Keep on Killing

PDC Speaker: Mobilize Labor! Protest Racist Cop Terror!

For the Chicago police, it is once again "open season" on black men. On August 4, a police sergeant killed 42-year-old Gefery Johnson in his home on Chicago's South Side with taser shocks as he was handcuffed naked in the bathroom, shouting, "They're killing me!" Just two days later, Aaron Harrison, an 18-year-old high school student, was chased into an alley on the West Side and fatally shot in the back by Special Operations officers. On August 21, Johnny Goodwin, 21 years of age, was shot and killed by Gresham District tactical squad cops. And on August 23, Eric Tonson, a 17-year-old student at Orr High School, was critically wounded by a shot in the neck by a cop who later claimed that the unarmed youth had "reached toward his waistband."

James/Chicago Tribune



WV Photo

Left: Angry residents of Chicago's West Side at August 6 protest against cop killing of Aaron Harrison that night. Right: Labor Black Struggle League at August 10 rally against police terror.

This wave of cop terror, in particular the shooting of Aaron Harrison, has sparked a series of angry protests drawing hundreds of people who have braved police intimidation. On August 6, cops arrested five black youth who had participated in a protest in Harrison's West Side neighborhood earlier that day, holding them incommunicado overnight. The cops then slapped them with trumped-up charges of aggravated battery on a police officer and "mob action." The Partisan Defense Committee issued a protest letter on August 10 to Mayor Richard Daley Jr. demanding, "Hands off the anti-police-brutality protesters!" Labor, civil rights organizations and others must demand all charges be dropped!

The latest cop shootings give the lie to the police "reform" scheme pushed by Democratic mayor Daley and passed by the City Council in July. This utterly cosmetic ordinance removed control of the city's Office of Professional Standards—the agency that reviews complaints of police "misconduct"—from the police department and placed it in the mayor's hands. This supposedly innovative change was in direct response to two highly publicized videos of police beatings in bars, one of which depicts a drunken off-duty cop caught beating a female bartender. As the ordinance was being pushed through, it was revealed that 30 officers from the same Special Operations unit that later killed Harrison had amassed 862 allegations of brutality and other "misconduct."

Many of those protesting the current cop rampage are bitter over last year's whitewashing of the torture scandal involving former Lieutenant Jon Burge, who from 1973 to 1991 headed the police Violent Crimes Unit. A special prosecutor's report released last year acknowledged some instances of wrongdoing but covered up the far-reaching web of those involved. Burge and his henchmen had regularly extracted "confessions" from black "suspects" on the South Side through gruesome methods of torture. This was done with the complicity of the city's Democratic Party machine, including when black mayor Harold Washington was in charge in the 1980s. The only penalty Burge received was his dismissal from the force in 1993.

On August 10, the Spartacist League and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League joined more than 300 people at a rally on the West Side called by the family of Aaron Harrison, the Rev. Paul Jakes, Democratic Party pol Al Sharpton and his National Action Network, whose central demand was for a federal investigation into the police shootings and harassment. We print below, edited for publication, the speech by a representative of the PDC at the protest.

* * *

We are outraged by the brutal killing of two black men, Aaron Harrison and Gefery Johnson, by the Chicago police! Outraged! My name is Brian Mendis. I'm with the Partisan Defense Committee. We're a legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, and we take up cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people.

These racist killings by the Chicago Police Department were no aberration. In fact, the brutalization and oppression of black people is part of the job of these thugs in blue. Black oppression is built

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Germany, France

Protest Government Repression Against Leftists!

As part of a crackdown by several European governments against left organizations in recent months, several leftist activists and professors in Germany are being accused of membership in the Militante Gruppe (Militant Group—MG), which the German state has deemed "a terrorist organization." After having been spied on for a year, three people face long prison sentences after allegedly attempting to set fire to trucks of the German army (Bundeswehr). In addition, a sociologist at Humboldt University and a political scientist at the Free University of Berlin are accused of being MG members solely on the basis of their academic writings. The legal basis for this attack is paragraph 129a of the German criminal code, which gives the state the means to go after its perceived opponents on the basis of their beliefs and to imprison them without any evidence of any crime committed.

These attacks are a continuation of the brutal police attacks on leftists who protested against the imperialist Group of Eight summit in Germany in June (see "Germany: For Mass Working-Class Protest Against State Repression!" *WV* No. 894, 8 June). The state is trying to pin the label of "terrorist" on any leftist who expresses opposition to the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system.

As a measure of the broad sweep of the attacks on the workers movement in Germany, Mag Wompel, editor of the labournet.de Web site, is being sued by the Ixion firm for publishing material about a labor dispute. The supposed "defamation" consists of a posting on the Web site in which an Ixion worker used the word "capitalist" and described as "blackmail" threats by management that workers would lose their jobs if they refused to accept worse pay and working conditions. This is a frontal assault on freedom of speech that threatens anyone who supports workers struggles.

Left groups are also under attack in France, where the SMP Technologies company, supplier of taser guns to French police, has filed a defamation lawsuit against Olivier Besancenot, main spokesman for the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), and the group RAID-H (Human Rights Alert and Intervention Network). When newly elected right-wing president Nicolas Sarkozy was Interior Minister, he equipped 3,000 police with the SMP's Taser X26 paralyzing stun gun. Based on a 28 March 2006 report by Amnesty International, Besancenot argued that these guns have indirectly caused the death of dozens of people in the United States. He now faces a fine of 50,000 euros for damages under the lawsuit.

The Committee for Social Defense, associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, issued an August 27 letter to the French courts demanding, "Drop the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 898 | GCU C-701 | 14 September 2007

Democrats, Republicans: Enemies of Workers, Oppressed

Labor: Defend Immigrant Rights!

Rubiera/Fayetteville Observer (top photo), Standard-Times

Top: Smithfield workers demonstrate in November 2006 outside Tar Heel, North Carolina plant demanding end to victimization of immigrant workers. Above: Immigration cops raid leather plant in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in March.

As part of an escalating anti-immigrant onslaught, the Bush administration announced in August that it would massively expand its program of "no match letters," requiring employers to fire immigrants whose Social Security numbers do not match up with government files. This directly threatens many of the roughly 12 million undocumented immigrants—as well as countless others whose Social Security numbers the Feds got wrong—with unemployment, arrest and deportation. While the courts have put the current plan on hold, many immigrants have already lost their jobs due to "mismatched" numbers.

This is also a way to attack the labor movement as a whole by purging militant workers. A case in point is the Smithfield pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina—the largest such plant in the world. Last month, 25 workers were arrested for "no match" Social Security numbers, from a list supplied by the company. The arrests came amid a years-long organizing effort by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) at this notoriously anti-union facility in "open shop" North Carolina. When 75 immigrants were similarly victimized last November, the company was forced to reinstate them after a two-day walkout of more than 1,000 workers, mainly Latino immigrants but also including black and white workers. Two months later, 21 workers were arrested by Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E.) cops and then deported.

What's needed is a concerted effort by the whole UFCW, backed by all labor, to beat back company/government victimizations and organize Smithfield. A victory here would resound throughout the open shop South, where the racist color bar has historically been used to keep black people down and trade unions out, and would help revitalize labor throughout the U.S., where the rate of union membership in private industry is at its lowest point in over a century.

As Marxists who champion the interests of the international working class, we say: Anyone who has made it to this country has the right to stay here—***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations!*** In a joint declaration issued last year by the Spartacist League/U.S. and our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), we wrote:

"Defense of immigrant rights is necessary not only to fight the exploitation of the most vulnerable layers of the population. It is also crucial to reversing the decades-long decline of the trade unions, by enlisting immigrant workers, many of whom have a history of militant struggle, in the front ranks of the labor movement. Mexican immigrant workers can serve as a human bridge linking the struggles of the North American and Latin American proletariat.

"Opposition to anti-immigrant racism in the U.S. is directly intertwined with the struggle against black oppression. It is particularly important to combat anti-immigrant chauvinism among U.S.-born black and white workers, while immigrant workers must grasp that anti-black racism remains the touchstone of social reaction in the U.S."

—*WV* No. 867, 31 March 2006

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

U.S., Mexican Workers: For Joint Class Struggle!

Imperialism's Labor Lieutenants

The need for some hard class struggle by the American working class could not be clearer. Unions continue to take a beating as workers' health benefits are torn up and their pensions are looted. Now the bursting of the speculative mortgage bubble that has kept the housing market afloat threatens a broader economic collapse in which millions in this country would face losing their homes and jobs. Mexico, meanwhile, has seen huge outpourings of social protest against extortionate food price increases and other attacks on the already impoverished masses. A number of strikes and other struggles have been punctuated by pitched battles with murderous cops and troops.

The situation cries out for ***solidarity in struggle*** by workers on both sides of the border against the U.S. imperialist rulers and their henchmen in Mexico. First and foremost, such a perspective demands that the multiracial working class in the U.S. stand forthrightly in defense of the rights of workers from Mexico, Central America and elsewhere who live and work here and face a rising tide of anti-immigrant chauvinism and state repression. But that poses pointblank the need for a new, class-struggle leadership of labor, forged in the fight for a workers party in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital.

This was brought home earlier this month when, under a provision of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Mexican truckers were to be allowed to operate on major U.S. highways for the first time since they were banned in 1982. The U.S. labor movement should have seized on this as an opportunity to fight for equal pay for equal work at the highest existing wage levels, a demand that would undermine the trucking bosses' effort to lower wages by pitting U.S. and Mexican workers against each other. Such a struggle could serve as a spur to reverse decades of union-busting "deregulation" in the American trucking industry, which has led to a sharp drop in union membership. It would also be widely popular among working people in Mexico, where NAFTA has further impoverished millions of workers and peasants, fueling a mass exodus of people looking for work in the U.S.

But instead of organizing against the trucking bosses, the Teamsters bureaucracy under James Hoffa Jr. escalated its years-long chauvinist vendetta against Mexican truckers. After the union joined the Sierra Club and others in demanding a court injunction to bar Mexican drivers, on September 6 Teamsters members were mobilized to protest at the border with signs railing against "Unsafe Mexican Trucks." The treachery of this flag-waving campaign was made clear by Teamsters national vice president Jim Santangelo, who pushed the "homeland security" line used to justify the government's reactionary "war on terror": "This is not about unions organizing these guys. It's all about homeland security

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FROM THE ARCHIVES OF MARXISM

FRIEDRICH ENGELS
"ON AUTHORITY"

We print below "On Authority" by Friedrich Engels, written between October 1872 and March 1873 and published first in Italy in December 1873. In refuting arguments raised by anarchists and echoed by some socialists, Engels pointed to the experience of the Paris Commune of March-May 1871, when the proletariat briefly governed the city before being crushed by the French army with the support of German forces, with over 20,000 slaughtered. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, described the Paris Commune as the first historical expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat—i.e., a workers state.

Engels' polemic has resonance in today's ideological climate, which is overwhelmingly conditioned by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The bourgeois rulers' lying proclamation of the "death of communism" has provided fertile ground for the re-emergence of anarchist and other retrograde political tendencies.

Illustrated London News

Proclamation of the Paris Commune, 26 March 1871.

The following translation is taken from the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels (International Publishers, 1988).

* * *

A number of socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the ***principle of authority***. It is sufficient for them to say that this or that act is ***authoritarian*** for it to be condemned. This summary mode of procedure is being abused to such an extent that it has become necessary to look into the matter somewhat more closely. Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, since these two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether—given the conditions of present-day society—we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear. On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains, just as the small schooners and sailing feluccas have been by steam-boats. Even agriculture falls increasingly under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly put in the place of the small proprietors big capitalists, who with the aid of hired workers cultivate vast stretches of land. Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?

Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capitalists, who now exercise their authority over the production and circulation of wealth. Supposing, to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and the instruments of labour had become the collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have changed its form? Let us see.

Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy. The workers must, therefore, first come to an understanding on the hours of work; and these hours, once they are fixed, must be observed by all, without any exception. Thereafter particular questions arise in each room and at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution of materials, etc., which must be settled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labour or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of the single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means that questions are settled in an authoritarian way. The automatic machinery of the big factory is much more despotic than the small capitalists who employ workers ever have been. At least with regard to the hours of work one may write upon the portals of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate!* [Leave, ye that enter in, all autonomy behind!] If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organisation. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Let us take another example—the railway. Here, too, the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is very pronounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train dispatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

G. Lester

Friedrich Engels

But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one.

When I submitted arguments like these to the most rabid anti-authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes, that's true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, ***but af a commission entrusted***! These gentlemen think that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Gérard Le Méteil

Workers Vanguard

1959–2007

It is with profound grief that we inform our readers of the death of our beloved comrade Gérard Le Méteil, a member of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, who died in Dieppe on September 3 in unknown circumstances after having been taken into police custody, allegedly for public intoxication. We extend our deep sympathy especially to Gérard's eight-year-old son Nicolas and also to Nicolas' mother Valérie, the whole Le Méteil family and his many friends. A close comrade of Gérard's wrote in tribute: "The loss of Gérard is immensely painful for us all, for our party, and for each of us individually. It is a political loss but it is also a personal loss. Everyone valued Gérard on both levels: as a comrade and as a friend. The party was his reason for living and he always put the party's needs before his own personal options. He dedicated the best 25 years of his life to the party."

Gérard joined the LTF in April 1982 and was elected to the Central Committee at the LTF's Eleventh National Conference in December 1989. He was won to the Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]), in part through his involvement in a December 1981 united-front labor mobilization against the fascists initiated by the LTF in Rouen, a port and industrial center in northwest France. Four to five hundred protesters were mobilized, including some 200 trade unionists and a bloc of students from the Ecole Normale (teachers college) that Gérard, working with an LTF comrade, had organized. The mobilization strengthened the roots of the LTF's local in Rouen, where Gérard worked for much of his life.

Key issues in the recruitment of Gérard, who had been involved in a Communist Party sports organization, were the importance of the Leninist vanguard party and the Trotskyist position in defense of the Soviet Union. Before he joined, Gérard took part in an LTF meeting at the Tolbiac campus of the University of Paris on 2 March 1982. A move by the Polish Stalinist regime against the reactionary Solidarność "union" had taken place only months before in that deformed workers state. France, under social democrat François Mitterrand's popular front, was the cockpit of the anti-Soviet mobilization in Europe, in which the pseudo-Trotskyists played an active role.

As elsewhere, the Tolbiac campus was polarized. LTF comrades in Rouen were literally spat on by leftists who had earlier marched with us against the fascists. Our comrades at Tolbiac had received phone threats, and Gérard came down from Rouen to join the successful defense of our meeting against a howling mob of over 30 fake Trotskyists and others. At the close of the meeting, a gauntlet of campus security guards (*vigiles*) and *autonome* youth combined to attack those leaving. A comrade recalled that in the raging street fight that ensued, "Gérard displayed considerable physical courage and connected with some well-placed punches." Shortly after that experience, Gérard applied for membership in the LTF.

During the next seven years, he became known as an extremely energetic and talented activist on the Rouen campus. He would jump on a table in the campus cafeteria and, with a passionate speech, mobilize students to protest an atrocity perpetrated by the government or the campus administration. This work also meant daily political combat against our opponents on the left. Constantly seeking to win people over, trying to understand where they came from and finding the convincing arguments contributed to the political wisdom and depth for which he was known. Gérard later brought this experience to bear in his political education of our younger comrades, several of whom have become cadres in the LTF and other sections of the ICL.

Gérard was a teacher by profession and a longtime member of the SNUipp union. His death did not go unnoticed among leftists and unionists in the region and elsewhere. Postal workers organized a minute of silence in a general assembly during the night shift at the Créteil sorting center in Paris on September 5.

Since Gérard had been won hard to the understanding that we are above all the party of the Russian Revolution, it was completely in character that he took time off work to throw himself into the ICL's intervention into the nascent East German political revolution in 1989-90. Known as one who looked outside the French "hexagon," he followed the work of our entire international with the greatest attention. An excellent military leader, he was in charge of our security squad at the July 2001 mass demonstration against the Group of Eight imperialists in Genoa, Italy, where the cop rampage left at least one young protester dead.

Gérard's detailed knowledge of French politics and of the history of the workers movement extended to the former and current French colonies. He researched and gave a forum on the French general strike of June 1936, when the Stalinists sabotaged the possibility of workers revolution. An article based on his talk was published in *Le Bolchévik* Nos. 179 and 180 this spring. He devoured new books, particularly about the crimes of French imperialism, and read extensively about the Algerian War, understanding well that these crimes still animate the French bourgeoisie in its racist oppression of North African immigrants, their children and grandchildren. It was often Gérard who proposed to the party to take up the cause of an immigrant family or Roma (Gypsy) encampment facing racist attack by the government or others.

One of his strengths was that he appreciated contradictions in society and on the left. His effectiveness flowed from his political understanding and his evident confidence in the power of our program. A comrade wrote in tribute: "He was a 100 percent person, in his love, his hatred, a 100 percent communist, a guy that could inspire you. He was an activist, a leader, a great speaker with a deep voice, somebody from a Zola novel, full of passion and always, some sad, tragic glimmer in his eye."

In the mid 1990s, after capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, Gérard suffered a personal breakdown and left the party for a couple of years. His return to active politics followed the big strike wave in France in late 1995. He had thought through a lot of the problems of the French section, and comrades recalled that he was a breath of fresh air, brimming with enthusiasm over the recent class struggles and, as always, full of insightful and stimulating observations about events in the country and the world. In September 1996, he was again elected to the Central Committee, on which he continued to serve until his death.

Comrades and friends are struggling to come to grips with the loss of comrade Gérard, only 48 years old and a talented athlete from his youth who had run numerous marathons. We are hoping to clarify the circumstances of his death. In Paris on September 9, comrades, family and friends gathered to honor him at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery. A letter from the ICL's International Secretariat in New York saluted our comrade and friend:

> "Gérard fought for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of workers socialist revolution. To be successful, this liberating revolution requires the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers vanguard—the Fourth International, which we of the International Communist League are fighting to reforge. This memory of Gérard, as a comrade, is our greatest assurance that the spirit of humankind, striving for human solidarity, is unconquerable."

Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the world.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying out against political authority, the state? All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.■

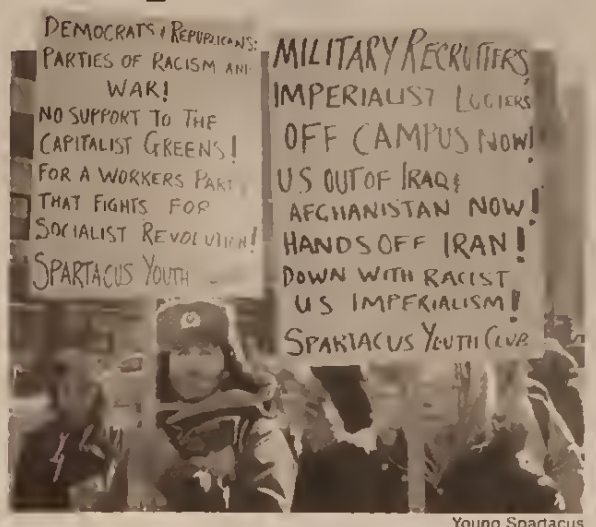
L.Y. Leonidov

March 1921: V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky (center) with delegates to Tenth Communist Party Congress, which mobilized to suppress counterrevolutionary Kronstadt mutiny.

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Club!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles armed with the revolutionary internationalist program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We work to mobilize youth in struggle as partisans of the working class, championing the liberation of black people, women and all the oppressed. The SYCs fight to win youth to the perspective of building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead the working class in socialist revolution, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter.



Young Spartacus

Daily Bruin

Left: New York SYC at Columbia University antiwar walkout, February 15. Right: UCLA speakout initiated by Los Angeles SYC in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, May 16.

Ten Point Program

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting "workfare" schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized! Unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses' government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of "free speech." Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Down with the racist purge of higher education—defend affirmative action, no to tuition hikes! No to budget cuts! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of puhlic schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and "squeal rules"! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against consensual activities, called "crimes without victims," like pornography, gambling, drug use, prostitution and "statutory rape"!

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Down with the "war on terror," which is a war aimed at immigrants, labor, the left and minorities! Free all the detainees! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or "community control" of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the "war on drugs," a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or "charter" schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! U.S. and allied forces out of Iraq now! Down with the colonial occupation! For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers at home! No illusions in the UN—a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, Afghanistan, Haiti! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, warmongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Spartacist/SYC Forums

"Market Reforms" Exacerbate Contradictions in China

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Thursday, September 27, 7 p.m.
322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor
between 8th and 9th Ave.
(take A, C or E to 42nd St., or E or C to 50th St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nyst@tiac.net

NEW YORK CITY

Women in China and the Fight to Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution

Saturday, September 29, 5 p.m.
Women's Building, Audre Lorde Room
3543 18th St. near Valencia
(close to 16th St./Mission BART)

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, October 6, 5 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
(one block east of Vermont, a few blocks from Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Trotskyist League/SYC Forum

Immigrants and Minorities: Key to Working-Class Struggle

Includes an update on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Saturday, September 22, 7 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street West, Toronto
(1 block west of Spadina subway station)

Spartacus Youth Club Class

The French Revolution and the Origins of Marxism

Wednesday, September 26, 6:30 p.m.
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2101, 100 St. George Street, University of Toronto

Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

TORONTO

Cliffites Deal in Religious Opiate

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada *No. 154 (Fall 2007), newspaper of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

SPARTACIST CANADA

Those unfamiliar with the misnamed International Socialists (I.S.) [followers of the late Tony Cliff and formerly associated with the International Socialist Organization in the U.S.] may have anticipated red flags and singing of the "Internationale" at Marxism 2007, the group's main annual event in Toronto. Instead, the organizers were baked in a green haze of environmentalism and Islamic reaction.

A comrade of the Trotskyist League and Spartacus Youth Club intervened sharply from the floor in the discussion period of their May 10 opening meeting, "Building Unity: Muslims and the Left." The spectacle was covered in a front-page article of the right-wing *National Post*, which used the I.S.'s abject political surrender to religion as an opportunity to sneer at the supposed death of communism.

The meeting featured Zafar Bangash, director of the Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought (ICIT), a Toronto-based group that has long propagandized for Ayatollah Khomeini and the other theocratic rulers of the Islamic Republic of Iran, under whose rule tens of thousands of left-wing activists have been massacred and millions of women imprisoned under the stultifying *chador* (veil). The ICIT's *Crescent International* (16-29 February 2000) includes a report by Bangash on a "Conference on Imam Khomeini and the Islamic World Order" in Ottawa, where he says, "The best tribute the Muslims can pay to the Imam is to follow in his footsteps." The I.S. introduced Bangash's speech at Marxism 2007 by showing a video of his campaign to open a mosque in the Ontario town of Newmarket, which was met with vile racist reaction by some local residents. "We need mosques; we need churches; we need synagogues," said one mosque spokesperson, flattered by the camera.

When our comrade asserted the hostility of Marxism to all religion and the necessity of the struggle for women's liberation, this proved too much for the I.S. Merely introducing our Trotskyist position hailing the Soviet Union's 1979 intervention into Afghanistan against CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries sent I.S. members into hysterics and failed attempts at censorship. Virulent anti-Sovietism has always been the hallmark of the I.S., who howled with the imperialists against the Red Army's intervention.

Trotskyists understand that the former Soviet Union was a bureaucratically degenerated *workers state*. While political rule had become concentrated in the hands of a burcaucracy whose nationalist outlook and program conciliated imperialism, collectivized property forms inherited from the 1917 revolution embodied enormous gains for workers, especially women. We were intransigent defenders of the Soviet Union.

The Red Army entered Afghanistan in 1979 at the repeated urging of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, whose secular leftist regime had fought to seriously advance the rights of women and was under siege by Washington's Islamic insurgents. Soviet leader Gorbachev's 1988-89 pullout of the Red Army was an historic betrayal, which the I.S. hailed. Two years later, they cheered again as capitalist counterrevolution engulfed the Soviet Union. Thus the I.S. bear their own small share of responsibility for the post-Soviet world, where barbaric imperialist capitalism rides roughshod over the world, stirring up all-sided religious reaction.

We print below an unedited transcript of our speaker's intervention at the meeting.

* * *

I'd like to address my remarks to those leftists in the audience who are questioning whether Islam and Marxism are in fact compatible.

Now, as revolutionary Marxists, as a member of the Trotskyist League, we stand second to no one in the forthrightness of our opposition to the racist "war on terror." We oppose the racist scapegoating of Muslims at home and the draconian occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan abroad. But that does not detract whatsoever from us being, in the words of Lenin, "absolutely atheistic and positively hostile to all religion." That's a cardinal of Marxism.

Why? The goal of Marxists is to build a revolutionary party to make the working class conscious of its historic task of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with socialism. And all religions and all religious organizations serve to mystify and obscure the class basis of oppression in capitalist society and the road forward for the proletariat to seize power through its assimilation of the principles of scientific socialism.

So that's what Lenin and Trotsky did in the Russian Revolution, and that's what we stand for today. And it's manifestly not what the misnamed International Socialist Tendency stands to do. Rather than build a genuine revolutionary party, they are a member of something in Britain called the "Respect Coalition" whose basis for unity says nothing about socialism, nothing about class struggle, nothing about women's liberation or even something as basic as the right to abortion. Marxists [heckling from the chair] are for free abortion on demand [chair begins speaking uninterruptedly].

This is not an abstract question. There was a shooting war over this in Afghanistan [other heckling, chair's mic loudens] where the Red Army went in to free women from the walking prison that is the veil and to defend women who were wearing secular clothing [a New Democratic Party candidate stands up and begins his remarks; I.S.-dominated audience applauds him]. We said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution!"■

ISNA

Mashhad, Iran: Teenagers executed for "crime" of homosexuality, 19 July 2005.

Paris Match

Soviet Central Asian soldier in Afghanistan following entry of Red Army in 1979. Spartacists hailed Red Army intervention against CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats.

Editorial Note

Right-Wing Senator Pilloried, for Nothing

Sex Police on the Prowl

Things are really bad when a U.S. Senator gets embroiled in a sex scandal in which no sex actually occurred. On June 11, Larry Craig, an Idaho Republican, was entrapped by a sex cop hiding with spider-like patience in a stall in the Minneapolis-St. Paul airport men's bathroom. The cop claimed that Craig did some toe-tapping and hand-waving between stalls—signals, said the cop, of sexual intent. Craig decided to plead guilty to "misdemeanor disorderly conduct." When the story hit the news a few weeks later, quick as greased lightning, the high-ranking Senator was pressured to resign by Congressional Republicans and the Bush White House, whose sinking ship is leaving plenty of rats floundering in its wake.

Now in a surprise twist, a Craig spokesman said on September 4 that he would fight to overturn his guilty plea and maybe would not resign his Senate position, as he had first announced. What is happening to Craig is no joke, notwithstanding the fact that we as Marxists have just about nothing in common politically with him (except our mutual opposition to gun control). The kind of sexual entrapment that nabbed Craig, as with the whole panoply of laws against consensual sexual conduct, is a deadly danger to everybody.

We neither know nor care whether Craig is gay or not—and it should be no business of the government. Certainly there is some rather bitter irony here, given the vicious sexual hypocrisy of bourgeois politicians in general. According to the *Idaho Statesman* (2 September), which has been hounding Craig relentlessly, "Longstanding rumors that the married senator might be gay stem from a 1982 congressional page scandal, in which Craig, then a bachelor, was the only member of Congress to issue a preemptive denial of involvement." Nevertheless, throughout his lengthy Congressional career, Craig has consistently voted against gay rights: against same-sex marriage, against easing restrictions on gays in the military, against extending employment discrimination laws to cover sexual orientation.

Craig was able to dodge the earlier bullet, unlike Republican Congressman Mark Foley last year. Foley's homosexuality was the worst-kept secret in Washington, despite his record of hypocritical attacks on the rights of gays. But the Florida Congressman had the bad luck to get caught before the midterm elections sending suggestive e-mails to male pages in their late teens, and he got the chop. At the time, we made clear that we opposed the persecution of Foley on the basis of his sex life, as well as the entire "pedophilia" hysteria. We oppose all laws against consensual sex, including reactionary "age of consent" laws. As we wrote in "U.S. Torture Elections" (*WV* No. 878, 13 October 2006), "The only guideline that should exist is that of effective consent, regardless of age, gender or sexual preference. We defend Foley as we would any victim of sex witchhunts."

It is a sign of the right-wing political climate that ostensible socialists have capitulated to these sex witchhunts, whose source lies in reactionary "family values" ideology. Last year, the International Socialist Organization, which touts its defense of gay rights, joined the moral crusaders by denouncing Foley's act as "a criminal outrage." The Spartacist League has also defended Michael Jackson and even then president Bill Clinton, whom the Republicans sought to impeach over the Lewinsky sex scandal—about the only thing he did in office that was *not* a crime from the standpoint of the working class. Uniquely on the left, we have defended the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) against persecution. We have consistently opposed the intrusion of the government into private life, recognizing that such persecutions aim to prop up the oppressive institution of the family and to strengthen the bourgeois state in its regulation of the population. *Government out of the bedrooms—and snitches out of the stalls!*■

Immigrant Rights...

(continued from page 1)

and the safety of America's highways" (SignOnSanDiego.com, September 6).

Shortly before NAFTA was implemented, the SL/U.S. declared in a joint statement with our Mexican and Canadian comrades:

> "There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle."
>
> —*WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991

We have always denounced NAFTA as the "free trade rape" of Mexico. This has nothing in common with the U.S. labor bureaucracy's poisonous, chauvinist tirades against such pacts, through which they paint foreign workers as the enemy of American workers.

It's about time that workers had a leadership that fought for their class interests instead of the current misleaders, who uphold the "national interests" of the U.S. capitalist rulers. Flag-waving jingoism, economic protectionism and anti-immigrant chauvinism obscure the fundamental truth that the interests of the workers and those of the capitalists who exploit them are irreconcilably counterposed. The "war on terror" pushed by both Republicans and Democrats and peddled by the labor tops has served as a pretext for imperialist slaughter from Afghanistan to Iraq and for a wholesale assault on the rights of immigrants and the population as a whole "at home." The repressive "security" measures enacted under this rubric bear down not only against immigrants but against black people and unionized workers, as seen recently in the police attack on black longshoremen in Sacramento (see article, page 7).

While the AFL-CIO shifted from its overt anti-immigrant stance in 2000, all wings of the trade-union officialdom embrace the class-collaborationist politics that undermine labor struggle. Thus AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney protested the latest "no match" program not by mobilizing union power but by joining in a lawsuit with the ACLU and others, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other groups representing capitalists dependent on immigrant labor simultaneously demanded that the government postpone sending the letters. Andy Stern, head of the Change to Win federation that split from the AFL-CIO two years ago, is the most vociferous of the labor tops in proclaiming the lie of the common interests of corporations and unions. The SEIU service employees union, a union formerly headed by Stern with a largely immigrant membership, supports "guest worker" legislation. We oppose such programs, which effectively impose indentured servitude on immigrants.

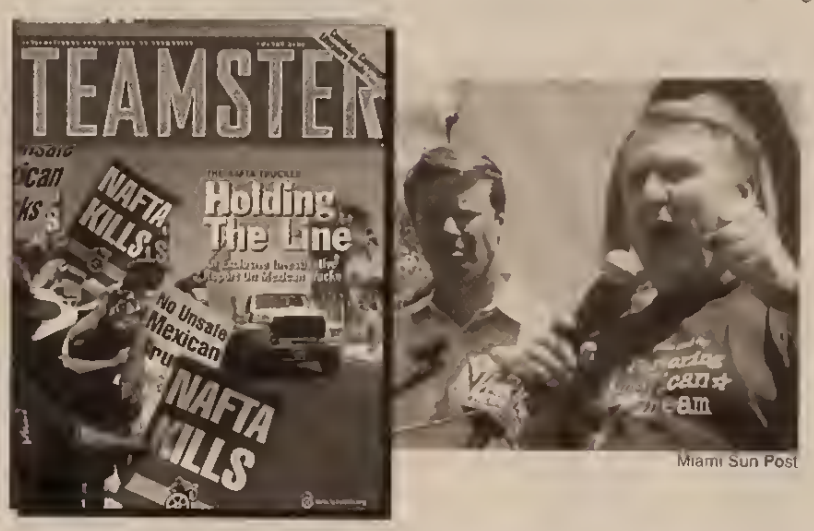
The labor misleaders' embrace of U.S. capitalism's "national interests" derives from their status as minor beneficiaries of the superprofits gleaned from American imperialism's exploitation of the peoples of the world. If working people are to stop taking it in the neck, it is necessary to forge a new labor leadership based on a program of *internationalist class struggle*. Such a leadership would fight for the political independence of labor from the bosses' parties—Democrats and Republicans. There is a crying need for a revolutionary workers party—a party that fights to *organize the unorganized*; that mobilizes labor's power to *bust the union-busters*; that fights tooth and nail in defense of the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed; that fights for a *workers government* that will expropriate the bloodsucking capitalist rulers and uproot their system of exploitation, oppression and imperialist war.

Carlos Torres Oseguera/La Jornada Michoacán

April 2006: Brutal cop siege killed at least two striking steel workers in Mexican city of Lázaro Cárdenas.

Rulers Escalate War on Immigrants

The Feds' move to implement the "no match" rule, which was originally mandated by the 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli immigration "reform," is part of a crescendo of attacks on immigrant rights. The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border continues apace, with radar-equipped watchtowers, elite Black Hawk helicopter teams, thousands more border patrol cops and miles of walls and fences and high-tech snooping devices. I.C.E. raids on workplaces, homes and shopping malls have soared. Proposed anti-immigration legislation is sweeping local and state governments across the country, threatening further crackdowns on the hiring of undocumented immigrants and measures to deny them state and local benefits.



Miami Sun Post

Teamsters head James Hoffa (far right), currently leading chauvinist hysteria against Mexican truckers, with Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards at Florida rally last year.

The number of immigrants in detention has tripled over five years, rising in some estimates to 283,000. The patchwork of federal centers, private prisons and local jails that make up the secretive system of immigrant detention is the fastest growing form of incarceration in a country with the world's highest rate of imprisonment. Stories of hideous conditions abound. Children wearing inmate scrubs walk the halls. Cancer and gangrene among inmates are left untreated. At least 62 immigrants have died in administrative custody since 2004.

Victoria Arellano, an undocumented transgender Mexican, died on July 20 after being denied AIDS treatment in San Pedro, California. More than 70 of her fellow detainees, desperately worried about her health, signed a petition urging immediate medical care; more than 20 of these detainees were transferred from the facility less than 24 hours before a Human Rights Watch official went to interview them. Victoria Arellano, aged 23, died shackled to a bed with two immigration agents standing guard at the door. We demand immediate freedom for all immigrant detainees!

The administration boasts that its war on immigrants has led to a decline in the numbers of those attempting to cross into the U.S. The crackdown is in part an effort by the Bush administration, whose popularity is at rock bottom, to firm up right-wing, nativist Republican voters for next year's elections.

Bush had worked closely the past two years with key Congressional Democrats to push through an immigration "reform." The most recent was a bill pushed by liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy that called for doubling the border patrol and forcing all foreign workers to carry "tamper-proof identification." The bill's "guest worker" provision was strongly favored by U.S. agribusiness, which depends on undocumented immigrants for at least 70 percent of its workforce, and also the meatpacking, restaurant and construction industries.

With the number of immigrant produce pickers plummeting and with growers worried about losing more workers to I.C.E. raids, some California outfits have moved operations to Mexico. But the Kennedy bill failed to pass the Senate in June due to opposition from nativist yahoos—whose solution is to "ship 'em all out"—as well as from high-tech companies complaining that it did not provide enough visas for software engineers and computer programmers, who are in short supply in the U.S.

The bitter clashes over immigration policy reflect the competing needs of different sections of the capitalist class. Marxists can seek to exploit divisions within the ruling class in order to advance the proletarian class struggle and the interests of the oppressed. For example, we would support a genuine amnesty for undocumented immigrants, though existing proposals that are occasionally mischaracterized as amnesty are in fact punitive measures. But we understand that there cannot be a just immigration policy under capitalism, an inherently unjust system rooted in the exploitation of the many by the few.

The capitalists seek to modulate the flow of immigration, particularly to the imperialist countries, in order to suit their labor needs. Our program is for a series of workers revolutions that would lay the basis for an international planned, socialist economy. This is the only road to eliminating poverty, the main driving force for mass migrations throughout the world, and providing a life of abundance for all.

"Lesser Evil" Reformism

From the defense of immigrant rights to the struggle against imperialist war, the reformist left rejects a perspective of mobilizing the proletariat, leading the oppressed, against the capitalist class enemy, its state

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Port of Sacramento: Cops Assault Black Longshoremen

Defend Bay Area ILWU Members!

OAKLAND—U.S. imperialism's "war on terror" came home to the American working class again on August 23 when two black longshoremen from San Francisco International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10, Aaron Harrison and Jason Ruffin, were viciously assaulted and arrested by West Sacramento cops. According to an Internet posting signed by seven members of Local 10, the two had worked that morning at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminal in Sacramento and were on their way back from lunch when security guards insisted on searching their car. Harrison and Ruffin questioned the guards' authority for the search and called their Local 10 Business Agent for advice. This enraged the security guards, who were immediately joined by city cops. Dragging the workers from the car, cops assaulted, maced and handcuffed them, and the two were jailed on charges of trespassing and obstructing a police officer.

These charges are completely false! The two workers had been dispatched by the Sacramento ILWU local and had already shown their Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) work IDs. They had every right to call their union business agent. The ILWU should mobilize a show of force to protest this victimization of its members and send a signal to the cops, judges, PMA and its hired thugs that further assaults on the union will not be tolerated. But to date the Local 10 leadership has taken no action in the workers' defense.

The pretext for the assault was a new maritime security regulation, which shows the threat to labor posed by beefing up "port security." For its part, the ILWU International has supported such measures, seeking only to ameliorate certain provisions while pointing the finger at the largely immigrant port truckers as the "real" security threat.

The "war on terror" is pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans to justify the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as well as a vast increase of the state's repressive powers. The 2002 Maritime Security Act (MSA) mandated transportation security ID cards requiring background checks on workers and the banning of those with felony convictions. This poses a racist purge of the workforce, since blacks and Latinos have been particular targets in the "war on drugs."

Meanwhile, security guards like those who attacked Ruffin and Harrison are in many ports organized into the ILWU! Security guards work as auxiliaries of the cops, who "serve and protect" the property owners who make their profits off the exploitation of labor. Cops and security guards out of the unions!

Local 10 was a key component of a 9 February 2002 labor-centered demonstration in Oakland against the MSA and the draconian USA Patriot Act. That demonstration, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, struck a blow against the facade of national unity sought by the U.S. government after September 11 and pointed to the need for the working class to mobilize in class-struggle actions against the "war on terror," independent of and in opposition to the capitalists and their state.

The PDC has sent a letter in defense of the two longshoremen to the Yolo County Office of the District Attorney. A court hearing for Ruffin and Harrison is currently set for October 4 at 8:30 a.m. in the Yolo County Superior Court, 213 Third St. in Woodland, CA. All out in solidarity! Drop the charges!■

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and its political parties. Rather, the reformists promote the liberal falsehood that the government of this capitalist "democracy" can and will defend the interests of the exploited and oppressed if only the right politicians are elected or sufficient "grassroots" pressure is applied. What this all comes down to is electing more Democrats—the "lesser evil" face of capitalist imperialism.

In an 8 June article on its Web site concerning the Kennedy bill, the Party for Socialism and Liberation wrote: "The detestable parts of the Senate bill are clear. But the people can intervene decisively in the debate to get rid of them. Rather than summarily accept or reject the bill, the provisions should be points of struggle. The 'guest worker' program, the point system, militarization of the border, the division of families—these aspects can be defeated if the level of struggle is high enough." Similarly, after the defeat of the bill, *Socialist Action* (July 2007) headlined, "Senate Kills Immigration Bill; Mass Action Must be Revived" stating, "The death of the Senate reform gives new life to calls for a united front to mobilize working-class power against ICE and for amnesty."

This is just the out-in-the-streets face of the "lesser evil" game. The mass actions that *Socialist Action* and other reformist outfits seek to "revive" were the huge immigrant rights protests of a year ago. These demonstrations and job actions against anti-immigrant legislation showed that immigrants were not willing to passively accept the rulers' attempts to criminalize them. But this was far from a mobilization of "working-class power." The bourgeois politicians, church officials and labor bureaucrats who led the protests consciously directed them into Democratic Party electoralism. A common chant went, "Today we march, tomorrow we vote." And along with the liberal-reformist "antiwar movement," these mobilizations played a part in the Democrats' retaking of Congress last November.

WV Photo

9 February 2002: ILWU longshore union formed core of Oakland united-front mobilization in defense of immigrants and against "war on terror" legislation.

The Democrats are past masters at talking out of both sides of their mouths; passing themselves off as "friends" of labor, black people and immigrants when it suits their purposes while carrying out vicious attacks on workers and the oppressed. Hillary Clinton stands on the record of her husband's administration. It was the Clinton White House that enacted the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, under which even longtime permanent residents can be deported for trivial offenses committed years earlier, and presided over "Operation Gatekeeper," under which a border wall was built to seal off San Diego. John Edwards, meanwhile, distinguishes himself by waving the protectionist banner, earning the support of the Steel Workers and Mine Workers tops who push this chauvinist poison.

As for liberal darling Barack Obama, he along with Hillary Clinton supported the "Secure Fence Act" mandating the construction of a 700-mile wall along the border. In the most recent Democratic presidential candidates' debate in Florida, he and the others took pains to express sympathy with immigrants—for good reason, as the debate was on a Spanish-language television network. But Obama is also no slouch at courting anti-immigrant bigots, writing in *The Audacity of Hope*: "I'm not entirely immune to such nativist sentiments. When I see Mexican flags waved at proimmigration demonstrations, I sometimes feel a flush of patriotic resentment. When I'm forced to use a translator to communicate with the guy fixing my car, I feel a certain frustration."

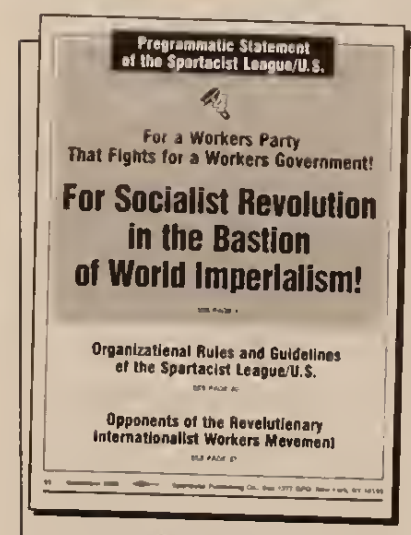
Mexico on the Boil

Under Democratic and Republican administrations, U.S. imperialism has devastated Mexican society. NAFTA has pushed millions of peasants into the cities, hugely increasing urban poverty as well as mass emigration to the U.S. Some 10 percent of the Mexican population now lives in the U.S., and the $20 billion they send home each year is Mexico's second-largest source of foreign revenue. For the Mexican bourgeoisie, immigration to the North is a critical safety valve for keeping the contradictions in this semicolonial society from exploding.

Mexican president Felipe Calderón of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) has blasted Washington's immigration policies, recently complaining about the expulsion of Elvira Arellano after she left her place of sanctuary in a Chicago church. This is the same man who, in the service of his U.S. imperialist masters, is testing the waters on privatization of strategic national industries such as oil and electricity. Last winter, in a show of force aimed at intimidating the entire population, Calderón unleashed 27,000 troops throughout Mexico in "anti-drug" missions, earning high praise from the Bush administration.

Mexican society has become increasingly volatile and polarized. Two strikers were killed in the course of a bitter four-month strike by miners and steel workers against the PAN government's ouster of their union president. For several months, striking teachers, peasants and students occupied the town of Oaxaca in the South. Massive demonstrations took place earlier this year against the government's slashing of subsidies for the price of tortillas.

NAFTA underlines that the economies of the U.S. and its neighbors are increasingly integrated. The struggle for workers revolutions in Mexico and the U.S. is also intimately linked. Our watchwords are those that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 160 years ago in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!" *For socialist revolution throughout the Americas!*■



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Sacco and Vanzetti...

(continued from page 12)

themselves." "Sacco and Vanzetti will have died in vain," he wrote, "if the real meaning and the causes of their martyrdom are not understood in all their implications." These lessons are indeed of crucial importance in the struggle against capitalist repression today and are posed with particular urgency in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal who, despite massive evidence of his innocence, was railroaded to death row for his political beliefs and lifetime of struggle against black oppression.

The Defense Movement

With little known about their arrests outside the Boston area, the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti was initially limited to a local group of Italian anarchists who founded the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. The defense committee won the support of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a well-known radical, and her companion Carlo Tresca, an anarcho-syndicalist who edited the newspaper *Il Martello* in New York. The two members of the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) helped line up Fred Moore, who had a long record of defending union militants and radicals, to be lead attorney in the case.

Moore appealed to IWW members, union leaders and socialists to mobilize in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. The American Civil Liberties Union, of which Flynn was a founding member, and its New England affiliate voiced their support as did a number of prominent liberals, notably the journalists Elizabeth Glendower Evans and Gardner Jackson. Various unions and even the conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) tops came out in defense of the two workers. As Sacco and Vanzetti faced trial in May 1921, some 64 union locals from across the country contributed to the defense, and a flood of labor support swept in following their conviction in July. As we noted in Part One of this article, in the fall of 1921 the CP and Communist International (CI) called for a worldwide campaign of protest centered on the working class. The AFL passed a resolution in 1922 calling for a new trial and two years later declared Sacco and Vanzetti "victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred."

In a 1927 ILD pamphlet, Max Shachtman described the wide range of support for Sacco and Vanzetti in the workers movement and observed:

> "With many of these it was because they realized the class nature of the issues involved in the case; that it was not merely an incident of an accidental 'miscarriage of justice' but that the judge, jury and prosecutor were striking as severe a blow at the labor movement as was struck thirty-five years before in the trial of the Haymarket martyrs. With the others, it was the result of the feelings and pressure from the mass, who felt, however vaguely, a working class kinship with the two agitators."
>
> —*Sacco and Vanzetti: Labor's Martyrs*

According to Massachusetts court procedure at the time, sentencing was postponed until all post-trial motions and appeals were decided. Although it was clear to everyone that the murder conviction could only mean a death sentence, that sentence was not pronounced until 1927. Sacco and Vanzetti's lawyers, meanwhile, attempted to overturn the conviction with a series of motions before the same biased Judge Webster Thayer who presided over the kangaroo trial and appeals before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court that rubber-stamped Thayer's every move.

Thayer denied the first post-conviction motion for a new trial on Christmas Eve 1921. Beginning the month before and throughout the next two years, a series of six supplemental motions were filed by the defense. In July 1924, with those motions pending, Moore resigned as attorney in the case. With his replacement by William Thompson, the tactics of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee changed as well. As recounted in Bruce Watson's *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Men, the Murders, and the Judgment of Mankind* (2007), Thompson flatly declared that he did not believe "the government was actuated by any ulterior purpose in bringing the charge against them." Despising the mass protest movement, Thompson appealed instead to the legal and business establishment to use its influence on the courts and state house.

In turn, the Boston defense committee called for a stop to the workers' protest actions. As Shachtman described in his pamphlet, for the next two years this strategy "helped to discredit the honest and powerful class support of the toilers.... They demanded the substitution of the movement of the masses by the movement of the lawyers." Shachtman pointed out, "The defense turned more and more towards reliance upon those false friends concerned more with the vindication of 'confidence in our institutions and their capacity to rectify errors,' and 'those high standards which are the pride of Massachusetts justice' than with the vindication of two unknown immigrants."

Based on the Marxist understanding that the courts, cops, prisons and armed forces are core components of the capitalist state—a machinery of organized violence to protect the rule and profits of the exploiting class—the CP and ILD tirelessly fought against illusions in the capitalists' rigged legal system. They fought instead for workers to rely only on *their* class power, derived from the fact that it is their labor that creates the wealth of society. In his important new biography, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* (2007), Bryan Palmer includes a thorough account of Cannon's leadership of the ILD, not least in regard to its efforts in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The CP and ILD were determined that Sacco and Vanzetti would not be added to the long list of labor's martyrs. They understood that mobilizing labor's power in protest and strike action could compel the bourgeois rulers to relent in fear of the social costs that executing or imprisoning the two men for life would bring. They fought as well to imbue militants with the consciousness that to tear down the walls imprisoning fighters against exploitation and oppression once and for all requires a socialist revolution that destroys the capitalist state and replaces it with a workers state, where those who labor rule. In this, they were following the path laid out by Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin, who wrote in his 1902 work *What Is To Be Done?* that the communist's ideal

> "should not be the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

Viking

James P. Cannon with IWW leader William "Big Bill" Haywood in Moscow, 1922. CP newspaper called to mobilize labor action to stop impending execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Wayne State University

8 April 1926: Police in Passaic, New Jersey, attack workers, children during CP-led textile strike.

Battle of Class Forces

In October 1924, Judge Thayer denied all motions presented by Sacco and Vanzetti's lawyers. In December, the Communist International issued an appeal "To the workers of all countries! To all trade union organizations!" calling to "Organize mass demonstrations! Demand the liberation of Sacco and Vanzetti!" The *Daily Worker*, newspaper of the Workers (Communist) Party, continued to publicize this struggle, and the party organized a Chicago labor rally for Sacco and Vanzetti on 1 March 1925 and mobilized heavily for rallies in Boston and other cities that day. Shortly after its inception that year, the ILD issued a call for workers internationally to demonstrate solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti. In a 23 May 1926 letter to the ILD, Vanzetti wrote, "The echo of your campaign in our behalf has reached my heart."

Thayer's 1924 decision was appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, which sat on the case before affirming the convictions on 12 May 1926. Two weeks later, lawyers filed another motion for a new trial based on the affidavit of Celestino Medeiros confessing his involvement in the robbery that led to the murder charges against Sacco and Vanzetti, exonerating the two men. In October, Thayer rejected the Medeiros confession along with affidavits of two federal agents documenting the government's involvement in the frame-up and confirming that the two were targeted for their political activities. This was appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court.

The court proceedings touched off renewed protest activity. *Labor Defender* published a special "Save Sacco and Vanzetti" issue in July 1926 featuring "An Appeal to American Labor" by Eugene V. Debs, historic spokesman of the Socialist Party. Resolutions on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti were adopted by the Washington Federation of Labor and the New York Socialist Party.

The ILD initiated Sacco-Vanzetti committees and conferences throughout the U.S. that drew IWW militants, anarchists and delegates from the AFL and other union bodies around the call "Life and Freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!" These meetings were an application of the tactic of the united front, through which a wide range of workers organizations unite in action around a common call while engaging in political debate based on their own programs. Through this means, the ILD sought to lay the basis for mass labor protest and strikes. The ILD also participated in rallies called by the Boston defense committee and other organizations. Cannon wrote to a wide array of public figures seeking statements in support of Sacco and Vanzetti. But the ILD's primary focus was unleashing labor strikes and protests.

In New York City, the ILD-initiated Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee encompassed individuals and organizations representing nearly half a million workers. Rallies organized by the committee drew over 15,000 in New York's Madison Square Garden on 17 November 1926 and another 25,000 in Union Square the following April. Equally large gatherings were organized by ILD-led committees in Milwaukee, San Jose, Boston, Denver, Seattle and Chicago. Across the country, a network of two to three million workers was enlisted in the committees. The International Red Aid mobilized its organizations around the world, forming united-front committees in hundreds of cities and organizing mass protests. Millions throughout the entirety of the Soviet Union demonstrated in solidarity with the two class-war prisoners.

Thayer's rulings opened up a period of sharpening political struggle over the way forward in this fight that would last

up through the executions. The Socialist Party, AFL tops and anarchists organized some working-class protest, at times mobilizing significant forces. But such efforts were in the service of appeals for Sacco and Vanzetti to get their "fair day in court," to be accomplished by tapping into liberal public opinion that hoped to spare the men's lives for the sake of America's "democratic" image. As for the national AFL leadership, rather than issuing a call for labor mobilizations, it pushed a resolution through the October 1926 AFL convention appealing to Congress to investigate the case. The SP and AFL tops *undermined* the growing mobilization of the workers by looking to the political agencies of the class enemy, a policy accompanied by a vicious anti-Communist campaign of slander and exclusion.

Throughout the 1920s, the SP leadership under Morris Hillquit, which in 1919 had purged the left-wing Socialists who supported the Bolshevik Revolution, waged a campaign against Communist influence in the labor movement that was particularly fierce in the needle trades in New York City. For his part, Matthew Woll, a member of the AFL Executive Council, ranted that the AFL was "the first object of attack by the Communist movement." The same Woll was acting president of the National Civic Federation, an anti-union business group that viciously opposed the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti's freedom.

In November 1926, the Ohio State

Cornell University photos AFL

From left to right: Socialist Party head Morris Hillquit, American Federation of Labor bureaucrats Matthew Woll and William Green. SP, AFL tops undermined working-class struggle to free Sacco and Vanzetti.

Socialist Party refused to join in a rally called by the ILD-initiated Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, and the SP's *New Leader* (18 December 1926) retailed lying charges by the Boston defense committee that the CP and ILD had solicited funds for legal defense that were not forwarded and for which no accounting was made. In response to these slanders, *Labor Defender* (January 1927) published the ILD's accounts and copies of checks forwarded to the Boston committee. The article pointed out that an earlier *Labor Defender* (September 1926) had printed, as part of its regular practice, an accounting of its receipts and ILD campaign expenses and had called for contributions for legal defense to be sent directly to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston rather than to the ILD.

The smears against the ILD were gleefully seized upon by the bourgeois press at the time and are repeated to this day. In answering the blatantly false charge that the ILD had pocketed $500,000 raised for Sacco and Vanzetti's defense, *Labor Defender* (October 1927) remarked that this slander only aided "the Department of Justice and other agencies which consummated the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti" and now hope to prevent the protest movement from "being drawn into the fight in behalf of the other victims of the frame-up system now in prison or facing trial."

Class-Struggle Defense

With the case again before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Cannon alluded to the sectarian exclusions and counterposed a class-struggle defense perspective in "Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" (*Labor Defender*, January 1927):

> "The Sacco-Vanzetti case is no private monopoly, but an issue of the class struggle in which the decisive word will be spoken by the masses who have made this fight their own. It is therefore, necessary to discuss openly the conflicting policies which are bound up with different objectives.
>
> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions. This is what has prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so far. Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation.
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the 'vulgar and noisy' demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an 'unfortunate' error which can be rectified by the 'right' people proceeding in the 'right' way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and 'clemency' for Sacco and Vanzetti in the form of a commutation to life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent."

The battle between these counterposed strategies took center stage following a

Labor Defender photos

7 July 1927: Mounted police broke up mass rally for Sacco and Vanzetti in New York's Union Square and arrested protesters. SP leaders had called in the cops in attempt to exclude Communists.

rich class, and there will always be collision between one and the other." When Vanzetti got his turn, he stated: "I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian;...but I am so convinced to be right that if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already" (quoted in Herbert P. Ehrmann, *The Case That Will Not Die: Commonwealth vs. Sacco and Vanzetti* [1969]). They were sentenced to die in three months.

Following the sentencing, the ILD issued a call for a national conference "of all elements willing to unite to demand and force freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti." On April 16, 20,000 workers filled New York's Union Square in a protest called by the ILD-led Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee. As part of an intensive effort over the next several weeks, more than 500 May Day meetings were organized by the ILD across the U.S and Canada.

The SP's response to the sentencing was to further promote false hopes in bourgeois politicians. The *New Leader* (16 April 1927) wrote, "The next move is up to Governor Fuller, and there seems to be no doubt that he will have to accede to the world-wide demand that he act to save the lives of the two men." The SP declared the scheduled execution date of July 10 as "a day of national mourning for the death of American justice," while Hillquit called upon "the government and the governor of the State of Massachusetts to order a full and impartial investigation of the whole case" (*New Leader*, 23 April 1927).

After SP organizers of Sacco-Vanzetti meetings in Philadelphia and Cleveland refused to seat delegates from the ILD and other organizations, Cannon issued a statement printed in the *Daily Worker* (4 May 1927) condemning the disruption of

Bettmann

200,000 turned out to honor Sacco and Vanzetti at funeral procession in Boston, 29 August 1927.

5 April 1927 decision by the Supreme Judicial Court again upholding Judge Thayer. Four days later, the front page of the *Daily Worker* carried an appeal by Cannon, "From Supreme Court of Capital to Supreme Court of the Masses," in which he wrote, "The New England bourbons want the blood of innocent men. This was decided from the first, only fools expected otherwise. Only fools put faith in the courts of the enemy." Cannon added, "It is time now to appeal finally to the masses. It is time for the workers to say their word."

On April 9, Sacco and Vanzetti were called into Thayer's courtroom for sentence to be pronounced. The two men spoke defiantly. Sacco told the judge, "I know the sentence will be between two class[es], the oppressed class and the

the "labor reactionaries," noting that "their aim is to isolate the militants and then sabotage the movement." With the social democrats, anarchists and labor tops working to undermine the ILD's efforts, the plan to hold a national Sacco-Vanzetti conference fell through. The Boston defense committee sought to head off growing sentiment in the unions for such a conference by appealing instead for Governor Fuller to appoint a commission to review the case. On June 1, they got their wish, as Fuller announced the appointment of a three-man panel to advise him on Vanzetti's petition for clemency filed the previous month.

The panel was led by Harvard president A. Lawrence Lowell, a patrician reactionary who had campaigned for the draconian 1921 Immigration Quota Act, banned black students from living in Harvard dorms, restricted Jewish enrollment at Harvard and opposed legislation reducing child labor in the textile industry. This record did not stop the Boston committee from lauding the commission as "men reputed to be scholarly, of high intelligence and intellectual probity, with minds unswayed by prejudice." The committee advised the governor to implement the power of commutation because that would be "far less likely to undermine public faith in the courts of the Commonwealth." The SP affirmed its faith that "while the members of this commission are conservatives, it is generally believed that their high professional standing gives fair assurance that they will make a report justified by all the facts in the case" (*New Leader*, 9 July 1927).

Rumors swirled that Fuller would respond to the growing international protests by commuting the death sentences. Recalling how an earlier movement on behalf of class-war prisoners Tom Mooney, who faced execution, and Warren Billings had been sapped by the commutation of Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment, Cannon cautioned in "Death, Commutation or Freedom?" (*Labor Defender*, July 1927): "The great movement for Sacco and Vanzetti, which now embraces millions of workers, must not allow itself to be dissolved by a similar subterfuge." Calling a life sentence "a living death," he warned, "The hearts of the Massachusetts executioners have not softened with kindness, and their desire to murder our comrades has not changed.... The working class must reply: Not the chair of death, but life for Sacco and Vanzetti! Not the imprisonment of death, but freedom to Sacco and Vanzetti!"

Political Battle Comes to a Boil

As the scheduled execution date of July 10 neared, the social democrats brought their anti-Communist campaign to a fever pitch, regurgitating the slander about the ILD's fundraising and stepping up their divisive attempts to exclude CP and ILD militants. This came to a head at a mass rally of 25,000 workers in Union Square on July 7. Called by the labor-based

continued on page 10

Sacco and Vanzetti...

(continued from page 9)

Sacco-Vanzetti Liberation Committee (SVLC), some 30 unions joined in the call for a one-hour protest strike that day, bringing out half a million workers. The ILD and its Emergency Committee built heavily for the protest, distributing 200,000 leaflets. The rally went ahead despite the granting of a one-month reprieve by Governor Fuller.

In negotiations before the rally, the SVLC had agreed that there would be four platforms, with two allotted to the Emergency Committee. But the SP had other plans, and only two platforms were set up, both controlled by the SP. After a number of Socialist speakers addressed the crowd, a contingent of workers hoisted Ben Gold, a CP member who had led a successful Furriers strike, onto their shoulders. As they approached the podium demanding that Gold speak, SP honcho Abraham Weinberg kicked Gold in the chest, sending him reeling into the crowd. When the workers carried Gold to the other platform, SP bigwig August Claessens attacked him as well.

Claessens and Weinberg then called in the police, who charged the crowd on horseback and broke up the rally. After the attack, SP spokesmen made absolutely clear that driving out the reds took priority over carrying out a united action in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. The SP's Samuel Friedman baldly stated, "We would rather have the meeting broken up than allow a faker like Gold speak" (*Daily Worker*, 8 July 1927). The *New Leader* (16 July 1927) declared that due to "known antagonism" and "charges of misconduct...it had been decided that the Communists were not to be permitted to co-operate in the meetings."

The SP's exclusionism only served to weaken the movement in the face of a furious onslaught by the bourgeois state. As the new execution date of August 10 approached, the ILD helped build a July 31 protest at Boston Common called by the Boston defense committee. As described in the *New Leader* (13 August 1927), after the cops broke up the SP-led rally at one end of the Common, most of the demonstrators moved to another part of the park, where the Communists held a permit. That rally, too, was dispersed by the cops. Around the country, cops broke up protest meetings with clubs, guns and tear gas.

Governor Fuller denied clemency on August 3. The next day, the ILD's Emergency Committee issued a call for a half-day strike of New York labor on August 9. The labor tops tried their best to sabotage the strike, with the AFL leadership spurning calls from numerous unions and other workers organizations to take action while many local union officials announced in the capitalist press that they opposed the strike. Nonetheless, 50,000 turned out in Union Square, and another 50,000 struck in Philadelphia. A Chicago protest of 20,000 the same day was fired on by the cops. Fuller's denial had finally spurred AFL head William Green to "action," writing Fuller to ask for "executive clemency." As the *Daily Worker* (10 August) commented, an appeal by Green to AFL unions "would aid tremendously in staying the hand of the executioner! But an appeal to Fuller couched in such honeyed words as Green uses only enhances that vile enemy of labor in the eyes of his class and indirectly sanctions the murders."

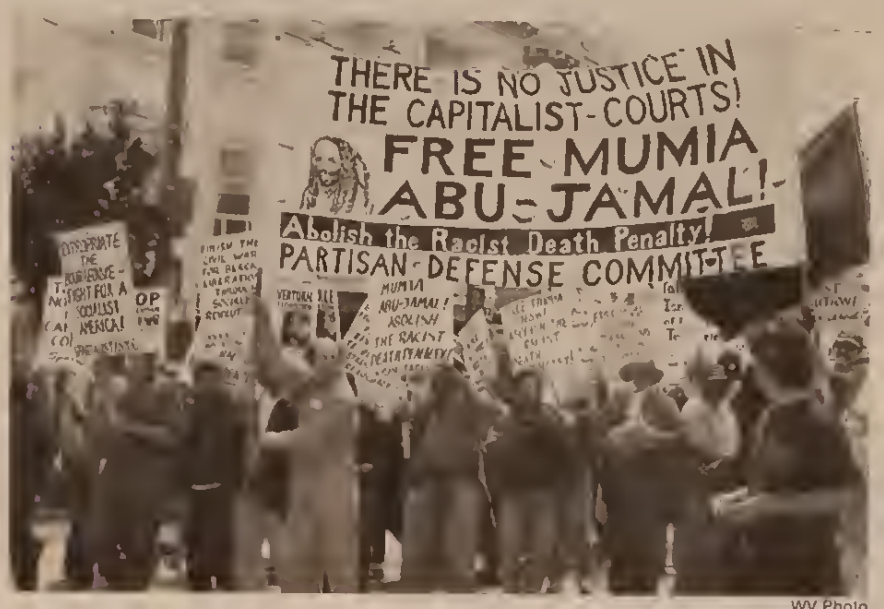
As the hour of execution neared, a wave of protests took place around the world. In the U.S., police forces brutally moved against the protesters: offices were raided in New York, Detroit and San Francisco, and meetings were broken up. On the night of August 10, cars of heavily armed cops roamed through Chicago, breaking up every gathering of more than a dozen workers. Earlier that same day, U.S. Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, a liberal icon, had turned down a *habeas corpus* petition for Sacco and Vanzetti, and shortly before midnight they were brought to the death house. A half hour before the time set for execution, Fuller announced a reprieve until midnight, August 22, to allow their attorney to argue a new motion before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.

On August 16, the day of the hearing, the ILD announced plans for protests in 200 cities. The 18 August *Daily Worker* carried a front-page appeal by Cannon, titled "No Illusions," that warned the "working masses not to be fooled with false hopes and false security." He stressed:

> "The great task, therefore, in the few fateful days remaining, up to the last minute of the last hour, is to put all energy, courage and militancy into the organization of mass demonstrations and protest strikes. All brakes upon this movement must be regarded as the greatest danger! All illusions which paralyze the movement must be overcome. All agents of the bosses who try to sabotage and discredit the protest and strike movement must be given their proper name."

Another front-page appeal by Cannon the following day declared: "Put no faith in capitalist justice! Organize the protest movement on a wider scale and with a more determined spirit! Demonstrate and strike for Sacco and Vanzetti!" When the Massachusetts high court turned down another appeal on the 19th, the Emergency Committee called for a mass protest strike on August 22.

On August 20, Oliver Wendell Holmes refused to stay the execution, and a similar request was turned down by Supreme Court Justice Harlan Stone on August 22. Millions took to the streets worldwide. But Sacco and Vanzetti were executed shortly after midnight.



WV Photo

San Francisco, May 2001: Revolutionary Contingent at demonstration for Mumia.

A Mountain of Slander

Eighty years after this legal lynching, various bourgeois journalists and academics continue to regurgitate long-disproved lies about the case. Some portray that the two worker militants were common criminals guilty of coldblooded murder. Others rehash the lie that unlike Vanzetti, Sacco never declared his innocence of the murders. Not only did he do just that in numerous letters that have been published, but his declaration of innocence was carried out of prison by a spy the Feds planted in the cell next to his!

On 24 December 2005, the *Los Angeles Times* reported the "discovery" of a 1929 letter from Upton Sinclair written after he finished *Boston*, his novel about the case. Sinclair wrote that he met with Fred Moore, who told him that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty and that he had concocted alibis for them. News of the Sinclair letter was picked up by Jonah Goldberg, an editor of the right-wing *National Review*, and found a home on various blogs. This was, in fact, old news. Sinclair had written about the discussion in 1953, when he pointed out that Moore had made clear that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti confessed to him and that he had no proof of their guilt. According to Moore's ex-wife, he became embittered after he left the case. In 1963, Sinclair wrote, "Those who believe or declare Sacco was guilty get no support from me" (quoted in Watson, *Sacco and Vanzetti*).

The primary source of the slanders against Sacco and Vanzetti and those who fought for them is a cabal of Cold Warriors around the *National Review*, which was founded in 1955 by William F. Buckley Jr. and whose longtime senior editor was renegade ex-Trotskyist James Burnham. At a time when it was generally acknowledged that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent frame-up victims, a 1961 *National Review* article by Max Eastman claimed that in 1942 he was told by anarchist Carlo Tresca, "Sacco was guilty, but Vanzetti was not." Eastman had earlier been editor of the left-wing *Masses* but by the time of his purported conversation with Tresca had become a virulent anti-Communist. In the 1950s, Eastman was a strong supporter of the witchhunting Senator Joe McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

A year after Eastman's article came the book *Tragedy in Dedham* by Francis Russell, a regular contributor to *National Review*. Russell claimed that "after his expulsion from the party, James Cannon...was to admit privately—much as Moore did—that he felt Sacco was guilty." (Cannon was expelled from the CP in 1928 along with Max Shachtman and Martin Abern for supporting Leon Trotsky's criticisms of the Stalin-Bukharin leadership of the degenerating Communist International.) Russell would later identify Burnham as his source for that tale.

Cannon responded in a letter to the *New Republic* (27 April 1963): "The truth is that I have never *felt* or *thought* that Sacco was guilty. I have always thought they were innocent, and have never expressed a different thought or feeling, privately or publicly, anywhere at any time." Defending "the memory of Carlo Tresca," a friend of Cannon's who worked closely with him in the Sacco and Vanzetti campaign, he added, "Never, at any time, did I ever hear him express or even intimate any doubt about the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. And I never heard any report, or rumor, or gossip, from anyone else who ever heard such a thing about Tresca until Mr. Russell's statement hit me in the eye."

There can be no mistaking that the point to rewriting the history of this case is not just to trash the memory of the two

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Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

expressed by the thousands upon thousands of workers, youth and fighters against racial oppression that Mumia must be freed immediately. When Mumia faced execution in 1995, a worldwide outpouring of protest, including from unions representing millions, stayed the executioner's hand. It will take an international mobilization of the masses based on the power of the working class—the power seen in its ability to withhold labor through strike action—to win this battle. *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent

Mumia Abu-Jamal, known for his struggles against injustice, racism and state violence, has been on death row for 24 years following a rigged trial.

The sensational case of Mumia is the tip of the iceberg. It throws a spotlight once again on the *class-biased and racist American justice system.*

PAME, which represents the class union movement in our country, demands:

The immediate release of Mumia Abu-Jamal

* * *

Free Honorary Member on Death Row 25 Years

The death row case of NUJ honorary member Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a critical stage and the union is asking members to take urgent action to support him.

Twenty-five years ago Mumia Abu-Jamal was convicted in the US for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. He has been threatened by the death sentence ever since. Many are convinced he was framed for his political beliefs and activism as a journalist who fought with passion and conviction against racial, ethnic and class bias and for social justice.

The NUJ made Mumia an honorary union member in 1995 and NUJ members have continuously helped campaign for his immediate release.

Evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner but have been ignored for more than 25 years and the Pennsylvania state and federal courts have rejected or even refused to consider this evidence. The NUJ believes he should be freed.

Mumia's case is now at a critical juncture and time is of the essence. In May this year, the US Third Circuit Court of Appeal in Philadelphia heard oral arguments in the appeal—both by Mumia and the prosecution. Shortly the courts will decide what is next for Mumia—death, life in prison or possibly more legal proceedings.

There is an urgent need to revitalise the mass protest to free Mumia on the basis that he is an innocent man and the NUJ is asking members to write to the US ambassador asking for justice for Mumia.

Please send letters to Ambassador Robert Holmes Tuttle, US Embassy, 24 Grosvenor Square, London, W1A 1AE.

Last year, [NUJ general secretary] Jeremy Dear joined the hundreds of trade unionists, anti-racist groups, journalists, authors and others who have signed an internationally-circulated statement entitled, "We demand the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man."

Other signatories to the statement in Britain include the Fire Brigades Union, the Communication Workers Union, Bob Crow of the RMT [rail, maritime and transport union], Gareth Peirce, Michael Mansfield, Ken Loach, the poet Benjamin Zephaniah, and Tony Benn. International signatories include the novelists Nadine Gordimer of South Africa, Dario Fo of Italy, and the railway workers section of the powerful CGT union federation in France. ■

anarchists but to smear labor militancy and revolutionary proletarian opposition to the bloodsoaked capitalist system—i.e., communism. Liberal "defenders" of Sacco and Vanzetti have joined in rehashing the attacks on the ILD and early CP. In her 1977 book *The Never-Ending Wrong*, Katherine Anne Porter claimed that shortly before the execution she was told by one Communist, "Who wants them saved? What earthly good would they do us alive?" Along with the lies about money and other anti-Communist slanders, this is passed as good coin in Watson's *Sacco and Vanzetti*. Watson writes of the critical last weeks, "As party members grew increasingly shrill, their callousness appalled sincere supporters. Communists flocking to Boston, Gardner Jackson remembered, unquestionably 'preferred Sacco and Vanzetti dead [rather] than alive'." Watson proclaims, "Sacco and Vanzetti were far more useful to Communists than Communists would be to them."

At the height of the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the CP argued against any in the movement who argued that their execution would ultimately redound in the favor of the working class: "The workers holding to such an opinion must be made to realize that martyrs are a confession of weakness on the part of the laboring masses. The fact that the bosses can railroad to prison or put to death our leaders with impunity becomes a weapon of intimidation in their hand and does help to cow and keep in submission the less militant mass.... The more powerful labor becomes, the more effective it is in making its demands heeded, the less will it have martyrs" (*Daily Worker Magazine*, 28 May 1927).

Mumia and Class-Struggle Defense

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti contains powerful lessons for the fight to free class-war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was sentenced to death after being falsely convicted of the 1981 murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. As we noted in Part One, the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence includes the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Faulkner. As with the Medeiros confession exonerating Sacco and Vanzetti, the courts have refused to hear the Beverly confession and its supporting evidence.

The Partisan Defense Committee has secured statements from hundreds of prominent individuals and labor leaders and organizations internationally demanding that Mumia be freed on the basis that he is an innocent man and the victim of a racist, political frame-up. As Mumia's case enters its final stages, it is crucially important that such statements be turned into *labor action*. But to make that happen requires conducting the kind of hard political struggle that the CP and ILD waged against the reactionary labor tops as well as those "socialists" who obstruct class-struggle defense by sowing illusions in the capitalist *injustice* system. Among Mumia's ostensible defenders are several left groups that replicate the reformist outlook and strategy of the SP of the 1920s but lack the kind of base it had in the working class. A typical example is Jeff Mackler's Socialist Action (SA), which represents nothing so much as the *New Leader* of today.

Where Cannon warned against illusions in the black-robed justices, Mackler hailed the December 2005 announcement by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals that it would hear only three of Mumia's two dozen issues on appeal as a "decision that will likely stun the Pennsylvania legal establishment" and opined that there was little likelihood that the court would reinstate the death sentence (*Socialist Action*, December 2005). Echoing the *New Leader*'s praise for the "high professional standing" of the Lowell Commission, Mackler wrote in *Socialist Action* (June 2007) about the oral argument before the Third Circuit the previous month that several decisions on other matters relevant to Mumia's case "marked this court as among the few remaining 'liberal' juridical institutions in the country." Mackler is co-coordinator of the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, which offers a sample letter to send to Democratic Pennsylvania governor Edward Rendell that concludes, "We urge your intervention to guarantee that justice is done." ***This is the same Ed Rendell who as Philly D.A. in 1981-82 prosecuted Mumia!***

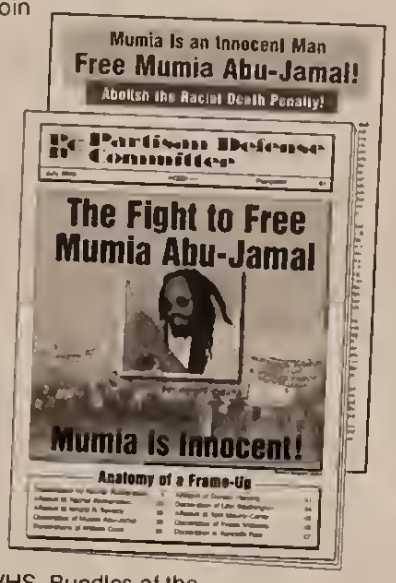
We honor Sacco and Vanzetti by fighting for the life and freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal in the class-struggle tradition of the ILD. When Mumia faced an August 1995 execution date, an international wave of protest that crucially included trade unionists played a major role in the court's decision to grant a stay of execution. At the same time, liberals and reformists sought to steer that struggle into relying on the racist bourgeois legal system to secure "justice" for Mumia. And it was that liberal strategy of reliance on the capitalist courts that demobilized Mumia's army of supporters around the world. Today the need to revitalize the movement for Mumia's freedom is posed pointblank. As we wrote in "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice'" (*WV* No. 892, 11 May): "Indeed, labor's power must be brought to bear on behalf of Mumia. But it is self-evident that this can only be done by mobilizing independently of the forces of the capitalist state that framed up this innocent man."■

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

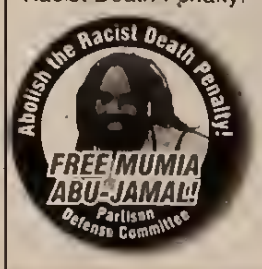
Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.



Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.



Partisan Defense Committee

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P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
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P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

Spartacus Youth Club Events

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man—Free Mumia Now!

With a showing of the video: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, September 20, 7 p.m.
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
For information and readings: (212) 267-1025 or e-mail nysl@tiac.net

VANCOUVER

Tuesday, September 25, 12 noon
Room 212a, Student Union Building
University of British Columbia
For information and readings: (604) 687-0353 or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man! FREE MUMIA NOW! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

BAY AREA

14th and Broadway
Oakland
Near the Federal Building
4:30-6:30 p.m.
(On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.)
More info: (510) 839-0852 or pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO

Kluczynski Federal Building
Northwest corner of
Jackson and Dearborn
Weekday: 4:30 p.m.
Saturday: Noon
More info: (312) 563-0442 or chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Weekday: 5 p.m.
U.S. Federal Courthouse
312 N. Spring St.
Saturday: 1 p.m.
Westwood Federal Building
11000 Wilshire Blvd.
More info: (213) 380-8897 or partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY

Federal Building
Broadway between
Worth and Duane Sts.
Weekday: 5-7 p.m.
Saturday: 1-4 p.m.
More info: (212) 406-4252 or (212) 267-1025 or partisandefense@earthlink.net

TORONTO

360 University Ave., across the street from the U.S. Consulate
between Dundas (St. Patrick station) and Queen (Osgoode station)
Weekday: 6 p.m., Weekend: 1 p.m.
More info: (416) 593-4138 or pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues

Subsequent to the PDC's call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

Philadelphia: 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information.

New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Building
(125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.)
Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Three Saturdays after the decision:
National Demonstration in Philadelphia

WORKERS VANGUARD

British, Greek Unions:

Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

With a federal appeals court likely to rule at any moment on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a MOVE supporter, award-winning journalist and former Black Panther Party spokesman who has been on Pennsylvania's death row since 1982, it is all the more critical for the organizations of the working class and the oppressed to speak out and act now. We print below two of the more recent statements issued by trade unions around the world affirming Mumia's innocence and demanding his freedom. The first is an August 7 statement of the All Workers Militant Front (PAME) trade-union federation in Greece, signed by Giorgos Pontikos of the International Relations Department. PAME is associated with the Communist Party there and represents a half million workers in more than 200 unions. The second is an August 28 appeal by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in Britain and Ireland to its members. We print the NUJ appeal as it appears on the union's Web site.

As the NUJ letter points out, hundreds of other trade unions and individual unionists, as well as anti-racist organizations and prominent individuals, have joined in signing a statement initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, calling for "the immediate freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man." Among those demanding Mumia's freedom are two major labor federations in South Africa, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

The PDC has called for emergency protests in the event that the Third Circuit Court of Appeals upholds Mumia's death sentence, which was reversed in 2001, or denies his appeals for a new trial or a new hearing. The fate of this passionate fighter for social justice must not be allowed to rest in the hands of the racist, capitalist courts. Now more than ever, it is necessary to translate into action the sentiment

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WV Photo

80th Anniversary of Legal Lynching

Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti

no credit

Boston Public Library photos

Protest movement for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti spanned the globe. Top left: mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square, London. Top right: workers protest in Belgium. Above: Vanzetti (center) and Sacco (right) with prison guard, 1923.

Part One of this article, which we conclude below, appeared in WV *No. 897 (31 August).*

Caught up in the anti-immigrant hysteria and Red Scare that swept the U.S. in the aftermath of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, anarchist workers

PART TWO

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were arrested in May 1920 and framed up on murder and robbery charges of which they were manifestly innocent. In an article written after their execution in the Massachusetts electric chair on 23 August 1927, James P. Cannon, at the time a leader of the Workers (Communist) Party (CP) and secretary of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and later the founder of American Trotskyism, declared:

> "The electric flames that consumed the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti illuminated for tens of thousands of workers, in all its stark brutality, the essential nature of capitalist justice in America. The imprisonment, torture and murder of workers is seen more clearly now as part of an organized system of class persecution."
>
> —"A Living Monument to Sacco and Vanzetti," *Labor Defender* (October 1927)

Pointing to the ILD's role as the leading and organizing center of a protest movement that had rallied millions of workers around the world behind Sacco and Vanzetti's cause, Cannon called for building "a stronger, more united and determined movement for labor defense on a class basis." He noted that "the industrial masters of America" who had carried out the execution to deal a blow to the entire labor movement "were not without allies, both conscious and unconscious, in the camp of the workers

continued on page 8

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 899 | C-701 | 28 September 2007

No Concessions! Organize the Unorganized!

Victory to the UAW Strike!

Sanford/Lansing State Journal

Strikers on the picket line in Lansing, Michigan, September 24.

SEPTEMBER 25—Beginning at 11 a.m. yesterday, United Auto Workers (UAW) members streamed out of General Motors plants across the country and set up picket lines. The first nationwide strike against GM since 1970 has brought production at the auto giant to a standstill. With one transmission plant in Windsor, Ontario, already shut down, the strike could also soon further reverberate throughout Canada and in Mexico as well. The Canadian Auto Workers union is refusing to work with GM parts from the U.S., and Teamsters auto haulers are refusing to transport GM vehicles.

The company brought on this battle. It forced the hand of the UAW leadership by refusing to accept anything short of massive concessions, complaining about losing ground to foreign automakers because of high union wages and benefits. Fed up after years of givebacks, auto workers were ready to fight. "If they think I'm going to take a wage cut and pay more for health care, they're dreaming," said one Wisconsin striker. As millions of workers see their health and pension benefits ripped up while being made to work harder for less, this strike against a pillar of the capitalist economy is a crucial battle for all of labor. GM brags that its inventories will see the company through a long strike. The entire UAW and the rest of the labor movement must back up the strikers with whatever it takes to beat back GM!

Prior to the walkout, the UAW leadership had already accepted the framework for a major concession on health care. Union negotiators agreed to replace the lifetime employer-paid health care benefit with a union-managed trust, known as a Voluntary Employee Benefit Association (VEBA), which would assume responsibility for GM's $55 billion health care liability. Under the VEBA, GM would only pay a fraction on the dollar for its liabilities. The balance would likely come out of the pockets of UAW

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Reformist Left: Tail of Democratic Donkey

U.S. Out of Iraq Now!

The recent Congressional hearings on the "surge" of U.S. troops in Iraq, featuring General David Petraeus, commander of American forces in Iraq, and Ambassador Ryan Crocker, did nothing to change public opinion against the bloody occupation. This dog-and-pony show, cynical from start to finish, served to underline the commitment of the current administration to "stay the course" in Iraq as well as the posturing of those who seek to replace that administration, i.e., the Democratic Party.

The progress of the "surge" can be measured in parcels of carnage and misery. Upwards of a million Iraqis have lost their lives since the 2003 invasion, this on top of the 1.5 million who died for lack of food and medicine due to the sanctions overseen by the Democratic Clinton administration in the 1990s. Millions have been forced to emigrate or to relocate internally in desperate hope of surviving the carnage, whether perpetrated by the murderous imperialist occupiers and their hired mercenary butchers, such as Blackwater, or through the sectarian violence unleashed by the occupation. What was once one of the more advanced countries of the Near East today lies in ruins.

In the U.S., sentiment against the occupation in the populace redounded to the benefit of the Democratic Party during the 2006 midterm elections. This was in part due to the services of the reformist left, which sought to build an "antiwar movement" premised on "Anybody but Bush" politics (read: elect Democrats). Now, however, even mainstream Democratic voters are bitterly complaining that

Furst/AFP

Iraqi men terrorized by U.S. occupation troops in a neighborhood south of Baghdad, August 25.

Down With U.S. Imperialism! For Socialist Revolution!

electing Democrats has not made a dent. Indeed, when Petraeus gave his report to the House on September 10, the Democrats distinguished themselves primarily by denouncing antiwar protesters who gathered at the hearing and were forcibly removed and arrested under the orders of the Democratic Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Ike Skelton.

Nearly half the Democratic Senators joined with their Republican counterparts ten days later to condemn a *New York Times* ad by the liberal group MoveOn.org, a major force in Democratic politics, that headlined: "General Petraeus or General Betray Us?" The vote came a mere three days after a video surfaced showing 21-year-old Andrew Meyer being tackled and viciously tasered by University of Florida cops for raising a couple of relatively tame questions to Democratic Senator John Kerry.

Such is in fact standard operating procedure for the Democratic Party, the *other* party of blood-drenched U.S. imperialism. Anti-Vietnam War protesters were bloodied by cops at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, during a period of far more radicalization and militant struggle against that losing, dirty colonialist war. Now, the Democrats seek election to the White House based not simply on popular opposition to the Iraq occupation, but centrally because they see that particular war and occupation as running counter to the interests of U.S. imperialism. In this, they speak for more rational and far-sighted wings of the ruling class and the military, joined by some Republicans.

The Republicans are overt enemies of workers and oppressed; the Democrats are past masters at lying to them. The reformist left, having put its energies, such as they are, into promoting Democratic electoral victories by one means or another, now laments the "spinelessness" of the Democrats. The reformists' efforts are devoted to "making the Democrats fight." Meanwhile, not one major Democratic presidential contender calls for an immediate withdrawal from Iraq. Such a withdrawal would be correctly seen as a defeat for U.S. imperialism, and in the squalid world of American electoral politics, the Democrats do not want to be saddled with "losing" this filthy war and occupation.

As revolutionary Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Just as we took a side in defense of Afghanistan and Iraq against the U.S. invaders while politically opposing the Taliban reactionaries and Saddam Hussein's bloody regime, we have a side today: against the U.S. occupiers, their allies and Iraqi lackeys. Insofar as the forces on the ground in Iraq aim their fire at the occupiers, we call for their military defense against U.S. imperialism

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It's All About the Russian Question

8 July 2007

Dear Workers Vanguard

Your response to my second letter (WV 894) confirms your illusions in the Stalinist bureaucracy as a defender of the workers state.

You see the threat of capitalist restoration in China as coming from oppositionists such as Li Jianqiang and Han Dongfang, and deny the reality of capitalist restoration being carried out by the bureaucracy itself.

You write: "At the political level, the imperialists aim to replay in China the strategy used during Cold War II in East Europe and the former Soviet Union: promoting domestic anti-Communist oppositional forces".

This is a one-sided account of imperialist strategy during the Cold War. In addition to cultivating opposition groups, the imperialists also cultivated pro-capitalist tendencies within the bureaucracy.

This was most clearly seen in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin came from within the Stalinist bureaucracy. He was a leading member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before he fell out with Gorbachev.

Yeltsin came to power essentially through a coup. During the power struggle in August 1991, he won the support of key sections of the officer corps. Mobilisation of Yeltsin's supporters in the streets played a secondary role.

Even before Yeltsin's coup, the bureaucracy had already adopted a capitalist-restorationist perspective. This was shown a year earlier when the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the "500-day plan" for the creation of a "market economy". Yeltsin won the intra-bureaucratic power struggle because he was seen as the best person to implement the bureaucracy's perspective of capitalist restoration.

In Eastern Europe, mass protests played a bigger role in bringing about changes of government than in the Soviet Union. Some former leaders of anti-regime mass movements became leaders of capitalist governments. Polish Solidarity being an obvious example.

In the preceding years, imperialism had succeeded in winning over many of the leaders of protest movements in Eastern Europe. These movements arose out of a justified anger at bureaucratic privilege and repression. But setbacks in the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, as well as setbacks in the working class struggle on a world scale, led some activists in these movements to abandon a socialist perspective. Imperialist propaganda portrayed bourgeois democracy as the only alternative to Stalinism, and (in the absence of a strong revolutionary left movement in the West) many Eastern European activists fell for this false solution.

September 1981: Spartacist protest against opening of NYC office of Solidarność, company union for CIA and bankers.

Acts of Stalinist repression, such as the declaration of martial law and the arrests of thousands of workers in Poland in December 1981, made the problem worse. The Spartacist League supported Jaruzelski's repression, not recognising that it was a gift to the imperialists. It made it easier for Reagan and Thatcher to pose as defenders of democracy, human rights and workers rights. This in turn helped them to sell "free market" economics to Solidarity activists and other Eastern European oppositionists.

Returning to China, you rightly condemn "the brutal suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests", but seek to minimise the impact of the repression. You quote Trotsky's statement that "on the road to capitalism the counter-revolution would have to break the resistance of the workers", and argue that this has not happened in China. You say that, in the 1989 Beijing massacre, "the working class was not smashed".

But a similar comment could be applied to Russia. Yeltsin's coup of August 1991 did not "break the resistance of the workers", or "smash" the working class.

The Russian working class did not resist Yeltsin's coup; rather, the workers were spectators to the struggle within the bureaucracy. The coup was nevertheless very significant, since it initiated a policy of rapid privatisation that impoverished the working class and caused many workers to lose their jobs. The result was catastrophic, but the catastrophe unfolded over several years, not just on the day of Yeltsin's victory.

Trotsky said that the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat". Yeltsin's privatisation push showed that the bureaucracy had overcome its fear of the working class. The defeats for the international working class at the hands of Reagan, Thatcher etc had given the Russian bureaucracy confidence in its ability to defeat working class resistance to privatisation.

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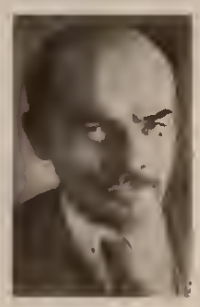
TROTSKY

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!



LENIN

From our inception, the Spartacist League has fought for the program of revolutionary integrationism, understanding that the fight against black oppression is central to the cause of proletarian revolution in the U.S. This perspective was codified in a document adopted at the SL's founding conference in September 1966 in the midst of the struggles for black equality shaking the U.S. at the time.

The vast majority of Black people—both North and South—are today workers who, along with the rest of the American working class, must sell their labor power in order to secure the necessities of life to those who buy labor power in order to make profit. The buyers of labor power, the capitalists, are a small minority whose rule is maintained only by keeping the majority who labor for them divided and misled. The fundamental division created deliberately along racial lines has kept the Negro workers who entered American capitalism at the bottom, still at the bottom. Ultimately their road to freedom lies only through struggle with the rest of the working class to abolish capitalism and establish in its place an egalitarian, socialist society.

Yet the struggle of the Black people of this country for freedom, while part of the struggle of the working class as a whole, is more than that struggle. The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution.

—"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist* supplement, May-June 1967

Letters Policy

Workers Vanguard welcomes letters from our readers. Opinions expressed in letters do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the *WV* Editorial Board. We reserve the right to respond to letters either at the time of publication or at a later point. In order to facilitate the printing of letters, which we do not edit, please keep them to 500 words or less. Letters can be sent to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 or e-mailed to vanguard@tiac.net.

Spartacist/SYC Forums

"Market Reforms" Exacerbate Contradictions in China

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

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322 W. 48th St., 1st Floor
between 8th and 9th Ave.
(take A, C or E to 42nd St., or E or C to 50th St.)

For more information: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@tiac.net

NEW YORK CITY

Women in China and the Fight to Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Revolution

Saturday, September 29, 5 p.m.
Women's Building, Audre Lorde Room
3543 18th St. near Valencia
(close to 16th St./Mission BART)

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

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Saturday, October 6, 5 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
(one block east of Vermont, a few blocks from Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)

For more information: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 25.

No. 899 **28 September 2007**

Australia: Drop the Charges Against Leftist Anti-APEC Protesters!

The following leaflet was issued on September 11 by the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The Spartacist League of Australia condemns the state repression meted out during the recent Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Sydney. We protest the arrest and beating of leftist anti-APEC demonstrators and others who found themselves in the cross hairs of state repression such as journalists and photographers. Drop the charges now! Over the two-week period leading up to and including the summit, some 88 people were reportedly arrested and many are now facing charges.

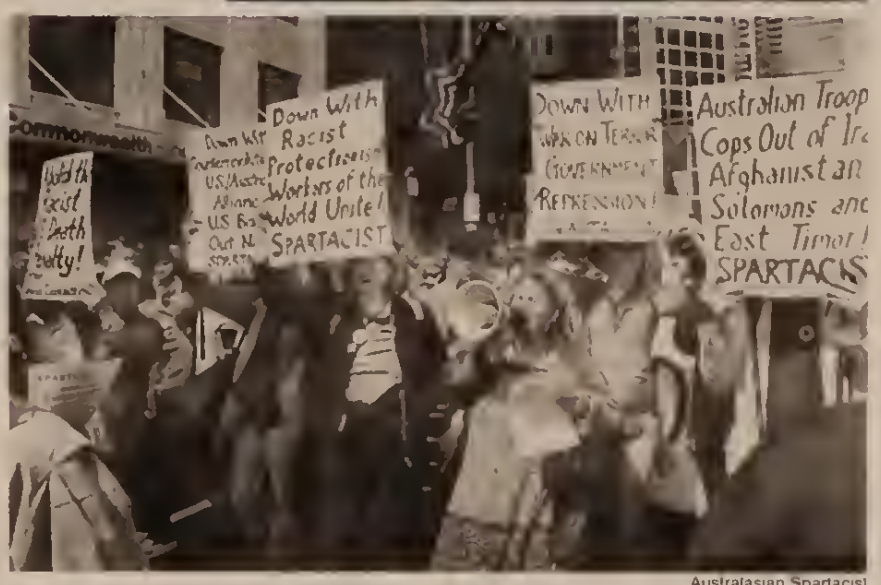
For more than a week during APEC, Sydneysiders got a close-up view of the arrogant and brutal state forces that daily target Aborigines, immigrants, anti-racist youth and militant unionists in capitalist Australia. At a cost of $170 million, the city was transformed into a fortress in which virtually the entire population was treated as enemy suspects. Such was the experience of accountant Greg McLeay, who was savagely tackled to the ground by police and then imprisoned for 22 hours after simply trying to cross the road!

A five-kilometre long, 2.8-metre high, concrete-reinforced steel fence was erected to seal off areas hosting the summit. Designated "restricted zones" were viciously enforced by gun-toting cops as snipers took aim from rooftops and helicopters buzzed overhead. Some 5,000 police and army were mobilised, backed by 1,800 private security guards, rapid response 4WD riot trucks and water cannon. Building on legislation enacted before the 2000 police state Olympics and subsequent draconian "anti-terror" laws, the military were ready with extraordinary domestic powers to interrogate civilians and seize documents. The special force killers of the SAS [Special Air Service] were on standby with "shoot to kill" powers.

This vast military force was combined with an hysterical government-led campaign to demonise protesters as potentially violent or terrorists. Police used the pretext of drug searches and vehicle inspections to stop, search and harass a convoy organised by the Socialist Party which was making its way from Melbourne to Sydney for the protests. Outrageously the government assembled a "restricted persons" list that threatened many activists with immediate arrest if they joined anti-APEC protest actions. This repression, enforced by the NSW [New South Wales premier Morris] Iemma state Labor government along with the federal Liberal/National coalition government, was designed to intimidate and stymie all protest against APEC —a confab of bloody imperialist statesmen, their victims and intended victims. Through summits such as APEC, the imperialists seek to further their exploitation of oppressed dependent countries and foment capitalist counterrevolution in the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states.

Sydney: Cops arrest protester during anti-APEC demonstration (right); Spartacist contingent at September 8 protest.

Sievert/Sydney Morning Herald



Australasian Spartacist

Despite extreme intimidation, up to ten thousand people turned out for the main protest on 8 September. This included contingents from the maritime and fire brigade unions. Some of those on the "restricted persons" list, like Solidarity supporter Paddy Gibson, courageously defied government orders to stay away. The brutality of the state forces was clearly displayed on the day as they sporadically provoked and attacked protesters. After numbers at the rally significantly dwindled, police moved in and assaulted Gibson and others before hauling them away. Up to 18 people were arrested and a number have been charged. After the rally, Spartacist supporters joined protesters gathered outside the Surry Hills police headquarters in solidarity with the detained leftists.

In a provocation against the demonstration, a fascist group calling itself "New Right AUS/NZ" mobilised at the start of the rally, likely with the state's go-ahead. Later the cops shielded the vile fascists from angry protesters, including Spartacist supporters who sought to mobilise unionists and others to drive them out of the rally. In contrast, rally organisers including supporters of the Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP) called on protesters to ignore the fascists—ultimately a suicidal course. A revolutionary leadership of the rally would have made clear the deadly threat and tried to mobilise appropriate action. Our program to stop the fascists is centred on the independent mobilisation of the working class and its allies.

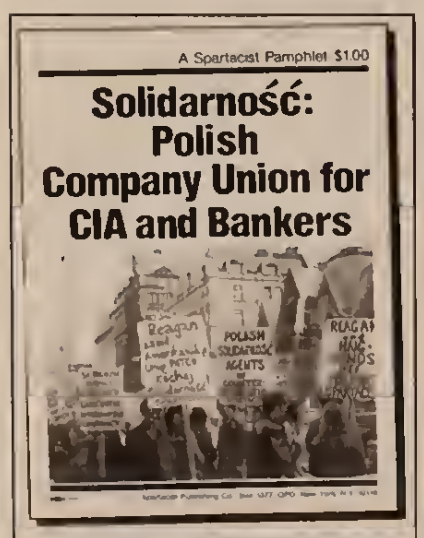
The DSP, along with Socialist Alternative (SAlt), are prominent in the class-collaborationist Stop Bush Coalition. A key organiser of the anti-APEC protests, the coalition's main rally demands included "Stop Bush," "Make [Australian prime minister] Howard History" and "Bring the troops home." These demands amount to little more than an appeal for a kinder, gentler Australian imperialist state, preferably administered by a Labor government backed up by the bourgeois Greens. The reformists peddle the lie that imperialism is simply a policy rather than a *system* of capitalist exploitation and subjugation. Indeed, in the name of "human rights," the DSP mobilised *for* Australian imperialist troops to occupy East Timor in 1999 while SAlt enthusiastically marched in the chauvinist "Troops in" rallies. To this day the DSP refuse to call for Australian troops out of East Timor!

In contrast, we Trotskyists fight for revolutionary opposition to racist Australian imperialism and demand not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military! At the anti-APEC protests we called for racist Australian troops/cops to get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Solomons and East Timor; we protested the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance and demanded U.S. bases out; we called for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution! While the reformists demanded "Bring the troops home," our placard "Cops/Military Get Out of Aboriginal Communities Now!" pointed to the fact that the Australian military is already at "home," carrying out a vicious racist occupation of Aboriginal communities while enforcing a naked land grab. They were also very much "at home" in Sydney this month, mobilised to help enforce the suppression of the anti-APEC protests!

The Australian capitalist rulers transparently used APEC to bolster their oppressive laws, refurbish their instruments of repression and perfect police/military measures. It highlighted yet again that the capitalist state—with the police, army, prisons and courts at its core—is not neutral. Its purpose is to maintain the power of the capitalist class and to suppress the working class and anyone else who might challenge the bosses' exploitative rule. The police are not "workers in uniform," as those like the Socialist Party contend, but the professional thugs of the bourgeoisie. They have *no place* in the workers movement! ***Cops, prison screws, security guards out of the unions now! For working-class actions to protest racist state repression!***

As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote in *State and Revolution*, "The state is an organ of class ***rule***, an organ for the ***oppression*** of one class by another." The capitalist state cannot be cleaned up, reformed or pressured to act on behalf of the workers and oppressed; it must be shattered through victorious workers revolution. Such a course demands a proletarian internationalist program. We fight against the poisonous nationalism pushed by the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, who preach the lie that workers have a common "national" interest with the capitalist class. As we declared at the rally: "Down With Racist Protectionism! Workers of the World Unite!"

In the context of the upcoming federal elections, the SL says: "No vote to the ALP [Australian Labor Party]!" We seek to break workers from illusions in the ALP, fighting to split the working-class base away from the pro-capitalist tops in the struggle to forge the indispensable instrument—a multiracial revolutionary workers party, a tribune of the people—to lead the fight to expropriate the capitalist class. Only then will it be possible to build a new, socialist society based on a centrally planned economy where production is for human need, not for the profits of a tiny minority. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■



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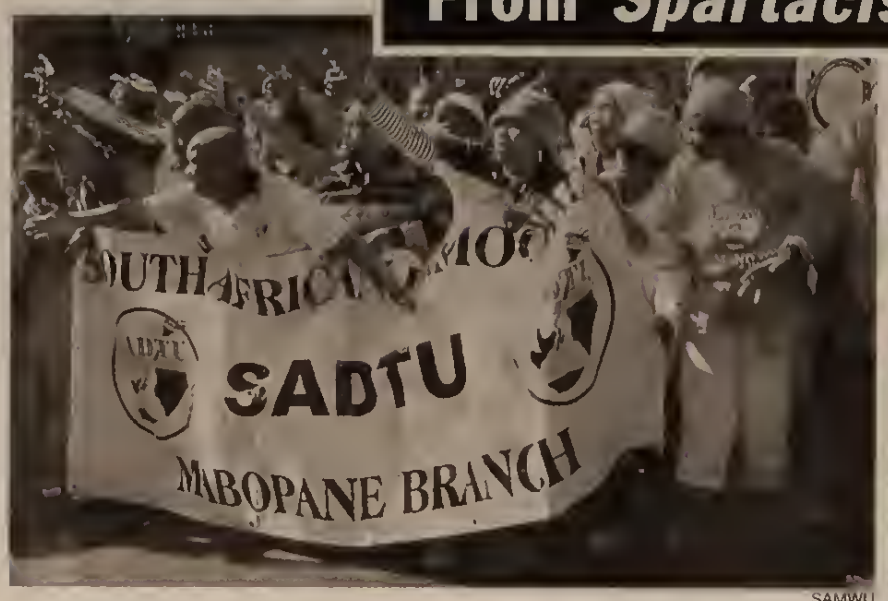

SAMWU

Werner Beukes/SAPA

Left: Teachers union at June 1 Johannesburg rally on first day of four-week national public workers strike. Right: August 28 protest against evictions ordered by Johannesburg city government.

Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party to Fight for Workers Revolution!

The following article is reprinted, in slightly edited form, from Spartacist South Africa *No. 5 (Spring 2007), publication of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).*

Thirteen years after the fall of apartheid, it has become increasingly evident to the black toilers that the Tripartite Alliance government has not altered the social and economic conditions of the impoverished masses. The rigid, legally enforced racial segregation and subjugation of apartheid is no more. But behind the liberation rhetoric of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and the democratic trappings of "one person, one vote," there is the reality of *neo-apartheid capitalism*, based on the same social foundations as the former regime: the brutal exploitation of the overwhelmingly black proletariat by a tiny class of fabulously wealthy white capitalist exploiters (albeit now sprinkled with a few black front men).

The official unemployment rate for the black African population exceeds 40 percent, while millions have been evicted from their homes or had their electricity or water cut off because they could not pay sky-high bills. Police crackdowns have escalated against workers striking against poverty wages, township residents protesting deadly cuts in electricity and drinking water, students resisting tuition increases. There is mounting rage directed at the uncontrollable corruption of the government. Meanwhile the capitalist ANC-led government searches for scapegoats to head off mounting discontent. Immigrants, many fleeing starvation and repression, are blamed for the high unemployment rate. Ominously, tribal enmities are being fostered. Since coming to power, the ANC has increasingly worked to pit different sections of the oppressed against each other. The contest to succeed Thabo Mbeki as head of the bourgeois ANC is viewed by many as a contest between the Xhosa central leaders of the ANC and Jacob Zuma, a Zulu traditionalist. Zuma also derives a lot of his support from the fact that he poses as a "man of the people," willing to listen to the workers and the township poor. But he is simply a bourgeois populist politician who endorses the austerity policies of the current government. An ANC run by Zuma would be just as anti-working-class as the current ANC.

Break with the Bourgeois Tripartite Alliance!

It was against this backdrop of growing dissatisfaction that the 12th national congress of the South African Communist Party (SACP) met in July in Port Elizabeth, where the future of the alliance with the ANC was the subject of vigorous debate. While SACP leader [Blade] Nzimande gives thinly veiled support to Zuma on the false basis that he is pro-working-class, some delegates at the recent congress called for the SACP to run candidates under its own name, as opposed to on the ANC slate. However, the resolution of the Gauteng region proposing that the SACP run its own candidates explicitly asserted that the "revolutionary alliance led by the ANC" is "an historic and important alliance that should be preserved." This means that the SACP could continue to serve in the bourgeois government but as part of a coalition with the ANC rather than as ANC ministers.

The real question confronting SACP militants is why would a party that claims to represent the interests of the working class trample on those interests in order to maintain an alliance with the bourgeois ANC. Why would a party that claims to be fighting for a communist society—in which capitalist exploitation has been eliminated and replaced by a collectivised economy and an egalitarian social order—participate in a government that defends the interests of the capitalists and suppresses the struggles of the workers, the oppressed and the township and rural poor?

The SACP is not a Leninist party. It is, rather, what Lenin called a *bourgeois workers party*, with a working-class base and a pro-capitalist leadership and programme. In order to placate its working-class base, the SACP tops have been forced to become more critical of Mbeki. The bottom line, however, is that through its alliance with the bourgeois ANC and its class-collaborationist programme the SACP must serve the bourgeois order.

This could be seen graphically during the recent bitterly fought public workers strike. While the SACP claimed to support the strike, via its ministers in the bourgeois government it served as strike-breakers: Minister of Safety and Security Charles Nqakula set the cops and army against the strikers, while Minister for Intelligence Services Ronnie Kasrils unleashed the intelligence services to spy on the teachers union. The COSATU [trade-union federation] bureaucracy, an integral component of the ruling Tripartite Alliance, deliberately refused to mobilise unions like the miners and metal workers which had the social power to win the strike. You cannot wage an effective struggle against the capitalist government when you are part of that government!

The Tripartite Alliance is a *nationalist popular front*, the South African variant of a governmental coalition binding a reformist workers party to the bourgeoisie. Through such class-collaborationist coalitions, the Communist parties in countries like France and Italy have derailed working-class revolutions. The essence of class collaboration is the argument that the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be expressed in a common programme, like the "national democratic revolution." In truth, the interests of the exploited and the exploiters are irreconcilably *counterposed*. The alliance with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC that is at the core of the SACP's politics, and has been for decades, necessarily means subordinating the workers and the oppressed to the capitalist order. The SACP justifies this perspective by asserting that the ANC represents all classes of the black African population. It was absolutely necessary to stand in solidarity with the ANC—as well as AZAPO [Azanian People's Organisation], the Pan-Africanist Congress and other nationalist fighters—when they engaged in military confrontations with the apartheid state. But that is a very different matter than extending political support to the bourgeois-nationalist programme of such organisations.

Lenin's Bolshevik Party was a steadfast champion of all struggles against national oppression and Great Russian chauvinism in the tsarist empire, which Lenin termed a prison house of peoples. But the Bolsheviks fought for the rights of oppressed peoples *with the methods of proletarian class struggle*. Lenin politically exposed and combatted nationalism as a bourgeois ideology, be it of the "most just" or "most refined" sort. This Leninist understanding is all the more critical in South Africa, where class exploitation is integrally bound up with national oppression. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October Revolution, wrote to his followers in South Africa in the mid 1930s ["On the South African Theses," 20 April 1935]:

> "It is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.
>
> "Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relation between the classes, but also between the races, and will assure to the blacks that place in the state which corresponds to their numbers, insofar will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character."

The struggle for national liberation can be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution in South Africa. Yet far from educating and leading the black African proletariat to take its place in revolutionary struggle at the head of all the oppressed, the SACP has for decades diverted the struggles of the proletariat into support for the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. The result of this has been not the

Just Out!

Spartacist South Africa

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liberation of the black African and other non-white masses but the "freedom" of a handful of aspiring black bourgeois to jump aboard the "gravy train" and join in the exploitation of their "own" people. The nationalism promoted by the ANC/SACP has also served to fuel and embitter national, tribal and other divisions among the masses. Frustrated by their failure to achieve any modicum of gains 13 years after the end of apartheid. At the same time, sections of workers and youth are beginning to perceive that they can be oppressed by their own kind and not simply by whites.

South Africa is not a nation but a colonial-derived state. Apartheid South Africa brutally exploited migrant labour from elsewhere in southern Africa. The peoples of these surrounding countries made numerous sacrifices to support the struggle against apartheid. But today immigrants are discriminated against and subjected to deportation. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! South Africa/Azania, one and indivisible, cannot be the programme for workers revolution in southern Africa. We stand for a voluntary socialist federation of southern Africa in which the peoples of the region should enjoy regional autonomy.

Lobbying the SACP tops to adopt a more critical posture toward the ANC will do nothing to advance the struggle of the proletariat for its own emancipation and that of all the exploited and oppressed. Rather what is necessary is the forging of an entirely different party, a party based not on nationalism and class collaboration but on the proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist programme of the Communist International at the time of Lenin and Trotsky and its programmatic continuator, the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938. It is to this task that Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is dedicated, as part of our struggle to reforge an authentically Trotskyist, democratic-centralist Fourth International.

AFP

August 10: Demonstration outside Cape Town press conference called by Deputy Health Minister fired for criticizing government's neglect of AIDS.

The State: An Organ of Class Domination

In this issue of *Spartacist South Africa*, we are reprinting three articles originally published in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the American section of the ICL. These articles address some of the central issues debated by members of the SACP and others in the workers movement. One of the most important of these issues is the need to have a clear understanding of the nature of the state. As we note in "Bitter End to Defiant Public Sector Strike" [*WV* No. 895, 6 July]: "In order to justify its participation in the government, the SACP has to pretend that the Tripartite Alliance is something other than what it is: *a bourgeois government*." The SACP line that the existing state is some kind of "class-neutral" entity in which the workers can gain "hegemony" is a profound revision of Leninism. There are two fundamental classes in modern society—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*: "The state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another." The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes, or achieve workers rule by electoral means. The capitalist state, which serves as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie, cannot be reformed. As Lenin insisted, the replacement of a bourgeois state by a workers state requires a *revolution* that overthrows the capitalist system of exploitation.

The article "Protest Apartheid-Style Police Brutality Against Union Bus Drivers!" [*WV* No. 893, 25 May] addresses the issue of the bourgeois cops. The core of the state consists of the police, army, courts and prisons. The public sector workers strike underscored that the cops are an integral part of the capitalist state, wielded by the bosses to repress the working class. The line of the SACP and COSATU that cops are workers, welcoming them into the trade unions, reflects their revisionist position that the state is "ours." This dangerous illusion is reinforced by the fact that some cops in the "new" South Africa formerly served as armed fighters in the ANC's struggle against apartheid rule. This does not diminish by one iota their current role as enforcers of capitalist state repression against the oppressed, meting out terror and brutality in the same way as the hated apartheid police did. Nor is such a development unusual: once Algeria gained independence from France, the freedom fighters who had once been tortured by the French colonialist army and police became the torturers of their own people on behalf of the neocolonial bourgeois-nationalist Algerian regime. Spartacist South Africa says: Police, security and prison guards—out of the unions!

Responding to the grumbling at the base of the party, deputy SACP head Jeremy Cronin cynically asserted that SACP ministers in government had been appointed for something other than carrying out ANC policies: "You can't forget that you are a communist. If you are not a communist, then leave this party.... You can't privatise state-owned enterprises or abuse workers and their rights. You have options. Step down as a minister" (*Morning Star* Online, 13 August). The Gauteng resolution put forward at the SACP congress accepts the reformist, class-collaborationist framework of the SACP leadership that the workers can "contest power" in a bourgeois government. It is one thing for communists to stand candidates for and participate in bourgeois parliaments, in order to act as a tribune of the workers and oppressed there, as the Bolsheviks did even under the arduous and repressive conditions of the tsarist autocracy. It is a very different matter to stand for and assume executive office or serve as a bourgeois minister, whether on a local or national level. To assume such a position necessarily means enforcing the bourgeois order, including using the cops or army to repress workers struggle. This is why we are opposed to running for executive office (see "Down With Executive Offices!" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007).

On one level, Mbeki's sacking of deputy health minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge reflected the government's continued contempt for AIDS victims and more generally for the masses of poor people who suffer from the country's crumbling health system. Madlala-Routledge had made mild criticisms of the government's neglect of HIV/AIDS and had pointed out that the fact that 2,000 babies had died at Frere Hospital in the Eastern Cape over five years constituted a national emergency. Unable and unwilling to marshal the resources necessary to provide free anti-retroviral medications and other measures to alleviate the impact of the AIDS pandemic, the bourgeois-nationalist ANC instead pushes anti-science obscurantism. Mbeki has never acknowledged the elementary fact that AIDS is caused by a virus, HIV, while his health minister Tshabalala-Msimang is a notorious advocate of "traditional remedies." In other words, millions of people deprived of anti-retroviral drugs are abandoned to die. Women are among the hardest hit by the AIDS pandemic: for example, over 39 percent of pregnant women in KwaZulu-Natal test HIV-positive. "Traditional views" are frequently combined and overlap with the religious doctrines of the Christian church and missionaries, reinforcing anti-sex bigotry and the stigma of AIDS. We demand: Free anti-retrovirals and free quality health care for all! Open up the private hospitals for all!

AFP photos

Bourgeois-nationalist ANC is in midst of power struggle between Jacob Zuma (left) and South African president Thabo Mbeki.

COSATU general secretary [Zwelinzima] Vavi hailed Madlala-Routledge (a member of the central committee of the SACP), claiming that thanks to her "the spirit of AIDS denialism is behind us." This is just false. Only a small percentage of those with HIV/AIDS are receiving medication. Moreover, the under-five mortality rate has actually *increased* since 1990, going from 60 per 1,000 live births to 65 per 1,000 live births (*Sunday Independent*, 12 August). By far the largest cause of death in children under five is HIV/AIDS! It is hardly a secret that medical services are crumbling: a shortage of staff, poor pay for health workers, decaying facilities, budget cuts for health services. And when health workers struck recently, the government—in which the SACP serves—threatened to fire many of them because they are "essential workers." The fact is that the SACP, in aiding and abetting the capitalist attacks on working people as part of the Tripartite Alliance, is co-responsible with Mbeki for his criminal neglect of health services.

The AIDS pandemic exposes the bankrupt "nation-building" rhetoric pushed by the SACP; it obviously cannot be solved within the borders of one country. To even begin to provide free, quality health care and treatment for all in South Africa requires the creation of a workers government and the expropriation of the blood-sucking pharmaceutical giants. Only world socialist revolution, tearing the means of production out of the hands of the greedy capitalist class, can put the positive gains of modern science at the service of all mankind. (For more on this, see "Capitalism, AIDS and ANC 'Rollout' Scam," *Spartacist South Africa* No. 4, Spring/Summer 2004.)

Meanwhile the bourgeois press has been filled with hysteria whipped up over financial allegations regarding the SACP. What exactly is going on here is not clear. It does seem to involve infighting between different factions of the SACP, including those around Nzimande who are pro-Zuma and others like COSATU president Willie Madisha, who is closer to Mbeki. In any event, we oppose any state prosecution of the SACP. This is an issue of workers democracy—financial irregularities, if there are any, in workers parties or trade unions should be addressed by the workers movement. An attack on the SACP on such grounds opens the door for similar attacks by the government against trade unions and other workers organisations. From the standpoint of the workers movement, the real corruption in the SACP is political: its class-collaborationist support for the ANC is directly responsible for the betrayal of the interests of the workers and oppressed.

The Trotskyist Program of Permanent Revolution

It is critical that militant workers and youth assimilate the history of the communist movement. As we note in our article "Permanent Revolution vs. 'Two-Stage' Stalinist Betrayal" [*WV* No. 875, 1 September 2006], also reprinted in this issue, the bankruptcy of "revolution by stages" was proven by the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Tsarist Russia was an example of combined and uneven development, an overwhelmingly peasant country with a myriad of national minorities oppressed by the Great Russian landlords and capitalists. At the same time, however, there was a small but important proletariat in a few industrial centres, concentrated in huge factories equipped with the most modern technology. The Mensheviks, who in fact were the original proponents of "two-stage revolution," argued that the bourgeoisie must come to power to resolve the outstanding democratic tasks such as giving land to the peasantry. Against this perspective of binding the proletariat to the liberal bourgeoisie, Lenin counterposed the revolutionary collaboration of the

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Werner Beukes/SAPA (above), Die Burger (right)

Soweto: Cops fire rubber bullets at township residents protesting lack of services, September 3. Inset: National SACP chairperson Charles Nqakula runs cops as Minister of Safety and Security.

South Africa...

(continued from page 5)

proletariat and the downtrodden peasantry, culminating in a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Trotsky likewise recognised that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution, but went further than Lenin. In his theory of *permanent revolution*, developed during the period 1904-06, Trotsky asserted that the Russian Revolution would be proletarian-socialist in character; that the solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks (such as destruction of the tsarist autocracy, land to the tiller, democratic solution of the national question) was conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat would place on the order of the day not only democratic tasks but socialist tasks as well. To guarantee such gains and to lay the basis for a world socialist society, proletarian rule had to be extended to the advanced capitalist world.

In 1917, when the tsar's government collapsed, the Mensheviks supported the new liberal bourgeois Provisional Government and later joined the government. Lenin waged a merciless political struggle against the Mensheviks and those in the Bolshevik Party who conciliated them. He came over to Trotsky's view that the revolution could triumph only by placing the proletariat in power. While the majority of the Bolshevik leadership initially called for "completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution," Lenin insisted that "The conclusion is obvious: only the assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government." Lenin won over the key cadre in the Bolshevik party; the Bolsheviks led the working class, supported by the peasantry, in a revolution that smashed the old state apparatus, replacing the class dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratically elected councils (soviets) of workers and peasants.

At the time of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Communist International (Comintern) revived the Menshevik line of "two-stage" betrayal. By then the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state had placed at the head of the Comintern J.V. Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, who advocated the anti-Marxist, nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," denying the need to spread the revolution outside the Soviet Union. They continued the policy of liquidating the Chinese Communist Party into the Chinese bourgeois nationalists, the Guomindang, led by Chiang Kai-shek. Lulled into the belief that Chiang was an ally, tens of thousands of Communists and militant workers, who were the effective power in the key city of Shanghai, were disarmed and murdered when he turned on them in the Shanghai massacre of April 1927. This policy of subordinating the working class to the bourgeois nationalists was opposed by Leon Trotsky. As a result of this experience, Trotsky generalised his theory of permanent revolution to the colonial and semicolonial world.

However, the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern drew the opposite conclusions. It defended its treacherous conduct in China and generalised this strategy of subordinating the working class to the national bourgeoisie to other countries like South Africa. (For more information, see our pamphlet *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*.) In fact, the alliance with the ANC dates from the year after the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. At its recent congress the SACP leadership cited a resolution of the 1928 Sixth Congress of the Comintern that asserted:

> "Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organization against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organizations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organization [we repeat: *"developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organization"*].... The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa...constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa."
>
> —Political report of the SACP's 11th Congress Central Committee as tabled before the 12th Congress (brackets and emphasis in original)

Stalin's Comintern sought to prettify its class collaboration by dubbing the Guomindang a "workers and peasants party." This "two-class" formula, denying that the class interests of the proletariat differed from the petty proprietor outlook of the peasantry, covered up the *bourgeois* character of the Guomindang. The Comintern claimed that a bourgeois revolution would "grow over organically" into the socialist revolution. Similarly the SACP denies the necessity for proletarian revolution, rejecting the "erroneous (and divisive) conclusion that a socialist transition required *another* political revolution in which the working class, in the name of 'socialism' overthrew its own national democratic state, and marginalized its own closest allies" ("Taking Forward the Struggle for Socialism, Chapter 5"). The ANC is dubbed a "broad national liberation movement" and a "class-contested terrain," the better to deny that the SACP is politically subordinated to a bourgeois party and participates in running the bourgeois state.

Contrary to what some SACPers believe, the ANC has not betrayed its "socialist past," as supposedly embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter. That document in fact makes no reference to either socialism or the working class taking power. The famous phrase that "the mineral wealth beneath the soil...shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole" was deliberately vague as to how it was to be realised. At best, it posed a nationalisation of the mines within the framework of capitalism. The charter explicitly upholds the right of "all people" to "trade where they choose" and "to manufacture," that is, it upholds the right to private property in the means of production. In the main it consists of a series of bourgeois-democratic demands, such as abolition of the apartheid laws and laws restricting suffrage. The document claims that "the people" should "share in the country's wealth" and envisions that "only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief." But "the people" are divided into different classes with counterposed interests. In referring to "democracy," the ANC meant *bourgeois democracy*, which means above all defence of the "right" of the capitalists to exploit the workers. The ANC was asserting its appetite to become the bourgeois rulers of the country. In pushing the Freedom Charter, the SACP reinforced the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

Getty

Workers at South Africa's Kloof Gold Mine, March 2005.

The demise of apartheid refuted the SACP's false claims that genuine racial and national equality could be achieved in alliance with the national bourgeoisie. Apartheid was not destroyed through revolution but rather through a "power-sharing deal" between the Randlords and the ANC, backed up by the Western imperialists. While one factor in inducing the capitalists to arrive at an agreement with the ANC was the escalation of labour struggle against apartheid, the bourgeoisie did not seriously feel that its rule was threatened. The deal took place in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, which provided material as well as diplomatic support to the ANC. Throughout the 1980s the ANC devoted the bulk of its efforts to a "divestment" campaign aimed at pressuring the Anglo-American imperialists to pressure the Afrikaner rulers to come to terms with the ANC; after the counterrevolution the ANC quickly came to terms with the Western imperialists and their South African junior partner.

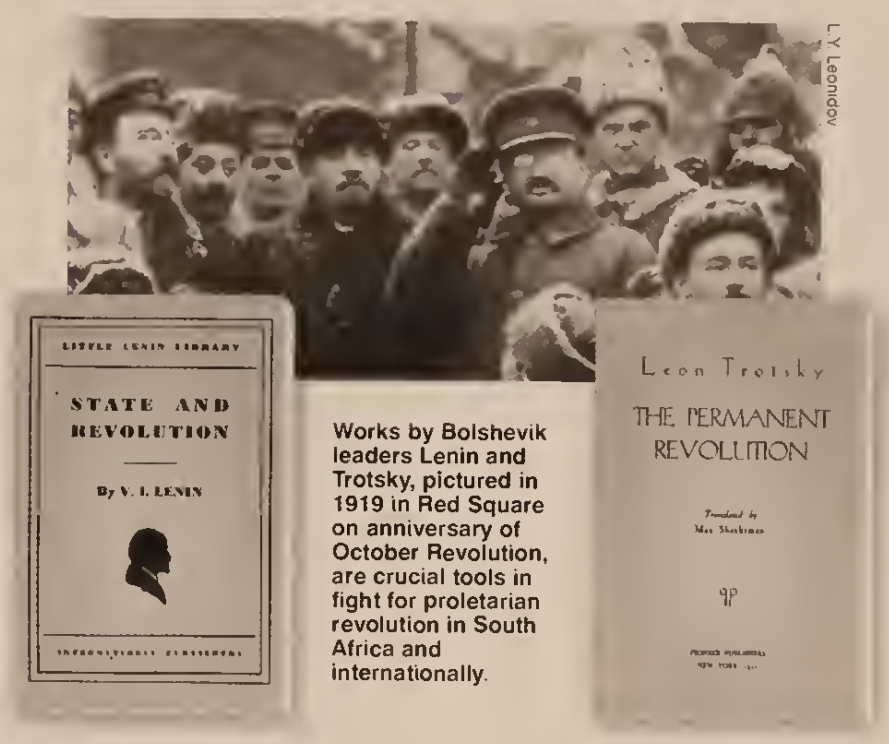
Indeed the ANC was eager enough to share in the spoils of South African capitalism. Talk of "nationalising the mines" was quickly dropped. As early as 1990 Nelson Mandela made clear that he had "never advocated socialism at all" and that he favoured "the flourishing of capitalism among Africans." The "power-sharing deal" was guaranteed by various "sunset clauses" (pushed vigorously by then SACP leader Joe Slovo) that enshrined the privileges of the old white ruling class. The ANC acted fundamentally no differently than other former petty-bourgeois nationalists like Robert Mugabe who, upon taking power, exploited their own people in league with the imperialists.

Over the following 13 years the ANC —aided and abetted by its labour lieutenants in the SACP and the COSATU bureaucracy—has indeed kept its end of the bargain with the Randlords, defending the sanctity of the bourgeoisie's property and profits. While there is a black government, the economic and social conditions of the black, Indian and coloured working masses have if anything deteriorated. This gives the lie to the SACP's claims of a "national democratic revolution." It confirms in the negative the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, underscoring that achievement of national equality requires the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation.

Some SACPers, trade unionists and other leftists (including some grouped around the magazine *Amandla*), dissatisfied with the alliance with the ANC, have proposed a "lash-up with other forces, including AZAPO and the "social movements" like the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). Despite its criticisms of the government, AZAPO is a bourgeois-nationalist formation qualitatively no different from the ANC (except being smaller). Indeed, its willingness to administer capitalism is demonstrated by the fact that it currently has a minister in the government (Mosibudi Mangena). Our article on "Permanent Revolution vs. 'Two-Stage' Stalinist Betrayal" deals with the popular-frontist "social forums." It speaks to the treachery of the SACP in enforcing the dictates of capital that outfits like the APF have come to the fore, acting as a safety valve for the ANC-led government by leading protests against some of the government's more unpopular measures, such as cutting off water in the townships. No less than the SACP itself, these formations are tied to the imperialists and the capitalist states via their ties to and funding by bourgeois governments, banks and CIA-linked institutions like the Ford Foundation. (See also "Social Forum Con Game," *Workers Vanguard* No. 853, 2 September 2005.)

What is necessary is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which must unite the most politically advanced worker militants with the best of the leftist intellectuals. Such a party must be a "tribune of the people," championing the interests not only of the working class but of all the oppressed—the unemployed, the rural poor, women, immigrants, tribal and ethnic minorities. It will be built in political and polemical struggle against the various currents of the South African left, including the SACP, whose best elements must be won away from its pro-capitalist leadership to a Trotskyist programme. Only the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers state and planned economy will put the mineral wealth and all that has been built through the sweat and blood of the toilers at the disposal of working people.

-A socialist revolution in South Africa, centred on the black proletariat, would confront formidable enemies in the imperialist powers, emboldened and strengthened by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution. Yet such a revolution would also galvanise strategically powerful allies: from the American black working class, to the militant young proletariat of South Korea and Indonesia and the working class in West Europe. This would electrify workers throughout the world and establish a base for the struggle for international revolution, especially in the advanced capitalist countries, which is vital for the achievement of a world socialist society, one in which poverty has been abolished and classes are no more.■



Works by Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky, pictured in 1919 in Red Square on anniversary of October Revolution, are crucial tools in fight for proletarian revolution in South Africa and internationally.

Rally to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Paris, September 29, 2 p.m.

Espace Saint-Martin, Salle Nicolas Roerich
199 bis rue Saint-Martin, 75003 Paris

For more information: Comité de défense sociale:
(33) (0)1 42 08 01 49 or e-mail: cddsfrance@hotmail.fr

With the fight for life and freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at a critical juncture, the Committee for Social Defense (CDDS), a legal and social defense organization associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, has called a rally for September 29 in Paris under the slogans: "Mumia Is Innocent! Immediate Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Speakers will include Daniel Carreno of the Postal Workers Union, Jimmy Duclos of the SUD rail workers union and Jean-François Téaldi, general secretary of the SNJ journalists union affiliated with the CGT labor federation, as well as a representative of the LTF. Also speaking will be Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, which is associated with the Spartacist League/U.S. As a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999, Wolkenstein uncovered a massive amount of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot and killed Police Officer Daniel Faulkner.

The Paris event is the latest in a series of rallies called by defense organizations linked to national sections of the International Communist League in a concerted effort to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf. (For coverage of rallies in London and Berlin this spring, see "International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!" *WV* No. 893, 25 May.) We print below the July 30 call for the rally issued by the Committee for Social Defense.

* * *

Mumia Abu-Jamal, the foremost political prisoner in the U.S., has been on death row for a quarter of a century, isolated in a cell that he describes as living in a space no larger than a bathroom. All elements of the "criminal justice system" have colluded to rig the proceedings and convict this powerful "voice of the voiceless." A former Black Panther Party spokesman, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist, Mumia was framed up in 1982 on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. A passionate fighter against racial, ethnic and class bias, against cop terror and for social justice, Mumia was sentenced to die on the basis of his political history and beliefs. The judge at his trial, Albert Sabo, was overheard by a court stenographer saying: "I'm going to help them fry the n----r." His frame-up shows what the death penalty is all about in the United States. Racist and barbaric, it is the lynch rope made legal, the ultimate weapon of repression against the working class and oppressed.

The fight for Mumia's freedom is at a crucial turning point. The U.S. federal appeals court will pronounce on Mumia's fate soon. But there should be no illusions in these proceedings. For 25 years both the Pennsylvania state and federal courts have rejected or even refused to consider the mountain of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly, that he, not Mumia, shot the police officer. In Mumia, the state sees the spectre of black revolt. The state is determined to carry out his legal lynching or bury him in the veritable hell of life in prison. *This must not happen!*

The Committee for Social Defense—a class-struggle legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Ligue Trotskyste de France—stands for pursuing every legal avenue on Mumia's behalf while putting no faith in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. It will take an international mobilization of the masses, centrally the workers movement, to secure Mumia's freedom. When he faced execution in 1995, a worldwide mass outpouring of protest, including from unions representing millions, stayed the executioner's hand. This struggle was demobilized by those who fostered illusions in the capitalist justice system by subordinating the call to free Mumia to the call for a new trial.

In France the Communist Party (PC) raises "freedom for Mumia" but in conjunction with their demand for a "new trial." See for example the call supporting a "new fair trial" for Mumia in *l'Humanité* (4-5 February 2006) signed by hundreds of notables and politicians including PC [leader] Marie-George Buffet as well as Olivier Besancenot of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Arlette Laguiller of Lutte Ouvrière (LO). Behind these attempts to misdirect the struggle for Mumia towards the bourgeois injustice system is a *political program* premised on reliance on the capitalist state—a program directly counterposed to a mobilization of working-class power to free Mumia. *Mass protests to demand immediate freedom for this innocent man must be revived!*

Mumia's appeal takes place in the context of the "war on terror," under which rights won through tumultuous class struggles are being shredded in order to terrorize any who would stand in the way of the bourgeoisie's drive for profits and their imperialist adventures, like the colonial occupation of Iraq or the bloody subjugation of Afghanistan in which French special forces are participating. The "war on terror" targets first the Muslim population, but it is ultimately aimed at the entire working class. This was seen here at Roissy airport last autumn when dozens of baggage handlers had their airport security badges pulled in the course of a racist witchhunt whose

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Le Bolchévik

9 December 2006: Committee for Social Defense banner at Paris Mumia rally reads, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now! There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!"

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

BAY AREA	CHICAGO	LOS ANGELES	NEW YORK CITY	TORONTO
14th and Broadway Oakland Near the Federal Building **4:30-6:30 p.m.** (On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.) More info: (510) 839-0852 or pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net	Kluczynski Federal Building Northwest corner of Jackson and Dearborn **Weekday: 4:30 p.m.** **Saturday: Noon** More info: (312) 563-0442 or chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net	**Weekday: 5 p.m.** U.S. Federal Courthouse 312 N. Spring St. **Saturday: 1 p.m.** Westwood Federal Bldg. 11000 Wilshire Blvd. More info: (213) 380-8897 or partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net	Federal Building Broadway between Worth and Duane Sts. **Weekday: 5-7 p.m.** **Saturday: 1-4 p.m.** More info: (212) 406-4252 or (212) 267-1025 or partisandefense@earthlink.net	360 University Ave. Across the street from the U.S. Consulate between Dundas (St. Patrick station) and Queen (Osgoode station) **Weekday: 6 p.m.** **Weekend: 1 p.m.** More info: (416) 593-4138 or pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

U.S. demonstrations are sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues.

For information on Berlin and Mexico City demonstrations: www.partisandefense.org

Subsequent to the PDC's call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

Philadelphia: 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information

New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Bldg.
(125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.)
Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Three Saturdays after the decision:
National Demonstration in Philadelphia

Iraq...

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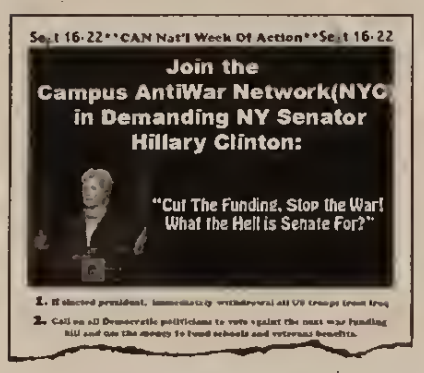
without giving any political support to Islamic fundamentalism or nationalism.

Our starting point is the understanding that imperialist war is the necessary product of the capitalist system. It is the concentrated expression of a profit system that daily slaughters workers on the job, that consigns millions to the scrap heap, that metes out brutal racist cop repression. Imperialism is capitalism in its death agony, in which a handful of advanced powers compete for control of markets, raw materials and access to cheap labor. To get rid of war, poverty and oppression, the entire capitalist system must be overthrown through workers revolutions in the U.S. and internationally.

Reform vs. Revolution

This revolutionary program is starkly counterposed to that of the reformists and the various antiwar coalitions they have built and promoted—Workers World Party (WWP) and its Troops Out Now Coalition (TONC), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its World Can't Wait (WCW) outfit, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and its various Campus Antiwar Network (CAN) groups, the Party for Socialism and Liberation/ANSWER. The mounting frustration with the Democrats is seen by these groups not as an opportunity to break working people and young activists from the politics of "lesser evilism," but rather to further entrench such politics by preaching that what is needed is more and bigger protests to pressure the Democrats to do the right thing. This program was on display at the September 15 antiwar protest in Washington, D.C., called by ANSWER. And it is what is also being promised for the September 29 antiwar protests heavily promoted by TONC.



Flyer by ISO front group says it all. Reformist left built "antiwar movement" as vehicle for Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism.

Thus, a *Workers World* (27 September) article titled "How Congress Could Stop the War—But Won't" states that "it will take a massive, determined, angry and independent movement to force the conciliatory Democratic majority in Congress to put impeachment on the table and take war funding off." The front-page headline of the prior issue of *Workers World* (20 September) read: "Camp Out on Congress's Doorstep to Say No Funds for Racist Occupation!"

WV Photo

Spartacist banner at March 18 New York City antiwar protest.

Not to be outdone, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* online (7 September) moans that the "antiwar movement has failed to build on the momentum from last November's election." Its 3 August article on an occupation of Representative John Conyers' office by liberal activists lauds "antiwar activists" for "taking steps to put liberal leaders of the Democratic Party on the hot seat—demanding action, not words, to end the U.S. war on Iraq and stand up to a Bush administration hell-bent on continuing it." The punch line of the article: "We must hold the Democratic Congress to account—and pressure it to do what the antiwar majority wants: cut off funds for the war and set a deadline for withdrawing U.S. troops."

The logic of such pressure politics was brought home by an insipid leaflet by the New York City CAN demanding that Hillary Clinton "Cut the Funding, Stop the War! What the Hell is Senate For?" Its purpose as the "higher" branch of Congress has always been, in the words of Alexander Hamilton, to be "out of reach of those occasional ill-humors" of the masses. More broadly, the purpose of the entire capitalist government with all its tentacles and branches is, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels put it in the *Communist Manifesto*, to act as "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Against the reformists' lulling of the workers, youth and oppressed into faith-based appeals to the good offices of the bourgeois state, we say what is necessary is ***class-struggle opposition to U.S. imperialism*** by the multiracial American proletariat. The struggle against imperialist war must be part and parcel of a struggle against the entire system of exploitation and oppression. The primary obstacle to this revolutionary perspective is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, whose embrace of the capitalist system and promotion of U.S. imperialism's interests chains the working class to its class enemy, centrally via the Democratic Party.

The working class, the only force with both the objective interest and social power to overthrow this system, needs revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party—a U.S. section of a reforged Fourth International—that will lead the proletariat in the struggle for workers rule.

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

In presenting themselves as even more tough than Bush & Co. in the "war on terror," all the major Democratic presidential candidates support the bloody U.S./NATO occupation of Afghanistan. Moreover, they have all sought to compete with Bush in beating the drums against Iran, promising to keep all options, including a nuclear strike, "on the table" to deal with this supposed "threat."

When Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was invited to speak at Columbia University on September 24 (which he did), as when he asked to pay his respects to the dead at the World Trade Center "Ground Zero" (which he was not allowed to do), the politicians of both parties were apoplectic. It's more than nauseating to hear their whines about "human rights abuses" in Iran as the U.S. rulers spy on, imprison, taser and otherwise make miserable the existence of a large swath of the population in this country. While we are politically hostile to the reactionary mullah-led Iranian regime, we stand against U.S. war threats and nuclear blackmail and say: ***U.S. hands off Iran!*** Iran *needs* nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to deter imperialist attack. In the event of an attack by the U.S. or any force acting as its proxy (e.g., Israel), the international proletariat must stand for the military defense of Iran.

As for the reformist left, the "opposition" to war against Iran that it might mention in its publications was exposed last year when the RCP's WCW and the ISO's CAN signed onto a petition to "Dear President Bush and Vice President Cheney" advising:

> "The most effective way to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons would be to closely monitor its nuclear energy program, and to improve diplomatic relations—two tasks made much more difficult by threatening to bomb Iranian territory. We urge you to lead the way to peace, not war, and to begin by making clear that you will not commit the highest international crime by aggressively attacking Iran."

As we wrote in "ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, 'Lead the Way to Peace'" (*WV* No. 870, 12 May 2006): "This petition is like appealing to Jack the Ripper to take up social work—while simultaneously demanding that his potential victims walk the streets defenseless."

For New October Revolutions!

Those newly introduced to political protest often feel that the differences that separate the tendencies on the left should be held in abeyance and that we should "all get together." But this course is criminal for those fighting to overturn this murderous imperialist system. Reformism is based on the lie that the evils of the bourgeois order can be overcome and that the capitalists can be made—through protest and pressure—to serve the interests of those they exploit and oppress. Although the occasional reform can be wrested through struggle from the capitalist rulers, such reforms are always reversible. History shows again and again that in opposing the program of socialist revolution, the reformists serve to keep this murderous system going, ensuring that protest and anger against it are kept within bounds safe for the bourgeois rulers.

In stark contrast, Marxists tell the bitter truth about this system and fight to organize for its destruction through socialist revolution. Our model is the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the victorious workers revolution that established the world's first proletarian state power. For decades, including after its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalinism, the Soviet Union was a beacon of liberation, not least for the masses in those countries subjugated by imperialism.

We fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. We called for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist regime and replace it with one based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Today, we extend this same program to the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. As for the anti-Communist ISO and its international cothinkers, they hailed the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92—a world-historic defeat for the international proletariat—proclaiming: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991).

The military-industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the Soviet Union had at its disposal a nuclear arsenal that could challenge that of the U.S. That rough nuclear parity stayed the hand of rapacious U.S. imperialism on more than one occasion. Now, in the post-Soviet period, the world has become a far more dangerous place, one of unfettered U.S. military intervention abroad and relentless pounding on the exploited and oppressed "at home." We fight to forge a Bolshevik party that can mobilize the U.S. proletariat—independent of and in opposition to the capitalist parties—in sweeping away this murderous, decaying capitalist system. ***Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!*** ■

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Russian Question...

(continued from page 2)

The same is true in China, though the details are different. The Chinese bureaucracy has proceeded more slowly with privatisation, and has continued to use the organisational form of the Communist Party. China has received much more foreign investment than Russia, with many transnational corporations choosing China as a base for production for the world market.

The Chinese bureaucracy's "gradualist" strategy has been much more successful economically than Yeltsin's "shock therapy", which sent Russia into a deep depression. China has experienced a long boom similar to that in South Korea and Taiwan in earlier years. This boom is based on the extremely ruthless exploitation of the working class, especially the vast numbers of migrant workers.

Neither in China nor in Russia was there just one single "catastrophic" event that broke the resistance of the workers. The resistance of many specific groups of workers to privatisation, job cuts, welfare cuts, oppressive working conditions, etc has been crushed in numerous separate battles, but outbreaks of resistance have continued to occur in both Russia and China.

Nevertheless the state in both Russia and China is a capitalist state. It defends the interests of the capitalist class. This does not exclude the maintenance of a significant nationalised sector of the economy in both countries, nor attacks by the state on specific capitalists (e.g. Putin's attacks on certain "oligarchs"), nor conflicts between the Chinese or Russian states and US imperialism.

Chris Slee

***WV* replies:**

We have extensively answered Chris Slee's arguments on the class character of the Chinese deformed workers state in our replies to two letters from him (see "Why China Is Not Capitalist: An Exchange," *WV* No. 890, 13 April and "Again on Why China Is Not Capitalist," *WV* No. 894, 8 June). Slee's arguments echoed prevailing pseudo-left views on China: our replies provided an opportunity to underline our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. They also provided a means to expose Slee's social-democratic enthusing over "democratic" forces backed by the imperialists against the Stalinist regimes.

In his third letter, Slee again denies the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy—portraying it as simply counterrevolutionary—in order to justify support to capitalist counterrevolution, including the Solidarność bid for power against the Polish workers state in late 1981. In replying to his second letter, we noted that "Slee does not deign to mention his longtime affiliation with the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), whose forerunners during Cold War II ***enthusiostically supported*** imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces in the former Soviet sphere, from Lech Walesa's Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin's 'democrats' in Russia."

Slee readily admits that in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, "Some former leaders of anti-regime mass movements became leaders of capitalist governments, Polish Solidarity being an obvious example." Quite so, as the mass movements they led were pro-capitalist. Slee falsely implies that Solidarność was initially struggling for "socialist democracy." In fact, from its formation during the August 1980 Gdansk shipyard strike, Solidarność was led by pro-capitalist elements and actively supported by the Vatican and American and West European imperialism, not exactly champions of "socialist democracy." And as we wrote in "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981):

> "With its first national congress in September, decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for 'free trade unions' within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for 'free elections' to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of 'Western-style democracy,' that is, ***capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government***." [emphasis in original]

There was no question that for genuine Trotskyists it was necessary to stand with the regime of General Jaruzelski when it spiked Solidarność's bid for power in December 1981. We condemned the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy for driving the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of Washington and the Vatican. Slee condemns the Stalinists for preventing Solidarność from overthrowing the deformed workers state at that time. We refer our readers to the October 1981 Spartacist pamphlet *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*.

In arguing that the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has restored capitalism in China, Slee contends that this is also what basically happened in the former Soviet Union. He thus describes Boris Yeltsin's seizure of power in August 1991 as an "intra-bureaucratic power struggle." Yeltsin had been a leading figure in the Soviet Stalinist regime. However, in 1990 he and other right-wing forces split from the ruling Communist Party, which was then breaking apart. Trumpeting his support for "democracy" and "free market" economies, Yeltsin was able to gain the support of the U.S. imperialists in his struggle to overthrow the decomposing regime of Mikhail Gorbachev. What happened in the Soviet Union in 1989-91 was, as Leon Trotsky had predicted decades earlier, the ***disintegration*** of the Stalinist bureaucracy, out of which elements emerged that formed a capitalist-restorationist political force led by Yeltsin.

After seizing power in August 1991, Yeltsin dismantled the remaining structures of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The Communist Party was outlawed and the armed forces purged of officers who might resist the dissolution of the USSR and the restoration of capitalism. At this critical juncture in modern world history, the International Communist League put out a leaflet, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!", that was distributed in the tens of thousands in Soviet Russia. It began:

> "The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution. The first workers state in history, sapped and undermined by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, lies in tatters. The state power has been fractured, the Communist Party—its bureaucratic core—shattered and banned from the KGB and armed forces, the multinational union is ripping apart as one republic after another proclaims secession."
>
> —*WV* No. 533, 30 August 1991; reprinted in the August 1993 Spartacist pamphlet *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*

Slee blows a lot of smoke to obscure one simple, decisive fact: He and his party stood with Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary rabble; the ICL fought to the last in defense of the gains of October.

Turning to China, Slee again asserts that the state is "capitalist." This is simply a philistine cover for ***support to those forces which indeed seek such a counterrevolutionary outcome***. In our reply to Slee in *WV* No. 890, we explained:

> "Should China succumb to counterrevolution, the results would be catastrophic: the return of imperialist subjugation, the dismantling of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, the deepening of 'death of communism' ideology internationally. This is an outcome we seek to combat. And in such a showdown, the DSP will stand on the side of counterrevolution, as it has done and is doing."

With this reply to Slee's third letter, we rest our case.■

Paris Rally...

(continued from page 7)

intent was to undermine the potential social power this workforce has when united against the bosses.

In France the death penalty has been officially abolished, but for the youth of the *banlieues* [minority ghettos] death can always be at the end of the street when the cops chase them, as was the case for Zyad Benna and Bouna Traoré, the two youth of Clichy-sous-Bois electrocuted in October 2005 while trying to escape a cop raid. Their death provoked the *banlieue* youth revolt. While the Ligue Trotskyste and CDDS called on the workers movement to mobilize in defense of the youth, most of the left, notably the PS [Socialist Party], the PC and LO at the time supported the restoration of order by the cops. In the wake of this revolt, dozens of prison sentences were meted out to youth in mockeries of trials run round the clock, which denied the possibility for a "defense" to even be prepared against the cop charges.

Mumia's case shows the class nature of the capitalist state. Its legal system has an inherent class and race bias. The cops and courts that framed up this innocent man, the prison system, the executioner are all tools of organized violence used to perpetuate the domination of the capitalist class through repression of the working class and oppressed. Destroying this organ of repression requires a socialist revolution that sweeps away the capitalist system in the U.S., in France and other imperialist centers.

It is urgent to revitalize massive protests in the U.S. and internationally. It is necessary to unite working-class power with anti-racist youth in the fight to free this innocent man. His freedom will not be won through reliance on the rigged "justice" system or capitalist politicians. The only power that can turn the tide is the mobilization of the workers movement, which has the social power to shut down production. We need united-front actions and protests centered on the trade unions in which a range of political opinions are represented and where all are assured the right to express their own views. ***Organize now in your trade union, on your campus, in your community, to demand: Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now!***■

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

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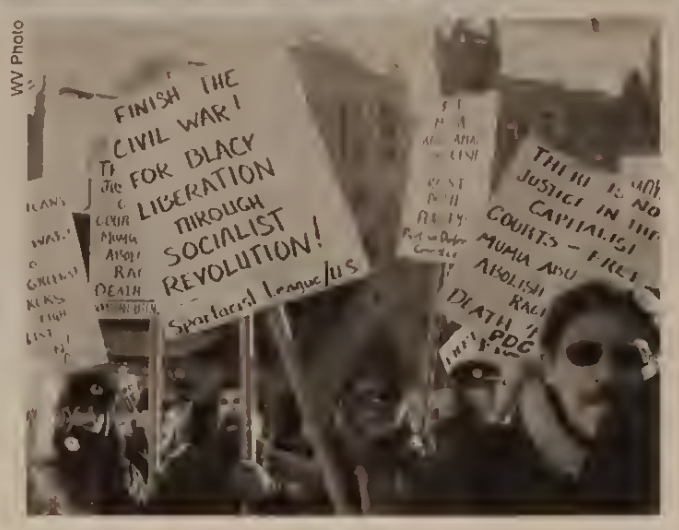
Jena Six...

(continued from page 12)

nightriders. Federal intervention into anti-racist and other social struggles has meant spying on and murderous repression of activists. President Bush, cynically claiming to be "saddened" by the events in Jena, noted that "the Justice Department and the FBI are monitoring the situation." We're sure they are—just like they "monitored" the Black Panther Party and thousands of other radicals, black and white, in the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War and New Left movements.

Under the FBI's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), 38 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds of others framed up. FBI "infiltrators" made up about 20 percent of Ku Klux Klan membership in the 1960s and were involved in bombings and murders, including the 1963 Birmingham church bombing and the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in her car in 1965. The November 1979 Klan/Nazi massacre of five leftists and union officials in Greensboro, North Carolina, was aided by a government agent who helped train the killers and by a "former" FBI informant who rode shotgun in the fascists' motorcade of death.

A living symbol of the system of racist capitalist injustice today is the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and later a MOVE supporter and radical journalist who has been imprisoned on death row for a quarter century, framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in December 1981. From the time he was a 15-year-old leader of the Philadelphia Panthers in the late 1960s, Mumia was a target of COINTELPRO spying and harassment. The cops, prosecutors, bourgeois politicians and their media jackals have howled for Mumia's legal lynching because they see in him the spectre of black revolt.



9 December 2006: PDC contingent at Philadelphia protest on 25th anniversary of arrest of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The big-name black liberals who organized the Jena Six protest have done nothing at all comparable on behalf of Mumia. While Jena is a small Southern town, Philadelphia is a major Northern city long run by the Democratic Party machine. And it was the local Democrats who joined with the cops and prosecutors in putting Mumia on death row. The D.A. who prosecuted Mumia in 1982, Ed Rendell, is now the Democratic governor of Pennsylvania. Since first taking up Mumia's cause two decades ago, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have urged all opponents of racist oppression to join the fight for his freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty. But we understand that this fight must be waged independently of the capitalist courts and political parties that conspired to railroad Mumia.

Democrats: The Other Party of Racist Capitalist Rule

What politicians like Sharpton, who admits that he wore a wire for the FBI in the 1980s, want above all else is to keep black people tied to the Democratic Party as the "lesser evil" to the Republicans, who openly appeal to the white racist vote. All the major GOP presidential candidates recently refused to appear in a debate at Baltimore's historically black Morgan State University. In an earlier calculated insult, all but one Republican candidate turned down the chance to debate on the Spanish-language Univision network. In his *New York Times* (24 August) column, liberal commentator Paul Krugman noted that the Republicans' "electoral strategy has depended largely on exploiting racial fear and animosity." He pointed out that "Rudy Giuliani remains the front-runner for the G.O.P. nomination," despite his big-city social life and record on abortion, because he "comes across as an authoritarian, willing in particular to crack down on you-know-who."

The impoverishment of the black populace is perpetuated by the American capitalist government—federal, state and city—whether run by Democrats *or* Republicans. It was the Clinton administration in the mid 1990s that axed the main federal welfare program, thereby condemning millions of women and children, disproportionately black, to destitution while further depressing wages at the low end of the labor market, where black workers are concentrated. Today in response to the Jena atrocity, Hillary Clinton has joined the call for an "investigation," while Barack Obama says he just wants "fairness" and claims it "isn't a matter of black and white." Tell that to the marchers who passed Confederate flags on the way out of Jena!

The bulk of the "socialist" left, which sows the illusion that the capitalist system can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, has offered no criticism of the Sharpton and Jackson leadership of the Jena protest. Typical are the eccentric Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who went to Jena with stickers to "Impeach Bush!"—their longstanding gimmick to promote the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war. The RCP's *Revolution* has pumped out a lot of newsprint on Jena that includes some ritualistic denunciations of capitalism and white supremacy. But you won't hear from them that Jackson, Sharpton & Co. have repeatedly moved to steer anger over racist abuses into toothless "reforms" and bourgeois electoral politics.

MLK and the Failure of Liberal Reformism

There was a lot of talk at the Jena protest about the need for a "new civil rights movement." It's obvious to millions of oppressed black people that *something* needs to be done. The bipartisan "war on drugs" campaign has led to the mass incarceration of black as well as Latino youth. A decision by the Supreme Court this summer effectively put the last nail in the coffin of school integration. The mass of black people is forced to live in ghettos that are little more than rotting shells: no jobs, no health care, primary and high schools little more than prisons. In some inner cities, infant mortality rates approach Third World conditions.

The civil rights movement succeeded in eliminating legalized racial segregation (the Jim Crow system) in the South. That system had taken hold in the late 19th century after the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, the period of racial equality and black political empowerment that followed the smashing of the slavocracy in the Civil War. An important factor leading to the end of Jim Crow was that by the late 1950s legalized segregation had become an increasing embarrassment for the U.S. imperialist rulers in their Cold War with the Soviet Union, especially in the former colonial countries of Asia and Africa.

But the civil rights movement was defeated in the mid 1960s when it came North, where blacks already had the same formal democratic rights as whites but remained segregated at the bottom of society. For here it ran straight into the conditions of black impoverishment and oppression rooted in the basic structure of American capitalist society: mass unemployment, rat-infested slums, rampant police brutality. These conditions could not be eradicated by Congress passing a new civil rights act.

However, the civil rights movement—in which the black masses courageously confronted the white-supremacist police states of the South—also had the possibility of developing into a working-class-centered struggle for black equality. Such a struggle was obstructed and sabotaged by Martin Luther King Jr. and the other black misleaders who tied the movement to the Democratic Party of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

The main organization of young civil rights militants in the South was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which in the early 1960s underwent a leftward radicalization. Through their own bitter experience, SNCC militants came to recognize that the Kennedy/Johnson White House was a lot closer to the racist Dixiecrats than it was to them. At the same time, they also came to recognize that the Democrats, no less than the Republicans, were a party of imperialist militarism, seeking to overthrow the Cuban Revolution and escalating the war in Vietnam in the name of anti-Communism.

Tensions between the young militants and King & Co. came to the surface during the 1963 March on Washington. The liberal leaders pressured then SNCC chairman John Lewis into deleting from his prepared speech the following passage: "We cannot depend on any political party for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence." Subsequently, Lewis, like many other activists, came to terms with the racist capitalist order, becoming a Democratic Congressman.

To black people, King preached "nonviolent resistance" in the face of racist police repression as well as attacks by the Klan. And when in the summer of 1965 blacks in the Watts district of Los Angeles rose up against police brutality, King, at the behest of Lyndon Johnson, endorsed their bloody suppression by the L.A. cops and National Guard. King's support for the suppression of the Watts rebellion widely discredited him among young black militants who were already derisively calling him "De Lawd."

Our own political tendency emerged during this convulsive period. The Spartacist League originated as a left opposition, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), in

A talk by Bryan D. Palmer
author of *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928*

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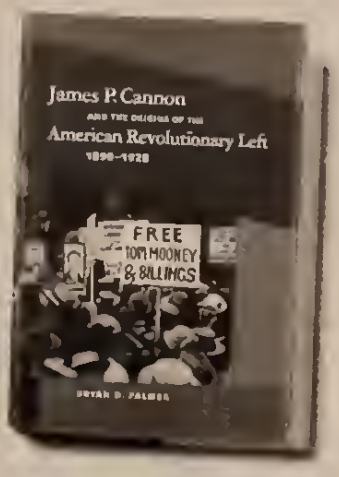

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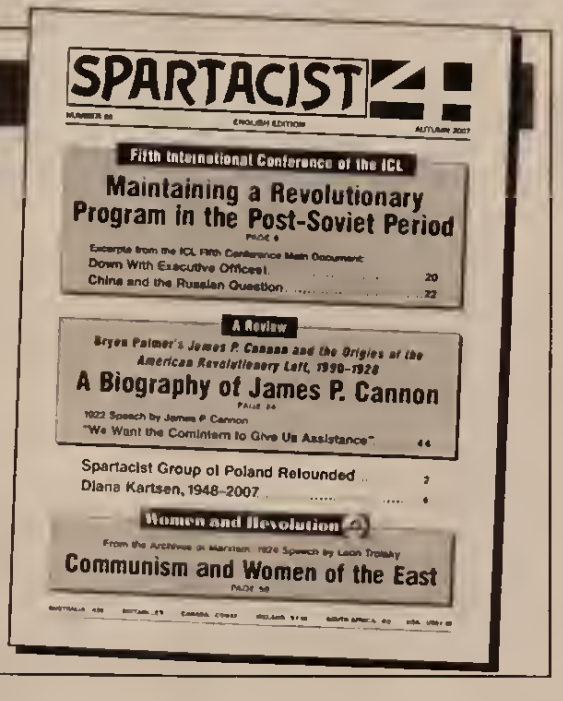

UAW...

(continued from page 1)

retirees. Not only would this plan put the union in the position of debt collector, hut it also opens the door to the union itself cutting benefits if, for example, its investments cannot keep pace with rising medical costs. A hard-fought battle could turn the tide on such concessions and defend hard-won benefits.

The contract negotiations apparently stalled when GM rejected any job security promises, among other issues. Company promises to save jobs are meaningless. Every UAW contract with GM since 1980 has included a joh security clause. But a combination of automation, company spin-offs and outsourcing has decimated UAW membership rolls at GM, Ford and Chrysler. In 1980, there were over 350,000 UAW members at GM compared with 73,000 today. Meanwhile, there has been a proliferation of non-union jobs in auto, particularly in the South.

For decades, the overriding concern of the UAW officialdom has been the "competitiveness" of the American automakers against their overseas rivals. UAW head Ron Gettelfinger and his cohorts blame the plight of U.S. automakers on "unfair" foreign trade and currency imbalances, particularly in regard to China. They demand that Washington broker "fair trade" agreements replete with protectionist barriers and hand out subsidies to the "Big Three."

Here is a crystalline expression of the lahor tops' support to the capitalist profit system and the amhitions of the U.S. ruling class. The UAW tops' chauvinist protectionism promotes the lie that workers in the U.S. have a common "national interest" with their "own" exploiters and goes hand in hand with their loyal support to the capitalist Democratic Party. It also serves to foment bigotry against Asian and Latino workers, for example when the UAW bureaucracy rails against the "outsourcing" of jobs to other countries. This flag-waving chauvinism is reflected in the current strike with picket signs reading, "Americans Have Rights" and "NAFTA Bankrupts America." Calls for protectionist measures are doubly pernicious when directed against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, which the international proletariat must defend against the imperialist powers and against internal counterrevolutionary forces.

To actually protect auto workers' jobs means fighting the bosses. As a norm, the capitalists will move to exploit cheaper labor where it is availahle. The growth of the GM empire worldwide points straight to the need for international labor solidarity action. From the standpoint of working-class internationalism, the growth in the ranks of the proletariat in underdeveloped countries means the growth of the international allies of the U.S. working class. In the case of GM, many of its U.S. models are assemhled in Mexican plants. When the UAW struck two Flint, Michigan, GM-Delphi parts plants in 1998, GM's North American assembly network shut down from Mexico through to Canada.

As in 1998, the current strike shows that the UAW still wields significant power despite its declining numhers, which include a large component of hlack workers and a significant numher of women workers as well. In terms of the percentage of anto workers organized, the UAW peaked in the early 1950s. Its greatest numher of dues-paying memhers was reached in 1970, at 1.6 million workers. This year, that number could sink below 500,000, less than half the auto workers in the U.S. At the same time, domestic sales of cars and trucks have grown in recent years, and the vast majority of vehicles sold here are made in the U.S.

Organizing the unorganized is crucial to the very survival of the UAW. A victory against the GM bosses could spark a drive to organize the large and growing number of non-union, mainly foreign-owned plants in the U.S. For example, a strike victory would energize the fight to organize the Toyota Camry plant in Georgetown, Kentucky. The bulk of non-union plants are located in the "right to work" South, where the racist legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation has always served to undercut labor struggle. Any organizing campaign must center on the light for black rights and take up as well the rights of immigrant workers, a growing component of the U.S. proletariat.

GM's appetite to crush the union has been whetted by the series of givebacks already granted by the UAW tops, who oversaw the mass layoffs and wage-gouging at Delphi when that company declared hankruptcy. Despite their precarious position, one-third of UAW Delphi workers rejected their rotten contract earlier this summer. In 2005, UAW's Solidarity House made concessions on retiree health care at GM and Ford followed by job-slashing employee buyouts at the Big Three.

As we wrote during the Delphi bankruptcy crisis in "Defeat Auto Bosses' Union Busting!" (*WV* No. 857, 28 October 2005):

> "The screaming about rising health care and wage costs is corporate propaganda in the service of union-busting. Meanwhile, Delphi, GM et al. rake it in with their subsidiaries and international operations. The unions should fight for free, quality health care for all! For jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Against the anarchy of capitalist production, we fight for workers revolutions to establish an international planned socialist economy."

For this to happen requires forging a revolutionary workers party that will rip power out of the hands of the exploiters and create a society organized to meet human needs, not private profit.■

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the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). When the Southern civil rights struggles erupted in the late 1950s, the SWP was beginning to move away from the Trotskyist program, finally descending into reformism in 1965. The SWP leadership abstained from intervening in the mass struggles for democratic rights while acting as cheerleaders for both King and the black nationalists of the Nation of Islam.

The RT fought for the SWP to intervene into the civil rights movement based on a program of linking the struggle for black democratic rights and social equality with the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation. Concretely, we called on civil rights militants to break with the Democratic Party and form a Freedom Labor Party. We called as well for a Southern organizing drive backed by the labor movement. Then as now, only on the basis of common class interests and struggle can the deep racial divide between black and white workers be overcome. After being expelled from the SWP, the early Spartacist League intervened in the civil rights movement in both the South and North, to the best of the ability of our very small forces.

Recoiling against the liberal reformism of King and identifying the labor movement with its bureaucratic misleaders, many SNCC and other militants turned toward black nationalism. Black nationalism or, more accurately, separatism is at bottom a doctrine of despair. This outlook accepts that the racist character of American society is unchangeable and that no significant section of the white populace can be won to the struggle for black equality. The best of the young black radicals of this period were represented by the Black Panther Party, which was destroyed largely through murderous state repression. Many Panthers subsequently returned to the fold of liberal reformism and the Democratic Party.

The Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

Black nationalism obscures the *class* divide in this society, denying the potential power that black workers have as a strategic component of the multiracial proletariat. Despite the destruction of many industrial jobs and erosion of union strength, black workers, whose rate of union membership is significantly higher than that of white workers, continue to be integrated into such industries as steel, auto, urban transit and longshore. The proletariat alone has the power to shatter this racist, capitalist system. Won to a revolutionary program and under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party, black workers will be the living link between the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses and the social power of the proletariat.

The two main obstacles preventing black workers from playing that historic role are the Democratic Party, especially its black component, and the trade-union bureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democrats. Beginning in the mid 1960s, the Republican Party positioned itself as the party of the "white backlash" while the Democrats moved to co-opt young black activists into the government bureaucracy. Black Democrats became mayors of major cities, where they acted as overseers of the ghetto masses and implemented the killing cuts in social welfare programs. One of those mayors, Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, ordered the firebombing of the MOVE commune in May 1985, killing eleven hlack men, women and children and destroying an entire black neighborhood in the process.

The failure of the trade-union misleadership to mobilize labor's power to combat the oppression of black people is a major factor underlying the decline of the union movement. This is nowhere clearer than in the South, where the legacy of Jim Crow racism has made it the main regional bastion of anti-labor reaction since the building of the integrated industrial unions in the 1930s. Nonetheless, black workers retain considerahle social power alongside their white and Latino class brothers and sisters. The strike of 7,000 shipyard workers at Northrop Grumman, the world's largest naval shiphuilder, in Pascagoula, Mississippi, earlier this year demonstrated the potential power of the integrated labor movement, which under class-struggle leadership could spearhead a drive to organize the open shop South.

Organizing the region's working class, which now includes increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from Latin America, cannot be achieved on the basis of narrow business unionism. Labor needs a leadership which does not bow to this country's harsh anti-labor laws and which mobilizes unions to fight the systematic oppression of black people and to defend the rights of immigrants and all the oppressed. Black and working-class militants must stand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Our perspective of revolutionary integrationism is premised on the understanding that black freedom requires smashing the capitalist system and constructing an egalitarian socialist society. There will be no social revolution in this country without a united struggle of black, white and immigrant workers led by their multiracial workers party. As stated in the preamble to the program of the Labor Black Leagues, which are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League: "The civil rights movement, tied to pro-Democratic Party pressure politics and sold out by liberal reformism, failed to complete the unfinished business of the Civil War. We fight to win the entire working class, including white workers as well as the growing number of Latino and other immigrants, to the fight for hlack liberation, strategic to the American revolution."■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

CHICAGO

Wednesday, October 3, 7 p.m.
Meet the Marxists
University of Chicago
Harper Memorial Library, Room 141
1116 E. 59Ih St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, October 4, 7 p.m.
Eyewitness Report from Jena Rally
Free Mychal Bell! Drop All Charges Against the Jena 6!
Outrage Over Racist Jim Crow Justice in Louisiana!
Spartacist Public Office
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@tiac.net

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, October 10, 6 p.m.
Marx's View of Economics—Exploitation, Profit and the Capitalist Social Order
University of Brilish Columbia
Student Union Building
Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

TORONTO

Wednesday, October 10, 6:30 p.m.
The Capitalist Class and the Working Class
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2101
100 St. George Street
University of Toronto
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

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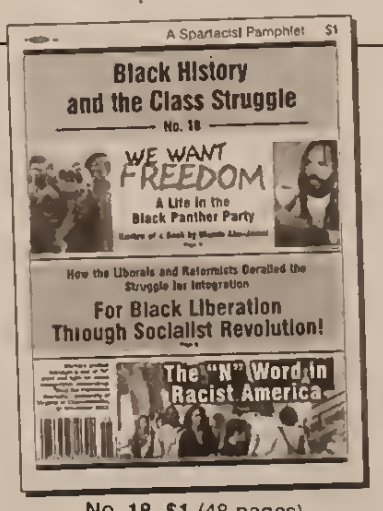

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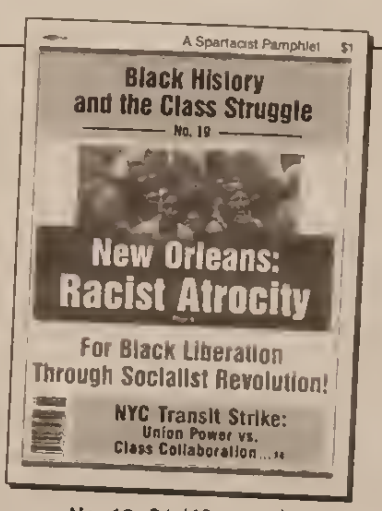

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Jena Six: Racist "Justice" U.S.A.

On September 20, as many as 50,000 protesters—overwhelmingly black and comprising workers, students, retirees and church groups—poured into the small rural town of Jena, Louisiana. Alerted by black radio and Internet networks, they came on buses from all over the South, from Detroit and Harlem and as far away as Los Angeles, to express their outrage at the Jim Crow "justice" meted out to six black Jena high school students. After months of racist insults and threats prompted by black students sitting under the "white tree," with

Young Spartacus

racists putting hangman's nooses on the tree, five of the youth were charged with attempted murder following a schoolyard scuffle with a white student, while the sixth was charged as a juvenile (see "Outrage Over Jim Crow Justice in Louisiana," *WV* No. 896, 3 August). On campuses and workplaces across the country, the case of the Jena Six has touched a raw nerve among black people. One protester in Jena held up a sign reading, "There Would Be More of Us Here But So Many of Us Are in Jail."

The day after the protesters left, Jim Crow justice in Jena reasserted itself. Earlier, 17-year-old Mychal Bell, the only one of the six students who has been continuously imprisoned since the schoolyard fight, saw his aggravated assault and conspiracy charges thrown out because he had been tried as an adult. But outrageously, on September 21 he was denied bail. Bell remains incarcerated in a town in the central Louisiana pine woods that has been a stronghold for KKKer David Duke. The other five still await trial, although charges against four of them have been reduced. Hours after the Jena demonstration, two young whites, one an admitted Klansman, provocatively drove through the nearby city of Alexandria, threatening people who had returned from the protest by dragging two nooses from their pickup truck, which contained a rifle and brass knuckles. ***Free Mychal Bell now! Drop all the charges against the Jena Six!***

"Jena justice" is not some aberration. In Georgia, black youth Genarlow Wilson is *still* in prison for having had consensual oral sex with a 15-year-old girl when he was 17. After a court reduced his sentence to time already served, prosecutors appealed the ruling, keeping him behind bars. In New York City, Sean Bell, a young black man celebrating his upcoming wedding, was cut down in a hail of 50 cop bullets last December, and six months later black and Latino high school students in Brooklyn's Bushwick neighborhood were rounded up by cops as they tried to attend a friend's wake. The prisons, and the barbaric death rows within the prisons, are overflowing with black men in a country with the highest incarceration rate in the world.

Many of the protesters who poured into Jena appreciated the connection made by Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club comrades between the case of the Jena Six and the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, one of the worst racist atrocities in modern U.S. history. But Democratic politicians Jesse Jackson Sr. and Al Sharpton, central leaders of the Jena protest, did *not* organize any significant protests over

Winter/NY Times

September 20: Tens of thousands from throughout the U.S. rallied in Jena, Louisiana, against Jim Crow prosecution of six black youth.

Break with the Democrats!

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Finish the Civil War—
For Black Liberation
Through Socialist Revolution!

Katrina. The Katrina disaster could not be blamed solely on the criminal policies of the Bush administration but also indicted the Democratic Party, which for decades helped preside over the deterioration of the flood control system and ran the notoriously racist and corrupt New Orleans cops. A featured speaker on September 20 was New Orleans mayor Ray Nagin, who ordered the city's evacuation while abandoning those without cars—overwhelmingly black and poor—to the Katrina floodwaters. We wrote in a 4 September 2005 Spartacist League statement titled "New Orleans: Racist Atrocity" (*WV* No. 854, 16 September 2005):

> "This disaster has laid bare the class and race divisions in America. The logic of U.S. capitalism is that whites mainly lost property, blacks mainly lost lives. It is overwhelmingly black people, deemed 'expendable' by the rulers, who suffered and died by the thousands in this two-thirds black city ... This catastrophic destruction of lives and livelihoods underlines that the oppression of black people is rooted in the very bedrock of American capitalism and will not be ended short of a socialist revolution that rips power and the means of production from the greedy rulers and places them in the hands of the working people."

We look to the working class and its strategic black component as the social force that can overturn the capitalist order. With its hands on the means of production—the factories, mines, transportation systems—the working class produces the profits of the capitalist exploiters. We fight to build a workers party based on the perspective of *revolutionary integrationism*. While combatting racist segregation and state repression, we understand that black liberation can be achieved only through the integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. This program is counterposed to the liberal myth that black people—an oppressed race-color caste—can achieve equality within the confines of the capitalist profit system. It is also counterposed to black nationalism, which capitulates to and helps perpetuate the racist segregation fostered by this country's rulers and despairs of multiracial class struggle.

Liberal Misleaders

Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, whose longtime role as "black leaders" has been to quell social unrest, came down to Jena to preach reliance on the same "justice" system that from the county sheriff on up is a machine of racial and class oppression. Sharpton called in Jena for "federal intervention to protect people from Southern injustice," intoning that "our fathers in the 1960's had to penetrate the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, we have to do the same thing" (Associated Press, 20 September).

It is a *lie* that the federal government is a friend of black equality. Fifty years ago during the battle to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, President Eisenhower sent in troops to *head off* efforts by black people to defend themselves against racist mobs and KKK

continued on page 10

Rourke/American Statesman

Fitzhugh/Sun Herald

Above: New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina starkly demonstrated racial oppression built into American capitalism. Right: Pascagoula march by Northrop Grumman workers, many of them Katrina victims, who shut down shipbuilding giant in powerful strike, March 2007.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 900 | GCU C-701 | 12 October 2007

Democrats Vie with Republicans in China Bashing

Defend, Extend Gains of Chinese Revolution!

For Unconditional Military Defense! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

We print below, in edited form, a presentation by Paul Collins of the Spartacist League at a September 27 New York City forum.

I noticed in reading Sunday's *New York Times* that it looks like Hillary Clinton is running away with the Democratic Party nomination. We are Trotskyists—revolutionary communists—so we don't really care that much. Who can stomach Bush? But as we keep telling the "Anybody but Bush" crowd, supporting the capitalist Democratic Party and building a vote for Clinton means building support for a party whose candidate will be anti-working-class, anti-communist and will possibly get us all killed in a thermonuclear war. We tell them: labor must break with the Democrats. We need to build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

I remember back in December 2005 that Senator Clinton and then New York State attorney general—and now governor—Eliot Spitzer condemned the just and powerful, though too brief, Transport Workers Union Local 100 strike by New York City transit workers. They relished bringing down the Taylor Law on the strikers. Hillary Clinton, Eliot Spitzer, the Democrats—these are enemies of the working people.

I looked up Clinton's position on China, since China is the topic of the forum. And she is very consistent. She is part of a strident anti-China cabal in the U.S. Senate. She says China is eroding U.S. economic sovereignty, holds too much U.S. debt—China apparently now holds about $407 billion in U.S. Treasury bonds. This has been helping to keep the U.S. economy afloat, and now the dollar is going down. She condemns China for manipulating its currency and demands the "rule of law," which is an imperialist code word for: "we have to have a capitalist counterrevolution in that country and get things squared away." She also condemns China on "human rights" and yearns to be the imperialist Commander-in-Chief who presides over capitalist counterrevolution in China. The Democratic Party is the enemy of working people here, and of 1.3 billion people in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

China is not a capitalist country. The economy is primarily based on collectivized property, not on capitalist private property and production for profit based on the exploitation of labor. It is the most populous country on earth, with an economic growth rate that has been outstripping that of any capitalist country for years. It has an industrial sector that has created the largest and one of the most militant proletariats in the world, an industrial sector sufficiently developed to build a nuclear deterrent to the imperialist mass murderers in Washington, London, Berlin and Tokyo and to put a man in space.

Siemens Metals & Mining

Above: Workers at Baosteel plant in Shanghai, part of China's collectivized industry. Below: Migrant workers in Chongqing. Chinese Stalinists' "market reforms" have spurred economic growth while increasing inequalities.

Imaginechina

The People's Republic of China is ruled by a nationalist, bureaucratic Stalinist caste. It is a caste that fears and hates the working class but whose rule derives from the existence of collectivized property forms. We characterize China as a deformed workers state. And we draw certain programmatic conclusions from that.

We are for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We are for proletarian political revolution to oust the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy and install the rule of workers and peasants soviets. We are for the extension of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution to the rest of Asia, in particular to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia, and beyond to the rest of the world. We are for forging the revolutionary working-class internationalist party to lead that world revolution.

A Bureaucratically Deformed Workers State

To understand China today, you have to begin with 1949 and the revolution that transformed China, which made possible the huge industrial and social leap. The state in China under Mao Zedong was the dictatorship of the proletariat, a workers state, but despite its great gains, it was deformed from birth.

The 1949 Revolution occurred under exceptional historical circumstances. An essential ingredient in the birth of the Chinese deformed workers state was the existence of the Soviet Union, a workers state that provided military and economic support to the young People's Republic. In a civil war after the end of World War II, the thoroughly corrupt capitalist Guomindang regime of Chiang Kai-shek collapsed and was smashed by the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The motor force of the revolution was a peasant uprising, and the CCP, which stood at the head of it, was a peasant party. In China, historical development had intermeshed the landlord and the capitalist class to an unusual extent, so the impact of the peasant insurrection was felt in the cities by the urban bourgeoisie with great force.

The proletariat was not a factor in the Third Chinese Revolution in 1949. It had been smashed and atomized in 1927 with the bloody defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution by the Guomindang and then subjected to fierce repression under the Japanese occupation. In fact, the Maoist PLA tried to make certain that the working class was not a factor in 1949. As the CCP was driving out Chiang, it responded to workers uprisings, of which there were a few in Shanghai and other cities, by putting a ban on strikes, instituting compulsory arbitration, slashing wages and lengthening the working day.

Mao's CCP had called for forming a "democratic coalition government" with the "nationalist bourgeoisie." But the Chinese bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan, under the protection of U.S. imperialism. Formerly divided and horribly exploited by imperialism, mainland China was unified. Land was distributed to the peasants and later collectivized. Women, who had been basically chattel for a thousand years (historically symbolized by the barbaric practice of footbinding), advanced by many orders of magnitude beyond that oppression.

Although it was a workers state, the state that issued out of the 1949 Revolution was governed by an anti-working-class, privileged, petty-bourgeois, nationalist bureaucracy. The CCP regime was based on the reactionary Stalinist dogma of building socialism—i.e., a classless society of material abundance—in one country. China ended up with collectivized property forms without workers democracy. We call for workers political revolution to oust that bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of soviets dedicated to defending and extending the collectivized property forms, the gains of the revolution.

continued on page 6

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Jamal Hart Denied *Habeas Corpus* Appeal

Free Him Now!

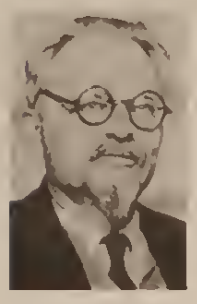
On October 4 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit summarily turned down Jamal Hart's *habeas corpus* petition, which would have freed him after more than ten years in prison. The judges affirmed the decision of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania, which denied Hart's petition on February 26. Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, was sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges. He was framed up for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father, whose own federal appeal is currently before the same Third Circuit court.

Hart was first charged under Pennsylvania state laws, which would have resulted in probation. However, the Justice Department under Democratic president Bill Clinton intervened to use federal laws to exponentially extend the sentencing range for Hart. The draconian sentence was due to the prosecution's labeling Hart a "career criminal." Hart's petition argued that this outrage was based in part on a *non-existent* 1995 assault conviction, and that his maximum sentence should have been at most eight years—time he has already served. In denying Hart's appeal, the Third Circuit court upheld a lower court's specious argument that it lacked jurisdiction.

The October court ruling goes out of its way to attack Hart's attorneys for affirming that Hart was targeted because of his well-known efforts on behalf of his father. Hart's attorneys argued, "As Mr. Hart grew more vocal and his father's case continued to make its way through the courts and into national and international headlines, Mr. Hart became a target of police harassment. This harassment culminated when he was arrested on false charges of weapons possession and receipt of stolen property, and the state charges were then federalized." In response, the judges stated, "We are deeply concerned by counsel's making such serious allegations without providing any proof."

But proof of such persecution is hardly difficult to find. Recently, one Walter Whalen, Hart's case manager at the Schuylkill Federal Correctional Institution, openly displayed a provocative poster declaring Mumia Abu-Jamal guilty. Whalen had also improperly adjusted Hart's security level to prevent him from being transferred to a lower-level security facility. The Partisan Defense Committee sent a letter of protest against the provocations. Eventually, the prison administration removed the poster and, on review, conceded that Hart is eligible to be considered for transfer to a low security institution.

It is noteworthy that Robert E. Cowen, one of the judges who this month denied Jamal Hart's appeal, is on the panel that will pass judgment on Mumia Abu-Jamal's federal appeal, a decision that could come at any moment. As we wrote after Hart's first run-in with the Third Circuit court in "Racist Court Throws Out Jamal Hart Appeal" (*WV* No. 708, 5 March 1999): "Those who promote illusions in the racist 'justice' system by calling for a new trial for Mumia should consider the following: it is the Third Circuit court, which just approved the sentence of his son to more than 15 years of prison hell, which will play a critical role in the outcome of Mumia's final appeal. Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"■



TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky on the Soviet Workers State

LENIN

The Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, led the struggle against the usurpation of political power in the Soviet Union by the Stalinist bureaucracy beginning in 1923-24 and the degeneration of the Third International (Comintern). Writing in 1936, Trotsky insisted that revolutionary Marxists must fight for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. Today, we apply this program to the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The decision of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, according to which socialism in the Soviet Union has "finally and irrevocably" triumphed—regardless of the low level of labor productivity as compared with the advanced capitalist countries and independently of the course of development of all the rest of the world!—is a crude and dangerous lie....

The principal mass of the means of production in the industry of the Soviet Union has grown tremendously and remains in the hands of the state—in agriculture, in the hands of the kolkhozes, which stand between state and private property. But not even *state property* is as yet *socialist* property, for the latter has as its premise the dying away of the state as the guardian of property, the mitigation of inequality and the gradual dissolution of the property concept even in the morals and customs of society. The real development in the Soviet Union in recent years has followed a directly opposite road. Inequality grows and, together with it, state coercion. Given favorable domestic and international conditions, the transition is possible from the present state property to socialism; given unfavorable conditions, however, a reversion to capitalism is also possible....

If a *social counterrevolution*—i.e., the overthrow of state ownership of the means of production and of the land as well as the reestablishment of private property—is necessary for the return of the USSR to capitalism, then for the further development of socialism a *political revolution* has become inevitable, i.e., the violent overthrow of the political rule of the degenerated bureaucracy while maintaining the property relations established by the October Revolution. The proletarian vanguard of the USSR, basing itself upon the toiling masses of the whole country and upon the revolutionary movement of the whole world, will have to batter down the bureaucracy by force, restore Soviet democracy, eliminate the enormous privileges, and assure a genuine advance to socialist equality....

The USSR is a state which bases itself upon the property relationships created by the proletarian revolution and which is administered by a labor bureaucracy in the interests of new privileged strata. The Soviet Union can be called a workers' state in approximately the same sense—despite the vast difference in scale—in which a trade union, led and betrayed by opportunists, that is, by agents of capital, can be called a workers' organization. Just as revolutionists defend every trade union, even the most thoroughly reformist, from the class enemy, combating intransigently the treacherous leaders at the same time, so the parties of the Fourth International defend the USSR against the blows of imperialism without for a single moment giving up the struggle against the reactionary Stalinist apparatus.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union" (July 1936)

Letter

The New SDS: A Correction

3 October 2007

Dear *Young Spartacus*,

The introduction to "Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics" in *WV* 897 wrongly describes the new Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as a "liberal talkshop whose main purpose so far seems to be drawing in youth to aid the Democrats' prospects in the 2008 elections." In our experience in New York, many SDS members have been repeatedly arrested in direct action protests. In March, for example, 23 SDS members were arrested after occupying a military recruiting center in lower Manhattan for two hours. Different SDS chapters have different characters—some are more explicitly anti-communist and anarchoid, some are more social-democratic, and some are influenced by ostensibly socialist organizations like the reformists of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization and Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (the Workers World Party's youth organization).

What binds SDS together is lowest-common-denominator bourgeois liberal pressure politics. This means seeking to reform racist U.S. imperialism through appeals to the Democratic Party. This was illustrated at the SDS workshop at this spring's Left Forum, where we exposed Manning Marable, the chair of the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS—SDS's "non-student" affiliate), for calling for a vote to John Kerry in the 2004 elections. We also pointed to the lessons of the Russian Revolution as a model for how to end capitalist exploitation. These two arguments evoked a hysterical uproar as MDS and SDS members in the room denounced us and the model of the Russian Revolution and "ideology." This hostility toward "ideology" is an expression of anti-communism. What we want to argue with SDS members about is our revolutionary politics—not whether or not they are a talkshop.

Comradely,
Hal S.
New York Spartacus Youth Club

Labor Black Struggle League Workers Vanguard Readers Circle

Jena Six: Racist "Justice" U.S.A.

Saturday, October 20, 4:30 p.m.
Spartacist Office, Ring #23 on buzzer
222 S. Morgan St. (at Jackson)

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For more information: (312) 563-0441

WORKERS VANGUARD

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New ICL Bulletin

The Logan Dossier

We reprint below the Preface to The Logan Dossier, *produced by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League in August 2007. All references not otherwise cited refer to documents published in the bulletin.*

This bulletin documents the facts and findings leading to the expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency, now International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), at our first delegated International Conference in August 1979. Logan had been national chairman of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (now Spartacist League/Australia) during its formative period, 1972-77, national chairman of the Spartacist League/Britain at the time of its founding in 1978 and a member of the International Executive Committee (IEC), the leading body of the iSt/ICL. Logan was investigated by an International Control Commission, tried and found guilty of crimes against communist morality during his tenure as SL/ANZ national chairman and shown to be a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism" ("Motion and Vote on the Findings of the Trial Body"). By a unanimous vote, the conference delegates resolved that Logan had no place in the iSt and "cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization."

Following Logan's expulsion, we took the unusual step of publicly releasing three internal bulletins titled "On the Logan Regime" (*International Discussion Bulletin* No. 10, Parts I and II, January 1979; Part III [*International Information Bulletin* No. 16], November 1983). The first and second of these deal with the fight against Logan's abusive regime in the SL/B and some initial re-examination of the Logan period in the Australian section. The third contains materials related to the SL/ANZ charges and the trial, including the reports from the trial body to the conference and excerpts of the floor discussion. Some of the material in this bulletin was originally assembled for inclusion in one or more additional bulletins at the time, but has remained unpublished until now. Other materials in this bulletin were retrieved from our party archives or transcribed from the tape recordings of the trial proceedings.

What Logan did to the Australian comrades first emerged at a national gathering of the SL/ANZ in January 1979. A couple of months before that, in October 1978, Logan had been ousted as national chairman of the SL/B, resigning from the post after a sharp political confrontation. During his 18 months in Britain, Logan had shown himself to be unfit to lead the section. He was duplicitous in his dealings with the iSt center, the Interim Secretariat (I.S.—now International Secretariat), and with his peers on the IEC; abusive in his treatment particularly of women comrades, and heavy-handed in his response to criticism or disagreement from SL/B members. At the time, the Logan regime in Britain was seen as a bureaucratic aberration, the result of an insecure, trigger-happy leader who was in over his head. Logan remained on the IEC and, at considerable party expense, he and his wife and collaborator, Adaire Hannah, were transferred to New York to work in the I.S.

No one could then imagine that a leading member of our communist organization could be the monstrous sociopath Logan was soon proved to be. Logan's abusive practices were constrained in the SL/B by its frequent contact with the international leadership and its core of mature cadre. The SL/ANZ, on the other hand, was a distant section with relatively inexperienced young comrades. But the fight in Britain unlocked and catalyzed a process of re-examination by the SL/ANZ membership. This came to a head at the SL/ANZ national gathering, as comrades began revealing to each other and to the visiting I.S. representative, Reuben Samuels, painful experiences they had long kept to themselves for fear of being "disloyal." The SL/ANZ conference saw an outpouring of traumatic recollections and accusations.

Those accusations were subsequently codified in a resolution of the SL/ANZ Central Committee (see "Charges from the SL/ANZ Central Committee"). An International Control Commission (ICC) was appointed by the IEC. It was charged with amassing and weighing the evidence and was constituted as a trial body to pursue further testimony and reach a verdict in the case. This trial body was made up of comrades from throughout the international who were highly regarded for their integrity and had had no significant previous involvement with Logan. It was chaired by comrade Martha Phillips (Piper) from the SL/U.S., who was murdered in Moscow in 1992 while fighting to cohere a Trotskyist nucleus in the face of the counterrevolutionary tide that destroyed the Soviet Union. The trial body included other comrades from the SL/U.S. and from the Canadian and German sections of the iSt. Also serving on the trial body was the veteran Sri Lankan Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, whose organization had until then been engaged in fraternal relations with the iSt for some time. Comrades Toni R. and Rachel W. served as recording secretary and support counsel, respectively, for the Commission. Comrade Dave Reynolds of the SL/ANZ Central Committee acted as prosecutor on behalf of the Australian complainants.

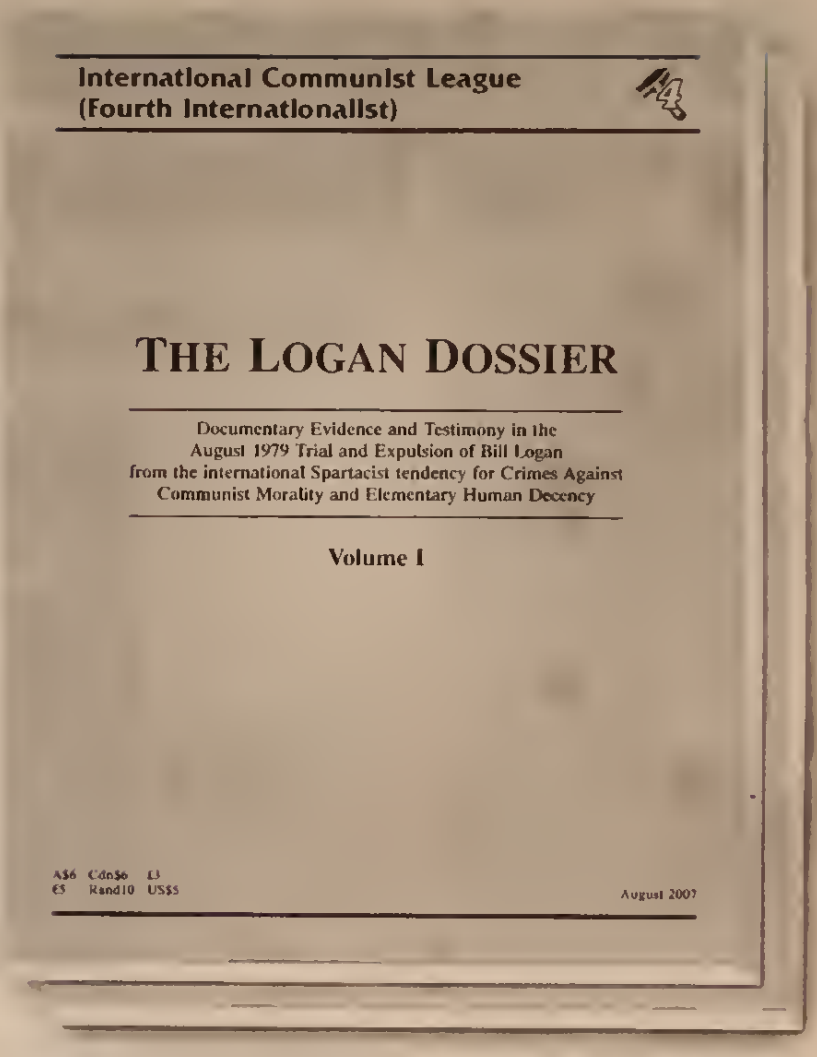
In the months before the trial, over three dozen statements and documents totaling hundreds of pages were submitted by SL/ANZ members and other comrades offering detailed testimony of Logan's acts, and by Logan and Hannah in his defense. More than 30 witnesses testified in person at the trial, which took place over a period of four days immediately preceding the formal opening of the International Conference. Several hundred pages of documentary evidence from the period of the Logan/Hannah regime—minutes, memoranda, political correspondence and extracts of some personal correspondence—were also available to the Control Commission. Logan had the right to cross-examine witnesses and dispute the documentary evidence. The findings of the trial body were then reported to the conference and were the subject of an extensive discussion involving two reporters and more than 40 speakers.

We publish here essential documents submitted as written testimony to the trial body as well as certain correspondence and other materials from the period of the Logan regime in Australia demonstrating how it flouted existing Spartacist norms and corroborating the testimony. Additionally, we are including substantial extracts of the transcripts of the proceedings of the trial body, where such testimony does not largely replicate the written materials. It should be stressed, as it was at the outset of the trial by comrade Martha P., that in a Leninist party trial written and oral testimony are given equal weight. For the sake of convenience, the current bulletin includes some items previously published in *IIB* No. 16: the SL/ANZ CC resolution detailing the charges, Dave R.'s summary presentation to the trial body and the ICC motion expelling Logan adopted by the International Conference.

* * *

As Marx understood when he put aside other critical work for the better part of a year in 1860 in order to expose the dubious and slanderous Herr Vogt, necessary tasks of political sanitation cannot long be avoided without paying a price. In the years after his expulsion Logan resurfaced in New Zealand and managed to insinuate himself back into the left internationally, in good part through the instrumentality of a clot of embittered ex-members of ours in North America who in October 1982 declared themselves an "External Tendency of the iSt" (ET—renamed Bolshevik Tendency, BT, in 1985). In its October 1982 founding "Declaration of an External Tendency of the iSt," the ET made Logan the poster boy for the launch of a vendetta against our party, portraying him as a scapegoat of our allegedly bureaucratic "regime." Yet, to our knowledge, the

continued on page 5



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Earlier Bulletins

On the Logan Regime

(Three parts)

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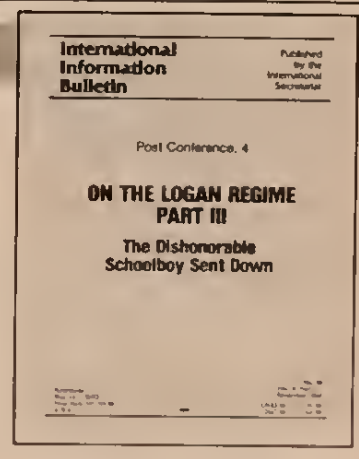

BT's Anti-Soviet Embellishment of German Imperialism

The Bundeswehr—A "Defensive Army"?!

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 167, Summer 2007, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). It incorporates corrections published in* Spartakist *No. 168, Fall 2007.*

SPARTAKIST

Peter Thomann

West German army celebrates 25th anniversary of anti-Soviet NATO alliance, May 1980.

In the last two issues of its newspaper, the Gruppe Spartakus, German affiliate of the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT), propagates anti-Communist nostalgia about the Bundeswehr [German army]. Their latest issue informs us that "the army was made smaller, in order to change it from a defensive army into an offensive army of attack" (*Bolschewik*, January 2007). This was not simply a slip of the tongue. Already a year ago they had written: "After the end of the Cold War, there was a change in the duties of the German Bundeswehr, which was supposed to function as a defensive army during the bloc confrontation" (*Bolschewik*, January 2006). The impulse to describe the functions of the army of German imperialism as "defensive" during the "bloc confrontation" with the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies flows straight from the Cold War mythology that the "democratic" West was threatened by "Soviet expansionism."

The BT took this line from the books of the Left Party of Gregor Gysi and Oskar Lafontaine, which presents itself as a "peace-loving" opponent of foreign deployments of the Bundeswehr, *if* they are not covered by a UN mandate. Just recently, Lafontaine complained that the armament plans published in the Bundeswehr's *White Book* would threaten "to turn the Bundeswehr from a defensive army into an armed force for protecting raw materials and trade routes" (press release, 25 October 2006). What the social-patriotic ideologues of the Left Party stand for is an alternative strategy for German imperialism: to obtain more independence from its U.S. imperialist rival through a closer alliance with imperialist France and Russia.

The BT's glorification of the Bundeswehr's role before capitalist reunification of Germany as a "defensive army" is further evidence of its deep-seated anti-Sovietism. Taken to its logical conclusion, this position leads to siding with the German bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union and the DDR [German Democratic Republic; East Germany], i.e., for the defense of the capitalist fatherland. As the American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon observed about the defense of Soviet Russia: "Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home" ("Speech on the Russian Question," 15 October 1939).

In 1945, the heroic Soviet Red Army smashed the Nazi regime. With the presence of Soviet troops in the eastern parts of Germany after 1945 and the onset of the imperialists' Cold War against the USSR, the DDR, a deformed workers state, was established, and the German bourgeoisie was expropriated in those areas. In the West German occupation zones, the allied imperialists of the U.S., Britain and France propped up the rule of the German bourgeoisie as a bulwark against the "Red Hordes" from the East.

The Bundeswehr was created by Hitler's former Wehrmacht generals and officers. This tank-heavy army was designed to put military pressure on and tie up the Soviet troops in Germany in the overall context of NATO's plans for "containment" and ultimate conquest of the Soviet Union, including through a U.S. nuclear first strike. In this confrontation between the imperialist powers and the USSR, we Trotskyists stood unflinchingly for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack.

Not so the BT, whose founding members are an assortment of embittered ex-members of our organization who got cold feet about our Soviet defensism in the early 1980s when the winds of Cold War II were blowing. They hated our call "Hail Red Army! Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" with which we greeted the Soviet intervention against the CIA-sponsored *mujahedin* in 1979. In 1981 we responded to the counterrevolutionary bid for power by the anti-Semitic, clerical-reactionary Solidarność in Poland with the call to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Flinching from this position, a founder of the German BT's predecessor, the GIVI (Gruppe Vierte Internationale), argued on his way out of our organization that "the smashing of the counterrevolutionary forces around Walesa/Wojtyla and [then chancellor] Schmidt and [then U.S. president] Reagan requires the overthrow of the Russian and Polish bureaucrats." He placed the condition of overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracies before the necessary defense of the workers states. We stand with Leon Trotsky who argued on the eve of WWII against the petty-bourgeois opposition in the then-revolutionary American SWP [Socialist Workers Party]:

> "We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution."
>
> —"The USSR in War," September 1939

In order to justify its cowardly flight from our Trotskyist program, the BT tends to accuse us of Stalinophilia, as in a 2003 leaflet in Britain, which declared that our statement of military support to the Kremlin Stalinists, should they have intervened to stop Solidarność counterrevolution in 1981, was a "Stalinophilic perversion of the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratized workers states." Au contraire—it is the BT that perverts Trotskyism! Theirs is the politics of ***Stalinophobia***. As Cannon described this phenomenon:

> "The sentiment of hatred and fear of Stalinism, with its police state and its slave labor camps, its frame-ups and its murders of working class opponents, is healthy, natural, normal, and progressive. This sentiment goes wrong only when it leads to reconciliation with American imperialism, and to the assignment of the fight against Stalinism to that same imperialism. In the language of Trotskyism, that and nothing else is Stalinophobia."
>
> —"Stalinist Conciliationism and Stalinophobia," 6 April 1953

The German BT affiliates were molded in the climate of the 1980s resurgence of German nationalism in Green colors. The huge "peace movement" at the time was directed against the stationing of nuclear-armed American Pershing 2 missiles [in West Germany] and the stationing of Soviet SS-20 missiles [in the DDR]. At bottom, the "peace movement" reacted in opposition to the possibility of a nuclear war carried out on *German* soil. This attitude corresponded to the German bourgeoisie's aims at the time, which were to gain more independence from U.S. imperialism in order to pursue their "Ostpolitik"—first pronounced by SPD [Social Democratic Party] leader Willy Brandt in the 1970s—of economically undermining and even-

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Logan...

(continued from page 3)

ET/BT then maintained a public silence on Logan for more than eight years, until the sudden announcement in 1991 of its 1990 "fusion" with his New Zealand Permanent Revolution Group (PRG). At that point, not only did these political desperadoes publicly embrace Logan, they actually anointed him principal leader of their new "International Bolshevik Tendency." As we will detail later, while pursuing its own brand of Stalinophobic, social-democratic politics, over the years the BT has engaged in all manner of provocation and slander against us in its drive to destroy our party.

This same Logan, while masquerading as an "international Bolshevik" leader, has simultaneously maintained a real-life practice in Wellington, New Zealand, as a professional "celebrant"—a New Age version of evangelical preacher and spiritual healer. As detailed below in the section titled "A Postscript on Bill Logan and the BT: Garbage Doesn't Walk by Itself," various public accounts by former members of the PRG and BT attest that Logan has continued some of the same kinds of practices for which we expelled him 28 years ago. For more on the question of the BT's peculiar political physiognomy, we refer readers to the above-cited bulletins; several editions of *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*, our bulletin series consisting mainly of reprints of anti-Spartacist polemics by our opponents; the ICL pamphlet, *The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?* (August 1995) and numerous articles dealing with the BT in our indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* (see, for example, "Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham," *WV* No. 827, 28 May 2004).

In publishing the documentary record of the Logan trial, we aim to make clear to a new generation of leftists that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement, to expose his opportunist "Bolshevik" Tendency for the suspect outfit it is and to demolish its lying smears and slanders against our party. Hopefully, the belated release of this bulletin will serve a broader purpose as well. In braying over the alleged "death of communism" in the years since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the very same bourgeois propagandists who apologize for a system of imperialist mass murder denounce those who seek to liberate humanity from class exploitation as evil incarnate—power-hungry, corrupt, pathologically violent and hostile to all human sensibilities. As this record of our fight to rid the workers movement of Logan shows, such attributes are inimical to the very essence of authentic communism.

But the features that made Logan the repulsive creature he is are not unusual in ***bourgeois*** society. The accumulation of wealth and the administration of power necessary to maintain and perpetuate that privileged status often attract people who have qualities like Logan's. The British ruling class, particularly in its Tory embodiment, has long been notorious in its appetite for blood sports, capital punishment (most recently mere hanging), corporal punishment in its schools and associated sado-masochistic sexual proclivities. All these things, taken together, serve an important social purpose. They outfit the rulers of the country and the late empire to properly administer their holdings, both in regard to the downtrodden and exploited, and in defense against imperialist rivals.

Logan was a product of this system in the small, neo-Victorian dominion of New Zealand. His political origins, amid the radicalization of the 1960s, lay in the right wing of New Zealand bourgeois politics, the then ruling National Party (see Bill Logan, "Never Exactly One of the Lads...," ed. Michael King, *One of the Boys?* [Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann, 1988]). His social and educational background lay in New Zealand's English-style "public school" (elite private school) culture, steeped in imperialist elitism and misogynist sadism. Numerous people have revolted against such backgrounds to become Communists, not least heroic Soviet spies like Kim Philby. But even as an avowed communist, Logan boasted of clinging to "the style of a New Zealand private schoolboy who was almost always a class captain, cub-scout sixer or school prefect" ("Personal Notes in Preparation for a Discussion re the Sharpe Problem," 23 August 1978, "On the Logan Regime," Part 1). He relished the low cunning and quiet self-confidence that enabled him to play on the vulnerabilities of others.

We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose. The Leninist party demands a monopoly on the *political* activities of those who join our movement. All the more so do we draw a hard line against interference in comrades' personal lives. Driven by considerations of power and control, Logan was a malicious puppetmaster who was sadistically destructive of people's personal lives—making people live together who did not want to do so, causing people who did want to live together to break up. There is no place for the likes of a William King Logan in our movement. ■

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tually destroying the workers states of East Europe. Imbibing this climate of anti-Sovietism and German nationalism, the GIVI coalesced around a petition campaign in late 1982 against us for excluding one Ulrich Sandhaus from one of our public forums. Sandhaus, a protofascist who wallowed in Nazi memorabilia, had earlier been expelled from our party for his racist proclivities. In 1984 Sandhaus planned and oversaw a brutal physical attack against a woman comrade of ours in Berlin.

If the BT simply hated us because we are the contemporary embodiment of the program of international proletarian revolution, it would make them but one among many opponents of revolutionary Marxism. But there is a unique and truly sinister quality about the BT, which eagerly tries to serve the purposes of those who would like to destroy us. For instance, their slanderous smears of our party as an "obedience cult" combined with tales of corruption and worse were picked up in 1995 by the mouthpiece of the American capitalist ruling class, the *Wall Street Journal* [*WSJ*], in order to undercut the growing domestic and international protests against the threatened execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. It did not escape the *WSJ* that these protests happened in large part as a result of the efforts of our fraternally allied legal defense organization in the U.S., the Partisan Defense Committee (see also "BT: Renegades for Hire," *Workers Vanguard* No. 807, 1 August 2003).

The BT slanders of our organization as an "obedience cult" took no small amount of chutzpah, given that the 1982 founding declaration of the BT's predecessor, the ET (External Tendency), portrayed one Bill Logan as a victim and scapegoat of our allegedly bureaucratic regime. Logan, whom the BT later openly embraced as its anointed leader, had been expelled from our organization at the first International Conference of our tendency in 1979 for being "a proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism." In an August 1979 party trial, the trial body found Logan guilty among other things of "inhuman torture of a mother, rendered suicidal in his attempt to destroy and take away her baby."

In our article "Bolshevik Tendency: Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 827, 28 May 2004), we observed:

> "The BT's politics, such as they are, are fully in keeping with its hoary 'darkness at noon' depiction of our communist organization as a Stalin-style gulag and personality cult. So central and intertwined are social-democratic anti-Communism and a hostile obsession with us to the BT's existence that, by its own admission, the 'focal point' of the German group's fusion with the tiny Gruppe Leo Trotzki in 2002 was shared hostility to any possibility of a revolutionary outcome in East Germany in 1989-90 and to the one organization that fought to realize this, the ICL."

In the autumn of 1989, hundreds of thousands of workers took to the streets of East Germany to demand a genuinely egalitarian socialist society. We mobilized our resources internationally in the effort to provide Trotskyist leadership to that incipient political revolution and to fight for revolutionary reunification—for a Red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe. We did not prevail, but we fought! The BT's "intervention" into those revolutionary events was to smear the ICL as a bureaucratic cult akin to the Stalinists. In their May 1991 *Trotzkistisches Bulletin* No. 1, titled "The SpAD in the DDR: Opportunism in Revolutionary Disguise," they sneer that we had invented an "imaginary political revolution." Only those in thrall to the anti-Communist myth that "Stalinist totalitarianism" had rendered the workers in the deformed workers states mindless automatons incapable of struggle could so blithely dismiss any outcome other than capitalist counterrevolution (see also "Antispartakisten im Sog der Sozialdemokratie" [Anti-Spartacists in the Vortex of Social Democracy], *Spartakist* No. 87, June 1991).

Spartakist

ICL fought to forge party to provide Trotskyist leadership to incipient political revolution in DDR in 1989-90. December 1989 Spartakist banner at Berlin demonstration: "For the Communism of Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

An entire chapter of the BT bulletin is devoted to "The Phobia of the SpAD Against the Social Democracy." They complain that we did not invite the SPD to the 250,000-strong united-front protest in East Berlin's Treptow Park on 3 January 1990. That united front, initiated by us and taken up by the ruling Stalinist SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism], was called to protest the fascist desecration of the memorial to the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Berlin in 1945. This rally was pro-Soviet and in defense of the workers states—an objective that was directly counterposed to the SPD's campaign for capitalist reunification of Germany.

In our struggle against the capitalist reunification of Germany, we made strong efforts to bring about fraternization between East German workers and soldiers of the NVA [East German National People's Army] and the Red Army troops in the DDR. The BT had only scorn for these attempts and accused us of "disappear[ing] in a criminal way that there is a ***blood line*** between the ordinary soldiers and their officers" in an army of a deformed workers state (emphasis in original). Thus, in the immediate aftermath of capitalist reunification, the BT contributed its share to the anti-Communist witchhunt against former DDR bureaucrats who were tried by the vengeful German bourgeoisie for acts of defending the DDR against capitalist counterrevolution.

One only needs to compare the poison and gall that the BT spits in the direction of the Red Army and the NVA to their embellishment of the Bundeswehr, whose hardware is decorated to this day with the blood-drenched Iron Cross of German imperialism, to understand the truly anti-Communist fiber of this organization. ■

A talk by Bryan D. Palmer
author of *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928*

James P. Cannon: American Communist Pioneer From Wobbly to Bolshevik

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China...

(continued from page 1)

The PRC was modeled on the Soviet degenerated workers state. But the Soviet Union in 1949 was not the Soviet workers state of 1917 to 1924. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 established the dictatorship of the proletariat and took Russia out of World War I, which had savaged the people and resources of the country. The new regime then had to fight a three-year civil war, which it won, during which the country was invaded by 14 capitalist powers. The Civil War further depleted the country and, importantly, decimated the ranks of the class-conscious proletariat. With the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution, the tide of revolution in Europe that had emerged at the end of WWI ebbed. Young Soviet Russia faced the world alone and hungry. A conservative mood gripped the country.

There was a political counterrevolution led by a bureaucratic caste, which began its consolidation of political power to the exclusion of the working class in 1923-24. We say that what took place was a political counterrevolution because the collectivized property forms remained intact but the working class was politically expropriated. The Stalinist regime introduced the "theory" of "building socialism in one country," which had no currency among the Bolsheviks before that time. The defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution occurred in great measure due to the policy of Stalin's Communist International, which subordinated the CCP to the bourgeois Guomindang.

But despite the bureaucratic degeneration, the USSR remained a workers state. The Soviet nuclear shield saved China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba, which are also deformed workers states, from nuclear incineration by the imperialists. Even in isolation and despite bureaucratic mismanagement, the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward, overwhelmingly peasant society into a modern industrial power, showing sharp economic growth even as the capitalist world reeled under the chaos of the 1930s Great Depression, stagnating and sinking. This shows the overwhelming superiority of the collectivized property forms and planned economy over capitalism. This validates the superiority of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the rule of the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union provided an economic and military counterweight to imperialism. But imperialist encirclement, combined with the rule of a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste, eventually led to the social counterrevolution in 1991-1992, which destroyed the homeland of the October Revolution (see Spartacist pamphlet *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*).

World Journal

June: Workers mass outside U.S.-owned Bao Ji Crafts Factory in Shenzhen on tenth day of strike by mainly female workforce.

"Market Reforms" Exacerbate Social Contradictions

Maoists and neo-Maoists *outside* China believe that China is capitalist and has been for some time. Neo-Maoists *within* China want to reform the bureaucracy by changing its policies. They are opposed to the "market socialist" economy, though they believe that China is still socialist. The Chinese "New Left" is heterogeneous. Most support the market economy, but they are critical of the ramifications of the market: corruption, the growing gap between rich and poor and so forth. Some, like Wang Hui, a prominent spokesman of the "New Left," say that after the suppression of the Tiananmen protests in 1989, China "has completely conformed to the dictates of capital and the activities of the market." That's a long way of saying that it has gone capitalist. We Trotskyists sharply disagree with all these views.

And if you are talking with Chinese students on a college campus now, you might well get two different views of the question. One answer would be to look back fondly to the period of Maoist egalitarian rhetoric. These students would likely claim that the "market reforms" are a total betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. The second answer, which is much more widely held, is that the "market reforms" are overwhelmingly good. Both these views capture only part of the reality, however, and are fundamentally false.

Under Mao, China was able to build a substantial industrial base. But without massive aid from socialist revolution in one or more imperialist countries, there could be nowhere near a sufficient industrial development to revolutionize the countryside. China at the time of Mao's death remained a largely rural, peasant country. Agriculture remained backward. Agricultural output could not keep pace with industrial growth, and low agricultural productivity in turn became a barrier to increased industrialization.

Mao promoted a policy of nationalist autarky—or self-reliance—which is a profoundly unreal conception that China could achieve socialism purely through its own methods in an economically backward and resource-poor country. The results of the command economy under Mao were inefficiency, poor productivity, poor quality and scarcity.

Deng Xiaoping, who came to power in 1978, asserted his "market reforms"—the reintroduction of elements of the capitalist market economy into China, which he, like a good nationalist, called "building socialism with Chinese characteristics." These measures were an attempt by a Stalinist bureaucracy viscerally hostile to proletarian democracy, which is necessary for the healthy operation of a planned economy, to use the whip of the marketplace to correct the inefficiencies of the command-planned economy. Over time, the regime abolished what was known as the "iron rice bowl," which was based on lifetime job security. It opened the country to imperialist investment and eventually relinquished the state monopoly of foreign trade. The planned economy was supplanted by market mechanisms, and agriculture was decollectivized, with peasant families getting their own small plots on the basis of long-term leases.

The "market reforms" did result in growth. That's indisputable. The proportion of the population living in cities has doubled. There has been a vast increase in industrial capacity, and over half the workforce works in manufacturing, transport, construction and the service sector. Up to 150 million peasants during this period became proletarians, which is a step of great historic progress and importance.

By every economic measure, development in China has greatly outstripped growth in the capitalist neocolonies, for example, the former "tiger" economies like Indonesia and South Korea. It is useful to compare China's growth to that of capitalist India, the imperialists' favorite "emerging giant" in Asia. India has a gross domestic product per capita that is barely half that of China. China's poverty rate is half that of India's. The rate of malnutrition of children is three-quarters less. Female adult literacy in China is nearly 90 percent, almost double that in India.

Although we are quite aware of the danger posed by imperialist economic penetration, we fight against the notion that the "market reforms" mean that China has gone capitalist. In fact, the core of the economy remains collectivized. The private sector, including foreign companies, is made up mostly of light industry. Heavy industry–steel, nonferrous metals, heavy machinery, telecommunications, electric power, oil extraction and refining—is concentrated in state enterprises, and these are strategically far more important. The nationalization of the land has prevented the development of a stratum of wealthy large landowners dominating the countryside. And the state's control of the financial system has to date shielded the PRC from the disastrous effects of the rapid movement of speculative money capital, which has played havoc with so many neocolonial countries.

Spartacist Literature Available in Chinese

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Young Spartacus

Darfur: Campus Crusade Against China

We print below, edited for publication, the intervention of New York Spartacus Youth Club member Jonah Roshak at the September 27 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club forum, "Defend, Extend Gains of Chinese Revolution." A central part of protests over the carnage in Darfur has been calling for divestment from the Chinese state-owned oil company PetroChina, which has interests in Sudan. We oppose these calls and say: All UN/African Union forces out of Sudan! U.S.: Hands off the world!

I want to draw the attention of everyone here to another threat against the Chinese workers state. The talk covered military threats from U.S. imperialism and Australia and Japan. It covered economic threats. But there's also a third one—it's very big now on college campuses among the left, which is very class-*un*conscious and influenced by the theory of the "death of Communism" following the collapse of the Soviet Union. This threat is rooted in basic anti-Chinese anti-Communism, couched in human rights talk. I'm speaking, of course, about the movement focused on the Darfur region of the Sudan. It's a very sinister lash-up of forces between those who are genuinely disgusted by what's going on there and those who are attempting to use this as a bludgeon to attack China with.

This is very cynical. When Sudan launched a war against the peoples of the South, the U.S. government had absolutely no problem with that and said the southern Sudan People's Liberation Army was Communist-backed. Right now the "save Darfur" movement is comparable in a way to the cynical use of cases of Soviet Jews as a rallying cry for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Counterrevolution made the conditions of everyone, especially minorities, that much worse.

One of the imperialists' interests is to remove Chinese influence from Sudan, the largest country in Africa, and extend imperialist penetration even further into that part of the world. But they also aimed to isolate the Chinese workers state and to launch a counterrevolution against the 1949 Revolution. Right now what's needed is to expose movements like the "save Darfur" movement as a bludgeon to be used to further imperialist interests in Africa and to isolate and weaken the Chinese workers state. ■

But China's recent development, this progress, is contradictory, and it has a downside that undermines the strength of the workers state. In China, the contradiction between bourgeois norms of distribution (i.e., inequality) and collectivized property is not mitigated through careful planning, education, training and the industrialization of agriculture, as it would be in a healthy workers state under a Bolshevik leadership. To gain the necessary level of productivity, the revolution would have to be internationalized, a perspective that the Stalinist bureaucracy opposes.

The "market reforms" have created a wealthy new class of capitalists with links to the CCP officialdom and the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere. The children of some top CCP officials have become wealthy capitalists in their own right. At the same time, the CCP's market measures have impoverished millions of workers, hollowed out crucial social gains like health care and created tens of millions of unemployed. Workers forced to find new jobs in the private sector generally work for lower wages, with none of the benefits provided by the state enterprises. And 150 million migrant workers have moved to the cities, where they labor under terrible conditions with few political rights and are looked down on by workers with urban residence permits.

There has been plenty of struggle as a result—workers protesting over unpaid wages, job losses and working conditions; peasants fighting against corruption, environmental damage and unlawful land seizures. According to the bureaucracy's own statistics, in 2005 there were 80,000 such "mass incidents."

Trotsky makes the point in *The Revolution Betrayed*, his 1936 analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet workers state, that the bureaucracy defends the collectivized property forms only to the extent that it fears the working class. And you can see that in China today. The regime of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao is working on a program called "the harmonious society," which will be showcased "harmoniously" at this year's CCP National Congress. Of China's 31 provinces, 29 increased their minimum wage last year. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security recently instructed local governments to raise minimum wages because inflation was 3.4 percent in May alone. This is not exactly the way a capitalist government works. An article in *The Australian* (16 July) notes that the All China Federation of Trade Unions, which is very much the creature of the bureaucracy, has been gaining recognition from many of the major foreign investors in China, most famously Wal-Mart, which has never before recognized unions anywhere it has operated!

The bureaucracy is clearly divided over how to proceed. Some elements want the economic reforms to progress unabated. Others want to curb the ravages of the market while stifling discontent. Still others want a return to the command-planned economy. But the bureaucratic caste is acutely aware of the counterrevolution that took place in the Soviet Union and its effects. In December 2006, *The Australian* reported that the 70 million members of the Chinese Communist Party have been watching a series of eight DVDs titled "Think of Danger While Living in Safety: The Lessons From the Collapse of the Soviet Union Communist Party."

There is tremendous social tinder for a proletarian political revolution. But to carry that out, the Chinese working class needs a revolutionary internationalist leadership.

Stalinist Bureaucracy Undermines the Workers State

I said that we are for the unconditional military defense of China. What does that mean? It means that we defend China militarily without placing any conditions on the bureaucracy or demanding its prior overthrow. But at the same time we give no political support to the Stalinist regime.

The anti-revolutionary nature of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is shown by its policy toward U.S. imperialism, which is one of the ways that it has most weakened the deformed workers state. In 1972, when the U.S. was raining bombs down on Vietnam, Mao sealed his anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, which was a logical outcome of the bureaucracy's working for "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. Mao's policy was extended under the regime of Deng Xiaoping, who in 1979 invaded Vietnam, acting as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism. The Chinese, by the way, were soundly beaten by the seasoned Vietnamese troops. In the 1980s, Deng's regime supported the Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Red Army. In many ways, the Beijing bureaucracy directly aided U.S. imperialism in the destruction of the Soviet Union. And the alliance with U.S. imperialism helped prepare the economic penetration of China.

Magnum

Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism, sealed by 1972 meeting in Beijing with war criminal Nixon, helped lay basis for imperialist penetration of China.

Today Hu Jintao carries on this traitorous tradition in supporting the global "war on terror," under which banner the U.S. imperialists occupy Iraq and Afghanistan and threaten Iran, one of China's main oil suppliers. And Beijing has helped orchestrate the six-party talks aimed at disarming North Korea, even supporting a United Nations resolution in October 2006 imposing sanctions on North Korea. As was already starkly shown in the Korean War, any weakening of North Korea in the face of imperialist militarism also weakens the military defense of China. It is clear that North Korea needs nuclear arms, and we are all for that. In a world dominated by the U.S. imperialist madmen, one guarantee of national sovereignty is the possession of nuclear weapons.

Another important question is Taiwan, which since 1949 has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs. We oppose those who clamor for Taiwan's supposed right to independence. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with capitalist Taiwan or with imperialism. We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in the "one country, two systems" slogan. Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution on the mainland and a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie. We also call for the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists.

The U.S.-Japan imperialist rivalry at this point is subordinate to their anti-China/North Korea alliance. Over the past decade, the Pentagon has strengthened its military deployment in the Pacific Rim region. With its incursion into Afghanistan and Central Asia, the U.S. has significantly strengthened its military vise around China. Japan's "Self-Defense Force"—i.e., its military—is now rebuilding to the tune of about $40 billion a year. The Pentagon is developing new weapons to enhance its ability to neutralize the PRC's small nuclear arsenal. Defense of China against imperialist military threats necessarily includes support to the PRC's possession and development of nuclear weaponry. By its appeasement of imperialism and its suppression of the Chinese working class, the Stalinist bureaucracy shows itself to be an obstacle to the defense of the Chinese Revolution and to the necessary international workers revolution.

Peter Turnley

Workers and students fraternize with troops called in to suppress 1989 Tiananmen uprising, which marked incipient political revolution against Stalinist regime.

Potential for Political Revolution

With China's huge population and its pivotal position in the world economy, a proletarian political revolution there would truly shake the world. It would restore revolutionary Marxism to its rightful place in the eyes of the world proletariat. It would spur revolutionary reunification of Korea through political revolution in the North and social revolution in the South. It would spark revolutionary upsurges in the ASEAN countries of Southeast Asia. It would shine a revolutionary beacon to the proletariat of Japan and reverberate internationally, including right here in the heartland of American imperialism.

The social tinder in China is accumulating, and when it blows, the regime will shatter, posing either capitalist counter-revolution or proletarian political revolution. The potential for the latter was shown in the May-June events of 1989 in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Student demonstrations against bureaucratic corruption and for political liberalization were soon joined by masses of workers protesting high inflation and raising other grievances. They began to hold mass meetings and to form workers assemblies that had the potential to become workers councils. Workers protests occurred in cities around China.

June 1989 illustrated a crucially important point about the army in a workers state in contrast to the capitalist military—i.e., that it can be split vertically during a workers political revolution, with sections of both the rank and file and the officer corps making common cause with the insurgent workers. Initially, army units sent in failed to suppress the demonstrations because they solidarized with the students' and workers' demands and fraternized with protesters. The Tiananmen events terrified the bureaucracy, some of whose elements sided with the students. For two weeks the regime could not implement its martial law decree. Ultimately, however, it responded with savage repression. The massacres of June 1989 overwhelmingly targeted the workers and could only be carried out when the regime brought in army units considered more loyal.

The International Communist League intervened from afar with our press, calling to "Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!" (*WV* No. 478, 26 May 1989). After the massacre, *Workers Vanguard* headlined: "Defend Chinese

continued on page 8

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

CHICAGO

Tuesday, October 23, 7 p.m.

The Capitalist State: Instrument of Class Violence, Terror, and Oppression

University of Chicago
Harper, Room 141
1116 E. 59th St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, October 25, 6 p.m.

Introduction to Marxism

UCLA, Haines Hall A78
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK

Thursday, October 18, 7 p.m.

Marxism and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

Spartacist Public Office
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@tiac.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, October 24, 6:30 p.m.

Marxism and the State— The Paris Commune of 1871

University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 2115
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, October 24, 6 p.m.

Imperialism and War— U.S./UN/Canadian Imperialism: Out of Iraq, Afghanistan and Haiti! Not One Person, Not One Penny for the Imperialist Military! All Cops, Military Recruiters and CSIS Off Campus!

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail: trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

China...

(continued from page 7)

Workers! Stop the Executions!" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989).

While we were not able to intervene in China directly, six months later we had the opportunity to intervene in another workers' upsurge that posed a proletarian political revolution in a deformed workers state: the German Democratic Republic (DDR). When the East German population rose up against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its privileges and mismanagement, the regime began to disintegrate. Up to a million people rallied in protests, raising slogans like "For Communist Ideals–No Privileges!" We undertook the biggest intervention in the history of our tendency, fighting for workers and soldiers councils to be forged and to take power. We called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—for a red Germany of workers councils in a Socialist United States of Europe!

Despite our small size and lack of roots in the DDR, the program of the ICL resonated among the East German proletariat and sections of the Soviet armed forces stationed there. Workers came to us and asked, "How do we build these workers councils?" When fascists desecrated a Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park in East Berlin, we initiated a united-front demonstration against the Nazis and in defense of the Soviet Union, which the ruling East German Stalinist party, the SED, felt compelled to join. On 3 January 1990, a quarter of a million workers and soldiers turned out, and for the first time ever, Trotskyists were able to address a mass audience in a deformed workers state. Our speaker called for "Workers and soldiers soviets to power!"

Two programs were competing: the Trotskyist program of defending and extending the gains of the workers state and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution. The Treptow demonstration frightened the powers that be, and the forces of counterrevolution went on to overwhelm the situation. The Soviet Stalinist regime quickly surrendered the DDR to capitalism. But the lessons of this struggle must be assimilated by the international working class, including and most especially in China. Our intervention showed how, when an accumulation of events finally produces an upheaval and a crack in bureaucratic rule, it is possible for a revolutionary internationalist program to have a massive impact.

Labor Tops, "Left": Accomplices of Counterrevolution

I now want to talk a little bit about the anti-Communist China-bashing that's going on and the stance toward China taken by the labor bureaucrats here in the belly of the imperialist beast, as well as the reformist left groups that tail them. The bottom line is this: the labor tops and fake socialists stand with the imperialists. In supporting all manner of anti-Communist campaigns against China, they are reprising their dirty work in backing the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union.

Spartacist

Above: ICL banner raised in 1991 demonstration in Moscow on anniversary of October Revolution. ICL leaflet mass-distributed in USSR proclaimed: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Below: Homeless people scavenge for food in garbage outside Moscow, 2003. Graph shows plunging population figures in Russia since 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution.

Getty

WV Graph

I want to start with the question of protectionism. Everybody in this room knows that the capitalists have been looting the working class of this country. In the last two decades, the wealth amassed by the banks and corporations has soared while workers and the poor have seen huge cuts in real wages and social services. Hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs are gone, especially in the Midwest. Despite some outbursts of labor struggle, the union leaders have repeatedly capitulated to the capitalists' giveback demands. Instead of using class-struggle weapons like strikes, they whip up "America first" nationalist protectionism, claiming that workers abroad are "stealing jobs." At the same time, the same labor bureaucracy pours millions from the union treasuries into the coffers of the Democratic Party.

One example of this is the United Steelworkers union misleaders, who regularly demand that the U.S. act against Chinese steel imports. Then there's the UNITE HERE hotel, restaurant and garment workers union tops, who have a long history of collaborating with the textile bosses in trying to pressure the government to limit imports from China. Protectionism underlines the pro-capitalist character of the labor bureaucracy—a thin, privileged layer at the head of the unions. Its calls to ally with the U.S. capitalist state against foreign competition are flatly against the workers' interests, which lie in common, internationalist class struggle against capitalism.

Protectionist calls are coupled with demands that the U.S. rulers take a stand against China on the issue of "human rights." And you're going to see a lot more of this as we get closer to the 2008 Olympics. To look to the U.S. capitalists as a progressive force for "human rights" anywhere is absolutely grotesque. This is the same ruling class that has murdered millions in wars throughout the world, from Korea to Vietnam to Iraq, that has visited unspeakable devastation on the American Indian population and rules a country whose very foundation is based on the legacy of human slavery and the racist oppression of black people.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy was forged through vicious purges of reds from the unions from the 1940s up into the 1960s. In the 1980s, the AFL-CIO tops hailed Polish Solidarność, a reactionary movement masquerading as a union that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. The AFL-CIO channeled millions in CIA money to Solidarność. And the AFL-CIO sponsored a "Labor Committee for Free Cuba," a collection of *gusano* counterrevolutionaries and CIA Cold Warriors who dream of smashing the Cuban Revolution and retaking the island for their imperialist masters. Today, the union tops promote pro-imperialist "labor activists" like Chinese exile Han Dongfang, who broadcasts on the CIA's Radio Free Asia and is a darling of American right-wing circles. Political struggle against the pro-capitalist program of the labor tops, which ties the working class to its class enemies in the Democratic Party, is central to the fight to forge a revolutionary workers party in this country.

Now I want to talk briefly about a couple of so-called socialist groups that claim to stand to the left of the labor bureaucracy. Almost all of them claim that China is a capitalist country. This is not a mistaken analysis. This is an *anti-Communist political program.*

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) claims China has never been a workers state but has been "state capitalist" since 1949. This absurd "theory," which they also apply to the other workers states, is a fig leaf for decades of anti-Communist practice on behalf of imperialism. The ISO's former parent group, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), originated when its founder, Tony Cliff, bowed to bourgeois hysteria accompanying the Korean War. In a craven capitulation to the Labour Party government, which had sent troops to Korea, Cliff refused to defend North Korea, China and the Soviet Union against U.S. and British imperialism.

Cliff and his followers went on to hail every manner of imperialist-backed movement against the workers states. This included the pro-capitalist rabble in Moscow in August 1991 around Boris Yeltsin, whose triumph paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union. The SWP proclaimed, "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August 1991). One doesn't even have to be a communist for the callous stupidity and inhumanity of that stance to make your blood boil! The return of capitalist exploitation to Russia produced armies of the unemployed and homeless, plummeting life expectancy, murderous nationalism and the destruction of women's rights. Unfettered by what had been the industrial and military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the U.S. has felt free to launch military adventures all over the world, while capitalist governments everywhere have accelerated their attacks on workers and the oppressed.

Then there are the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Their draft program speaks of "great revolutionary achievements of our class in this past century—especially in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1956 and then in China, where the proletariat seized and held power between 1949 and 1976 and made great advances on the socialist road." 1956 is when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made a speech exposing Stalin's crimes, or some of them. 1976 is when Mao died. A speech, a change of regime—the class nature of the state changes, thank you very much and let's move on. It's absurd. The RCP coyly omits that its slavish following of the Beijing Stalinist regime led it to denounce as "social imperialist" the Soviet degenerated workers state, which the Maoists claimed turned capitalist in 1956.

I want to conclude by returning to Leon Trotsky, leader of the Russian Revolution along with Lenin and founder of the Fourth International. The last major political struggle Trotsky waged, before being struck down by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico City in 1940, was against a renegade and sizeable minority in the American Socialist Workers Party that abandoned defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism in the face of anti-Communist public opinion on the eve of World War II. In one of Trotsky's polemics against them, he wrote in "Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events" (April 1940):

> "The workers state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

If the working class in the United States, Japan and the other capitalist countries does not come to understand the historic significance of the Chinese Revolution, like the collectivized economy, then it will never understand the importance of making a revolution against its own bourgeoisie. Comrades and friends, it is for the purpose of providing the necessary leadership to the proletariat that the International Communist League seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist Forums

The 90th Anniversary of the

1917 Bolshevik Revolution

The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today

NEW YORK CITY
Saturday, October 27, 5 p.m.
6 Harrison Street, Manhattan
(#1 train to Franklin, west on Franklin to Hudson, 1 block south to Harrison)
(212) 267-1025, nysl@tiac.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, November 10, 5 p.m.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
(1 block east of Vermont, a few blocks from Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
(213) 380-8239, slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO
Wednesday, November 7, 7 p.m.
Trinity-St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor St. West
(1 block west of Spadina Station)
(416) 593-4138, spartcan@on.aibn.com

SAN FRANCISCO
Thursday, November 8, 7 p.m.
For information contact: (510) 839-0851, slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO
Saturday, November 17
For information contact: (312) 563-0441, chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Industrial Murder on the Docks

ILWU Must Enforce Safety Rules!

OAKLAND—Half an hour before the day shift at the Port of Oakland ended on September 24, 39-year-old Reginald Ross was struck and killed by a 15-ton container being loaded onto the *Stuttgart Express* by a crane at the Stevedoring Services of America (SSA) terminal. As the news spread, stunned International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 members walked off the job and refused to resume work, shutting down the port for the next 36 hours. In response, the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) rushed to obtain an arbitrator's ruling against Local 10 for stopping work to mourn Ross' death. Some 150 port workers later turned out for his funeral on October 5.

Ross, a black "casual" worker whose father and grandfather were Local 10 longshoremen, is dead because he was made to work in open violation of the safety code. He was fully conscious as rescuers struggled for an hour to remove him from the ship, with his pelvis crushed and ribs broken. Ross later died at the hospital, leaving behind his wife, girlfriend and four daughters.

Ross had been dispatched as a lasher. Lashers use heavy metal rods and connectors to fasten containers to the deck of the ship. Ross was standing in the ship walkway when fatally injured. The Pacific Coast Maritime Safety Code, which is part of the contract between the ILWU and the PMA, says that lashers should never be anywhere in the area under or adjacent to where a crane is loading or unloading containers. But a number of Local 10 longshoremen told *Workers Vanguard* that this essential safety rule is routinely violated in the Oakland port, where companies expect lashers to work under the crane. That the ILWU Local 10 tops allow such a situation to continue is criminal.

An Oakland port spokeswoman insisted in the *Oakland Tribune*, "In more than seven years, this is the first time I'm aware of a fatal injury accident of a longshore worker." In reality, the shipping bosses create the conditions that make longshore work dangerous and *accept* and *expect* a high rate of injury and death. Local 10 member Robert Padgett was killed in January 2005 when a walkway collapsed under him and he plunged 30 feet onto the deck of a cargo ship (see "Shipping Booms, Longshoremen Die," *WV* No. 842, 18 February 2005). But that death occurred across the Bay, in Redwood City, so the Oakland shipping bosses choose to disappear it.

The San Francisco Bay Area ports moved a record 1,651,811 TEUs (20-foot container equivalents) last year, compared to 1,208,830 in 2002. In order to move more containers at a faster pace, the PMA bosses ride roughshod over safety rules. There were 10 fatalities in the West Coast ports from 2002 to 2005, and *6,035* injuries resulting in time lost on the job. Ross' death is at least the sixth fatality in the West Coast ports (including Canada) in the last two years, according to accounts in the ILWU *Dispatcher*.

Longshore workers on the West Coast, through the hard class battles of the 1930s, won the union hiring hall and some control over job conditions, making the work qualitatively safer. But the PMA has been trying to reverse those gains ever since. Containerization in the 1960s and '70s sped up the loading process while massively reducing the workforce and prolonging shifts from six to eight hours. With heavy equipment moving huge containers rapidly around the docks, the rate of serious injury has increased.

In the tug-of-war between protecting workers' lives and boosting capitalist profits, the main weapon workers have to defend themselves is the union. The work stoppage in honor of Ross resulted in a major cargo backlog, pointing to the enormous social power wielded by port workers. But far from using the union's power to defend the safety of the membership, the ILWU bureaucrats have done precious little to ensure safety codes are enforced. Instead, Local 10 officials blame the workers for "ripping and running" (working fast in violation of safety rules). Meanwhile, longshoremen tell us that there aren't any ILWU safety reps on the job, and the local safety committees are joint PMA-union.

The situation on the docks is made worse by divisions of the workforce by seniority classification for access to jobs. Only "A" men are members of the union. The "B" men are left with the jobs not taken by the "A" men, who routinely work double or triple shifts before "B" men get out. In addition, there are highly skilled "steady men" on permanent contract with a particular employer in return for guaranteed hours and pay. Unregistered casuals are dispatched behind "B" men only when there are a lot of jobs to fill. Thus, casuals like Ross work much less, have much less experience and often get the most onerous jobs. All working longshoremen should be full members of the union! No douhling! Shorten the work shifts back to six hours work for eight hours pay! Steady men back to the hiring hall!

Across the country, every year thousands of workers are killed on the job, and millions more are injured. For the profit-hungry capitalists, the lives of their wage slaves are cheap. Only when the working class rips industry from the hands of the capitalists and establishes a planned socialist economy will safety govern working conditions.■

Ross Family

Reginald Ross

ILWU...

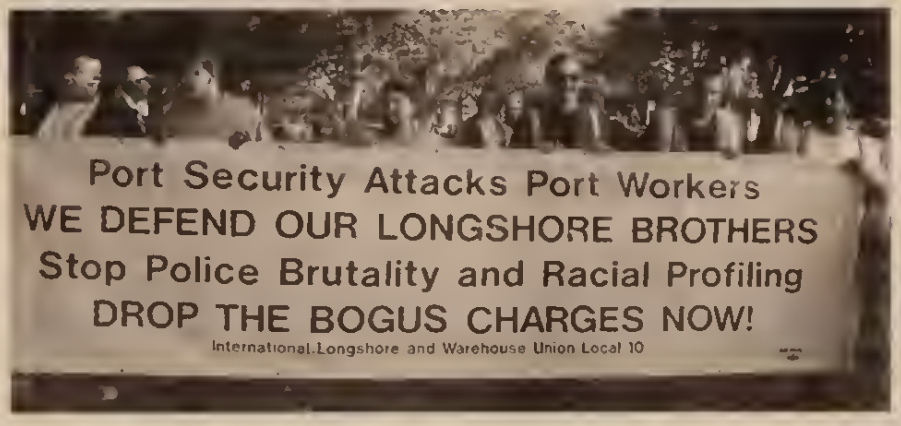
(continued from page 12)

mistake of doing this to members of a union" (*Daily Democrat*, 5 October). That Local 10 mobilized in defense of their victimized union brothers outside their court hearing on October 4 was an important display of union solidarity.

The government's "war on terror" has long had the ILWU in its cross hairs. During the 2002 contract battle, the head of the Department of Homeland Security warned the ILWU International President that a strike would "threaten national security." Black longshoremen from Local 10 were at the core of a 300-strong protest in Oakland on 9 February 2002, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, demanding "No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down with the anti-immigrant witchhunt!"

Yet, outrageously the leadership of the ILWU has *supported* government maritime security measures. What this has meant was conveyed to *Workers Vanguard* by a member of the Sacramento ILWU local who said that guards routinely make random searches of longshoremen's cars there. We were also told that another member of Local 10 who had been harassed by the security guards and cops while working in Sacramento had his name put on a government "terrorist watch" list, which he discovered only when he was pulled aside at an airport!

The ILWU leadership's support to "national security" is premised on the false view that workers and their capitalist exploiters have common interests, a deception that is the basis for chaining the unions to the Democratic Party. Testifying at a 2006 Senate hearing, the ILWU's own "director of port security" complained that the 2002 Maritime Transportation Security Act was being "honored in the breach" and urged the government to "correct the immediate, major deficiencies of security that exist today in America's ports." He claimed that "port security equates to workers safety in its most fundamental sense." This is a lie! The purpose of "maritime security" is to further regiment and police the workers, to shackle the unions' power to take on the shipping bosses. The union tops are demanding the enforcement of the very regulations that gave the security guards and cops license to assault and arrest Harrison and Ruffin! Meanwhile in the Bay Area, the security guards on the docks whose job is to police the workforce and enforce the government's anti-union laws are members of the ILWU. *Security guards out of the union!*



WV Photos

October 4 ILWU demonstration at Yolo County courthouse in Woodland, California, protests arrest of longshoremen at Port of Sacramento. Right: Labor Black League supporters at protest.

Several speakers at the October 4 rally pointed to the absence of any representative of the ILWU International which, to date, has said not one word in protest against the vicious assault on its own union members. Yet the International's support for "port security" is also echoed by the leadership of Local 10, albeit often with a more "progressive" veneer.

In an opinion piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 March 2006) Jack Heyman, one of the more left-talking members of the Local 10 executive board, opined: "Real port security means inspecting all containers offloaded and ending imperialist wars abroad that spawn terrorists, not stifling the free-speech rights of those who work in the ports." Under the cover of the seemingly radical call to end imperialist wars, Heyman lends his support to the war against labor at home in the name of "real" port security. In so doing, he echoes many capitalist Democratic Party politicians, who have pushed container inspections as a part of their bid to outdo the Republicans on "national security."

In addition to demanding better inspection of containers, most ILWU bureaucrats call for more vigorous screening of the largely immigrant, non-union port truckers. This not only is an attack on these workers but undermines the ILWU itself by maintaining a vulnerable, grossly underpaid, non-union workforce on the docks. Instead the union should be fighting to organize these workers and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The "war on terror," which first took aim at immigrants of Muslim descent, is also used to build up a battery of new laws directed at the whole of the working class. In racist America, where the segregation of black people at the bottom of society is central to maintaining the system of capitalist exploitation, it is no surprise that port security and the cops targeted two black longshoremen. But black and immigrant workers are not helpless victims; they have power as a critical part of the multiracial working class.

Addressing the October 4 rally, both Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrison spoke to their new understanding of the power of the union. But for that power to be realized, the unions must be organized in *class struggle* against the employers and their state, as opposed to the policies of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. As the LBL and PDC wrote in the call for the 9 February 2002 protest against the "war on terror":

> "To fight for its interests the working class must stand independent of all agencies and parties of the class enemy. The trade-union misleaders who have shackled labor's power to support for the Democrats now offer to help implement 'security' on the docks and elsewhere....
>
> "There must be a political struggle within the trade unions, the only significant racially integrated institutions in segregation America, to break from the Democrats and build a class-struggle leadership which will champion the cause of black freedom and the defense of immigrant rights. The working class needs its own party—one that fights for a workers government. Those who labor must rule!"
>
> —"Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!" *WV* No.773, 25 January 2002

* * *

Harrison and Ruffin's next court appearance will be on October 22 in the Yolo County Superior Court, 213 Third St. in Woodland, CA. Although the charges of trespassing have been dropped, they remain charged with obstructing a police officer. All out in solidarity! Drop the charges!■

Paris Rally...

(continued from page 12)

Alleg recalled repeated cases during the Algerian War when nationalist and Communist militants were sentenced to death, often on the basis of false confessions extracted under torture. Noting the widespread use of torture by many countries, including the U.S. in Iraq and elsewhere, Alleg declared: "Today, I would say that in some ways it is worse...since it is no longer denied that there has been torture. Rather, laws are adopted that consider it normal!" Alleg concluded:

> "I believe that more than ever voices must be raised everywhere to link what is happening in the particular case of Mumia, who has been sentenced despite his absolute innocence, who has been sentenced because he is black, because he is a revolutionary, because he fights, because he has the talent to explain what is taking place....
>
> "It is the duty of all of us to speak of all this to those around us and to participate, whatever our fundamental philosophy, even if there are things and people—there are some here—with which and with whom I personally do not agree. But the thing I do agree with is to fight along with you so that Mumia gets justice."

The participation of trade unionists served to highlight the kind of working-class social power that can and must be mobilized to secure Mumia's freedom. From the chair, Benoît read several union statements, all of which underlined Mumia's innocence. In his remarks, Duclos reported that many of his fellow railway workers are easily convinced that Mumia is a political prisoner and victim of racist repression. "But," he continued, "when it is a question of denouncing the racism that exists in France, when we speak of the justifiable revolt of the *banlieues* that took place in 2005 following the deaths of Zyed and Bouna [youths of African origin], here the coworkers express their disagreement." Duclos noted a certain tendency, especially among older workers, to see France, where the death penalty has been abolished, as more democratic than the U.S.

Responding to a question from the floor, the LTF's Xavier Brunoy declared that the death penalty in France "was officially abolished in 1981 by the government of [Socialist president] Mitterrand. But if you look at the number of youth who have died since 1981 in the police stations of France, you see that the death penalty is concretely applied by the cops." A woman who has been active in housing *sans-papiers* (undocumented workers) recalled the recent case of an immigrant youth who almost died when he fell from a window while trying to escape a police roundup.

In his speech, Brunoy emphasized: "Exploitation and racist oppression are integral to the capitalist profit system. The phony socialists and pseudo-revolutionaries would have the workers believe that capitalism can be reformed so that it serves the interests of all classes." Brunoy warned against illusions in the popular front which ties workers to their class enemy, the bourgeoisie, noting: "In France, alliances of bourgeois workers parties like the PCF and the Socialist Party with bourgeois parties, whether it is the Radicals in 1936 or the Greens and today the Chevènementistes [followers of ultra-chauvinist politician Jean-Pierre Chevènement], have for decades been the archetype of class collaboration." He also exposed PCF senator Nicole Borvo for joining in the anti-Communist chorus against China, in which the imperialists and their lackeys bleat about "human rights" as a pretext for "a program of capitalist counterrevolution in China which would liquidate the gains of the 1949 Revolution."

Brunoy stated that "the working class in this country will never be able to carry out a revolution if it does not hold high the banner of the struggle against racist terror and defense of immigrants and their children," concluding that what is necessary above all is "united struggle of the multiethnic working class under the leadership of a multiethnic revolutionary party. The French section of the ICL is dedicated to building such a party."

The social power of labor must be mobilized behind Mumia's cause based on the massive evidence of his innocence and the understanding that he is the victim of a racist, political frame-up. Yet many of the liberals and reformists active around Mumia's case have sought to block developments toward class-struggle defense based on a Marxist understanding of the capitalist state and its legal system. A September statement on the Web site of the PCF-supported United National Committee to Support Mumia Abu-Jamal makes this plain. It states that the organization "declined the invitation to speak at this meeting, judging it inappropriate to publicly polemicize with an organization which denounces 'attempts to misdirect the struggle for Mumia toward the bourgeois injustice system'." As the CDDS rally call pointed out, such misdirection is precisely the program behind the February 2006 call in the PCF's *L'Humanité*, signed by hundreds of notables and politicians, for "a new fair trial." For good measure the United National Committee statement expresses the pious hope that "the Federal Appeals Court recognize the denial of justice which led to the death sentence."

Le Bolchévik

Henri Alleg, author of 1958 book on French torture during Algerian War, speaking at CDDS rally.

We vigorously oppose the strategy of reliance on the capitalist state. At the same time, we have always supported scrupulous legal work on Mumia's behalf. The PCF and other groups have tried to pass off their strategy of building protests around the "new trial" call as in accordance with Mumia's wishes. At a May PDC rally in London, Wolkenstein refuted this argument: "I have known and worked with Mumia Abu-Jamal since February 1987. I visit him regularly—before I became his lawyer, when I became his lawyer, after I stopped being his lawyer, including a week ago. He knows perfectly well every word I said here." As Carreno declared in his remarks at the CDDS rally, "To demand a new trial is to accept the hypothesis of Mumia's guilt despite the multiple proofs of his innocence."

The United National Committee's statement complained that Mumia's struggle "has nothing to gain by political quarrels of this type." In fact the opposite is the case. It's unfortunate that this group did not participate in the rally and argue for its views, as such debate is necessary to clarify the way forward in the fight for Mumia's freedom. They bleat about "unity," but what they mean by this has nothing in common with genuine united-front defense: mobilizing in action on agreed-upon slogans with full freedom of criticism. At a forum at the PCF's September *L'Humanité* Fête, the moderator tried to prevent Myriam Benoît from speaking when she began to announce the September 29 CDDS meeting. Some PCF members spoke of freedom for Mumia, but the forum title put it differently: "80 Years After the Execution of Sacco & Vanzetti, Will Mumia Abu-Jamal Finally Get a New Trial to Defend His Innocence?"

At the CDDS rally, Wolkenstein exposed the deadly illusions in the capitalist state that underpin the calls for a new trial:

> "The argument is made by these liberals and reformists that the political movement for Mumia must be restricted to what the lawyers do, to the confines of bourgeois court proceedings. They argue that to demand Mumia's freedom, to assert his innocence and that he should not have spent one day in jail, that bourgeois legality is class and race biased, is divisive."

The policy of class-struggle defense means no illusions in capitalist injustice and all faith in the power of the masses. This understanding is the key to victory in the struggle for Mumia's freedom. We print below excerpts, slightly edited for publication, from Wolkenstein's presentation.

* * *

Rachel Wolkenstein,
Partisan Defense Committee

In the history of the working class, the causes of class-war prisoners have often defined entire political generations. August 23 marked the 80th anniversary of the executions of Italian immigrants, anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the U.S. in 1927, a case that reverberated, and continues to do so, around the world. Today, we are on the eve of a legal decision in the case of Mumia, whose cause as a black radical activist and journalist sentenced to death for his political beliefs and activities is the cause of our generation. Mumia's case parallels that of Sacco and Vanzetti, both legally and politically. It is at our peril and at the risk of Mumia's very life that we do not learn from that history. [See "Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti," *WV* Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September.]

Sacco and Vanzetti were among the anarchists targeted for repression by the U.S. government during the Red Scare following the Russian Revolution. Mumia had been targeted by the FBI and Philadelphia cops from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panthers, also earning their wrath for his later defense of the MOVE organization. Mumia's frame-up conviction was part of the legal and political offensive of the U.S. government following its defeat in Vietnam and the onset of the Reagan years.

Both cases featured trials presided over by judges openly biased against the defendants. In 1924, after denying a motion for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, Judge Webster Thayer said, "Did you see what I did with those anarchistic bastards the other day?" At the time of Mumia's 1982 trial, Judge Albert Sabo was overheard by a court reporter boasting, "I'm going to help them fry the n----r."

Everything used to convict Sacco and Vanzetti—jury-rigging, concealment of evidence, coercion of witnesses, phony ballistics, use of the defendants' political background to inflame the jury—would be replicated in Mumia's trial 60 years later. Prosecutor Joseph McGill argued to the nearly all-white jury that Mumia's Black Panther Party membership 12 years earlier proved that he had been planning to kill a cop.

The most spectacular evidence that Sacco and Vanzetti and later Mumia did not commit the crimes for which they were sentenced to death consisted of the confessions of professional criminals exonerating them. And in both cases, the courts threw out the evidence. In November 1925, Celestino Medeiros, in prison awaiting an appeal for his 1924 conviction for murdering a bank guard, passed a note to Sacco stating, "I hear by confess to being in the south Braintree shoe company crime and Sacco and Vanzetti was not in said crime." Medeiros subsequently swore an affidavit stating that the robbery was carried out by a gang, which was wanted for a series of freight train robberies. Although the gang members fit the descriptions given by the witnesses to the robbery, the appeals court dismissed Medeiros' confession.

In 1999, Arnold Beverly swore a confession that he, and not Mumia, shot and killed Officer Faulkner. According to Beverly, he was hired, along with someone else, to do so by cops and the mob because Faulkner was a problem for corrupt cops, interfering with rackets, bribery, drug dealing, etc. Beverly's testimony is supported by a mountain of evidence and ties together loose threads previously unexplained: the trajectory of the bullets, how Mumia was shot, the person wearing a green army jacket seen by five witnesses, including two cops, and much more. Beverly had sworn his confession in 1999 to me, while I was on Mumia's legal team and in charge of the investigation. I resigned that year when

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Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

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Mumia's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, suppressed Beverly's confession. Two years later, Weinglass was fired by Mumia for violating client confidences. In 2001 Mumia's new lawyers submitted the Beverly confession and supporting evidence to state and federal courts, which would not even consider it.

Up to the day of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution, the International Labor Defense (ILD), the U.S. affiliate of the International Red Aid, which was established by the Communist International, waged a tireless fight for unity in action, based on the class struggle, on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. The ILD supported using any legal means available for Sacco and Vanzetti. But as James P. Cannon, a leader in the Communist Party and head of the ILD, insisted, the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti had to be taken to the "supreme court of the masses." Those who relied on bourgeois justice carried out an offensive against the ILD and CP with slanders, exclusion of the ILD and CP supporters from events called by others and even physical attacks.

The ILD publicized Sacco and Vanzetti's struggle and organized rallies and political strikes to demand their freedom. The ILD mobilized on the basis of the united front, seeking maximum unity in struggle of the various organizations standing for defense of Sacco and Vanzetti while giving a thorough airing of the political differences between the CP/ILD and others. The slogan "march separately, strike together" embodies the two aims of the united-front tactic: class unity and the political fight for an authentic communist program.

The ILD waged a hard political battle against those who threw up obstacles to class-struggle defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Today we face similar obstacles, and then some, in our effort to mobilize labor-centered protest to demand Mumia's freedom on the basis that he is an innocent man. The Sacco and Vanzetti case occurred in a period marked by the October Revolution, which inspired militant fighters around the world and drew a sharp dividing line between those who defended the Soviet Union and those who sided with the capitalist rulers.

Today's world is profoundly shaped by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state in 1991-92, following decades of Stalinist betrayal. As the bourgeois rulers proclaim the lie of the "death of communism," the bulk of the left, which in the main joined in the imperialists' anti-Soviet campaigns, places its political activity solidly within the framework of the so-called "democratic" capitalist order.

Thus, whereas in Sacco and Vanzetti's case it was the prosecution who vilified the Medeiros confession, today many liberals and reformist leftists among Mumia's professed defenders sling mud at the Beverly confession and even cast doubt on Mumia's own statement that he did not shoot Daniel Faulkner. Why would Mumia's ostensible defenders be agnostic on Mumia's innocence and attack the Beverly evidence makes clear that Mumia's frame-up was not the action of one rogue cop, prosecutor or judge but the entire functioning of the capitalist system of injustice.

Liberals want to "clean up" the capitalist system and get rid of its "excesses." But in Mumia's case, the frame-up of a black activist is no "excess"—it's what the death penalty in racist America is all about. The Marxist understanding is that the courts, cops, prisons and armed forces are core components of the capitalist state—a machinery of organized violence to protect the rule and profits of the exploiting class. This understanding is directly contrary to the bourgeois-liberal framework of those who embrace the very "justice" system that at every level has declared, as in the infamous Dred Scott case upholding slavery in the U.S., that Mumia has no rights that it is bound to respect.

In 1995, when the first death warrant was issued, there were protests around the world based on support for Mumia's cause, heavily based on trade unions that represented millions. From South Africa to France and even in the U.S. there were mobilizations built on the basis that Mumia's frame-up conviction was political and racist, that his death sentence was the call for racist legal lynching. Out of those mobilizations and with each new piece of evidence of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up, a powerful labor-centered, international campaign demanding Mumia's freedom could have been built. The very particulars of Mumia's case provide powerful lessons that his struggle for freedom must be based on the independent action of the working class, acting with consciousness of its social power to withhold its labor, to shut down industry, communications and transportation. Mumia's case has the power to deepen workers' militancy, class solidarity and the recognition that the fight for black rights, immigrant rights and to end exploitation and oppression is *one* fight.

Workers World

Dedication of street named in honor of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Saint-Denis, outside Paris, 29 April 2006.

Instead, the campaign for Mumia was demobilized by left organizations and reformist groups by subordinating the call for Mumia's freedom to the call for a new trial. At bottom, the "new trial" slogan is an appeal to liberals who see Mumia's case not as the frame-up of an innocent man but as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." They have sought to appeal to those in the "mainstream" who see the legal hell that Mumia has been put through as a stain on the image of American "justice." Or in Europe, to counterpose the supposed greater democracy of the European bourgeoisie to that of the U.S.

"New trial" is shorthand for a program of reliance on the capitalist class, its politicians and its courts to afford justice to fighters for the oppressed. This retarded the political understanding of those who joined the struggle, and ultimately it demobilized the movement for Mumia's freedom. By preaching that the next court would be *the* court that would give Mumia a new, fair trial, it also demoralized those youth and workers who initially joined the fight for Mumia seeing in his fight their own fight against "the system" as they understood it. And it is the role of the reformists on the left—from the Communist Party in France to the minuscule left groups in the U.S.—to keep the working class and its allies tied to the idea of the inviolability of the state.

The reason that Mumia is still facing death or the living death of life imprisonment is that the capitalist injustice system—supported by both parties of American capitalism, Democrats as well as Republicans—is intended to intimidate, silence and punish those who raise their voices and actions in opposition. This is another lesson of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The determination of the bourgeoisie to kill Mumia or imprison him for life is no less than it was for the two anarchist martyrs.

James Cannon noted that "the industrial masters of America" who had carried out the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti to deal a blow to the entire labor movement "were not without allies, both conscious and unconscious, in the camp of the workers themselves." "Sacco and Vanzetti will have died in vain," he wrote, "if the real meaning and the causes of their martyrdom are not understood in all their implications." These lessons are indeed of crucial importance in the struggle against capitalist repression today and are posed with particular urgency *now* in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

We don't need or want any more martyrs. Mumia must not become a martyr to the racist viciousness of American capital. In 1995 it was the international mobilizations, including the working class, that stayed Mumia's death warrant. The power to free Mumia exists in the international working class. Our task is to fight to unleash that power. Free Mumia now!■

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

BAY AREA	CHICAGO	LOS ANGELES	NEW YORK CITY	TORONTO
14th and Broadway Oakland Near the Federal Building **4:30-6:30 p.m.** (On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.) More info: (510) 839-0852 or pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net	**Kluczynski Federal Building** **Northwest corner of Jackson and Dearborn** **Weekday: 4:30 p.m.** **Saturday: Noon** More info: (312) 563-0442 or chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net	**Weekday: 5 p.m.** **U.S. Federal Courthouse** **312 N. Spring St.** **Saturday: 1 p.m.** **Westwood Federal Bldg.** **11000 Wilshire Blvd.** More info: (213) 380-8897 or partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net	**Federal Building** **Broadway between Worth and Duane Sts.** **Weekday: 5-7 p.m.** **Saturday: 1-4 p.m.** More info: (212) 406-4252 or (212) 267-1025 or partisandefense@earthlink.net	**360 University Ave.** Across the street from the U.S. Consulate between Dundas (St. Patrick station) and Queen (Osgoode station) **Weekday: 6 p.m.** **Weekend: 1 p.m.** More info: (416) 593-4138 or pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

U.S. demonstrations are sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues.

For information on Berlin, Hamburg, London, Mexico City and Paris demonstrations: www.partisandefense.org

Subsequent to the PDC's call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

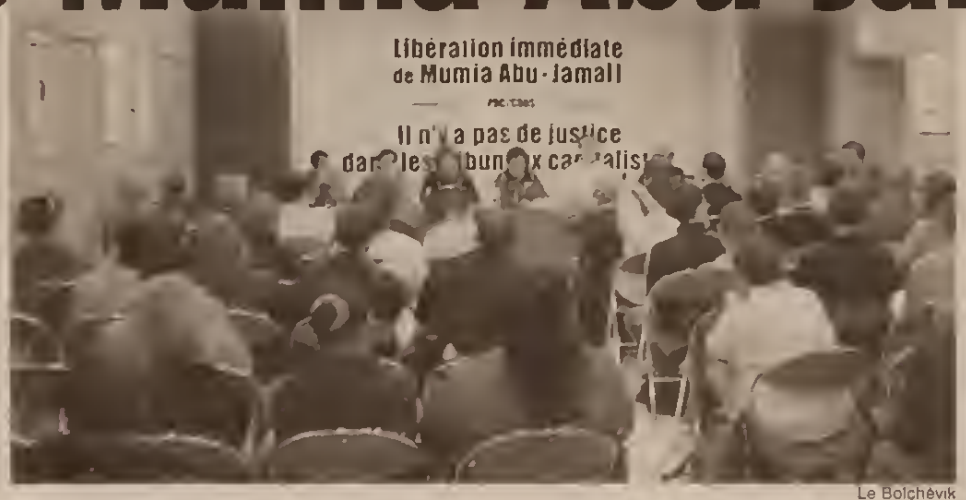
Philadelphia: 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information.
New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Bldg. (125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.) Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Join the PDC contingent three Saturdays after the decision at the National Demonstration in Philadelphia called by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

WORKERS VANGUARD

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

Paris Rally Demands: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Le Bolchévik

September 29 rally called by Committee for Social Defense in Paris.

PARIS—Some 70 people attended a September 29 rally in Paris called by the Comité de Défense Sociale (Committee for Social Defense—CDDS) demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, America's foremost class-war prisoner. A former Black Panther, a journalist and a MOVE supporter, Mumia has spent more than a quarter of a century on death row following his frame-up conviction on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. The CDDS is a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League. The rally was part of an international campaign to revitalize mass, labor-centered protest on Mumia's behalf at what could be the final stage of his legal proceedings.

The main rally speaker was Rachel Wolkenstein of the Partisan Defense Committee, a member of Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999. Wolkenstein led the investigation that uncovered a mass of evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he shot and killed Faulkner. Xavier Brunoy spoke on behalf of the LTF. The meeting was also addressed by Henri Alleg, a widely respected member of the French Communist Party (PCF), whose 1958 book *La Question* was a powerful account of his own imprisonment and torture by the French imperialists during the Algerian War. Also speaking were Daniel Carreno, assistant secretary of the SUD-TMT postal sorting workers union, and Jimmy Duclos, member of the SUD-Rail railway workers union in Paris.

Mumia's case is at a critical juncture. On May 17, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments on Mumia's appeal; a decision could come at any time. Speakers at the rally—called under the slogans "Mumia Is Innocent! Immediate Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—stressed the urgency of mobilizing now to win Mumia's freedom. Myriam Benoît of the CDDS, who chaired the meeting, began by dedicating it to our beloved comrade Gérard Le Méteil, who died on September 3 in unknown circumstances after having been taken into police custody on a trivial charge. Benoît declared: "This meeting represents his work as well. He fought to the end for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and we are continuing his fight." She continued, "Black oppression in the United States is rooted in slavery. The state seeks to execute Mumia by a legal lynching in order to send a message to all those who oppose this racist system."

A theme throughout the meeting was the commonality between the fight to free Mumia and the fight against political frame-ups and racist oppression, not only in the United States but in France as well. The right-wing government of Nicolas Sarkozy has thrown down the gauntlet to the workers movement, attacking the very right to strike and threatening to slash workers' gains, from pensions to the state health care system. In timeworn divide-and-rule fashion, the Sarkozy government has stepped up the French rulers' racist anti-immigrant campaign as a way to undercut class struggle against these attacks. While the cops spread racist terror in the *banlieues* (minority ghettos), a vicious law is being prepared that would raise further barriers to immigration and even introduce DNA testing for those seeking to be reunited with family members in France.

Henri Alleg, who had been a longtime member of the Algerian Communist Party and editor of its journal *Alger Républicain*, sharply indicted the "democratic" pretensions of French capitalism. Making a comparison to Mumia's frame-up,

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"War on Terror" Assault on Black Longshoremen

ILWU Rally: "Drop the Bogus Charges Now!"

WV Photo

Jason Ruffin, speaking at October 4 protest against arrests, with his co-defendant Aaron Harrison.

OAKLAND—Some 200 unionists, overwhelmingly members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), rallied on October 4 in defense of two black longshoremen from ILWU Local 10 in the Bay Area, Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrison. The two had been brutally assaulted and arrested in August by the West Sacramento police under the provisions of the government's bipartisan "anti-terrorist" port security laws. Members of Local 10, and the ship clerks Local 34, boarded busses at 6 a.m. to get to the protest at the courthouse in Woodland, California, a suburb of Sacramento, the state capital.

They were joined by members of ILWU locals from Sacramento, Stockton and Portland, Oregon, as well as members of the Oakland teachers union, the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association and the Inlandboatmen's Union. At the rally, union members bowed their heads in a minute of silence for longshoreman Reginald Ross, who was killed on the Oakland docks the week before (see article, page 9). There were several speakers, including Ken Riley, president of the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 in Charleston, South Carolina, where in January 2000 some 600 cops viciously attacked hundreds of picketing members of the local. The union's actions to defend picketers against scab-herding cops prompted the state's attorney general to compare the fight for union rights to "terrorism."

On August 23, security guards stopped Harrison and Ruffin at the Stevedoring Services of America terminal in Sacramento as they were returning to work after lunch. The guards demanded to search the car, citing maritime security regulations. These regulations are part of the government's so-called "war on terror," which is nothing but a pretext for the U.S. rulers' bloody occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and for increasing the powers of their state—the cops, courts, prisons, military and their security guard auxiliaries—"at home."

Harrison and Ruffin called their Local 10 Business Agent for advice. That these two black workers appealed to their union for help obviously enraged the security guards, who called in the notoriously racist West Sacramento police. Harrison and Ruffin were dragged out of their car, assaulted, maced, handcuffed and thrown in jail on charges of trespassing and obstructing a police officer.

As the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, wrote in a September 12 letter of solidarity to the ILWU: "This attack in Sacramento on two black ILWU members underscores the reality of the 'war on terror' at home—attacks on immigrants, blacks, minorities, trade unions and the working class as a whole." At the October 4 rally, Rev. Ashiya Odeye, a local activist against police brutality, remarked that the cop attack on Harrison and Ruffin matched the treatment that these racist cowboys have been handing out to black and Latino youth for years in West Sacramento. He concluded, this time "they have made the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 901 | GCU C-701 | 26 October 2007

Democrats: Partners in Bush's "War on Terror"

U.S. Imperialism's Torture Machine

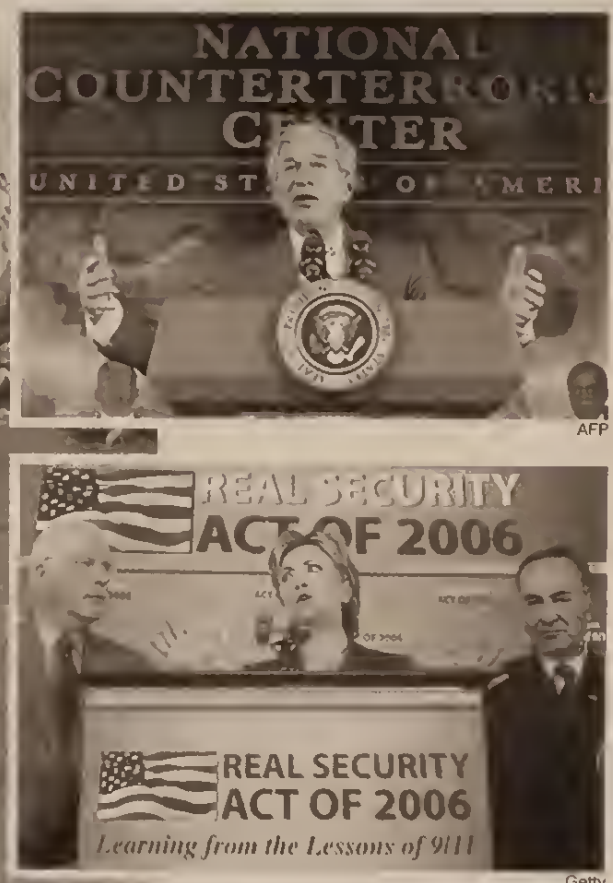
As it prepares to approve the nomination of Michael Mukasey as Attorney General, the Democratic-led Congress has been putting on a cynical display of concern over the government's increasing surveillance of the population and its use of torture against "terror suspects." A big part of the backdrop to Mukasey's confirmation hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee last week was the revelation by the *New York Times* (4 October) of secret Justice Department memos authorizing torture. One of those documents, an early 2005 memorandum, explicitly authorized the CIA to use a combination of painful psychological and physical techniques such as simulated drowning ("waterboarding"), potentially fatal head slapping and freezing temperatures. Those memos were the brainchild of Alberto Gonzales, who resigned as attorney general in August.

As a federal judge, Mukasey gave the Feds just about everything they wanted in the "terror" cases that came before him, going back years before the September 11 attacks. During the Judiciary Committee hearings, Mukasey upheld every aspect of the Bush administration's "anti-terror" policies, from waterboarding to the overall vast expansion of presidential powers. Following a script as predictable as a *Gilligan's Island* rerun, a handful of Democrats on the confirmation panel postured as standing up for civil liberties. But the Democratic Party at every level has championed the "war on terror" that has served as a pretext for the murderous occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq and for a war on the rights of us all "at home."

Even as they whine that government spying exceeds the president's authority, Congress votes to give him that authority. In responding to earlier revelations of government memos endorsing torture, which further tarnished U.S. imperialism's image abroad, Congress passed a law giving Bush & Co. a way out by redefining torture. Even when Congress adopted a law in 2005 prohibiting "cruel, inhuman and degrading" treatment—i.e., nominally upholding the U.S. Constitution—the Justice Department responded by issuing another secret memo declaring all CIA interrogation methods legal. The courts, meanwhile, have given their imprimatur to virtually every repressive measure demanded by the imperial presidency.

To many liberals and reformist leftists, the Democrats' failure to counter the Bush gang's repressive policies is a sign of their spinelessness. In fact, the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism is running to recapture the White House largely on the basis that it is better equipped to prosecute the "war on terror." In fact, the Bill Clinton administration helped pave the way for the current assault on civil liberties.

AP



AFP

Getty

Hundreds detained without charges continue to languish in U.S. prison camp in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Senator Hillary Clinton (above, at September 2006 press conference) promotes Democrats as more effective than Bush's Republicans in carrying out reactionary "war on terror."

In the aftermath of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing by white right-wingers, the Clinton White House enacted the "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act" under which immigrants and all "aliens" could be subjected to star chamber proceedings in secret trials without any charges being presented. The Clinton administration also pushed through the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which greatly expanded the number of crimes punishable by death as part of a general escalation in the use of the racist death penalty. While Bush's Republicans are openly a party of racist, anti-labor reaction and all-sided bigotry, the Democrats posture as "friends" of workers, black people and immigrants, and end up doing the same thing.

The Feds' current anti-terrorist database of over 235,000 files is made up of such lists as the FBI's Violent Gang and Terrorist Organizations File adopted by the Clinton administration in October 1995 ostensibly to crack down on youth gangs. The intended result was an even fiercer reign of racist cop terror against the ghetto and barrio masses. In opposing the anti-immigrant witchhunt following the September 11 attacks, we warned that the massive expansion of police powers would also pose a further threat to black people, working people and the entire populace.

The September 11 attacks gave the capitalist rulers a golden opportunity to ratchet up their repressive powers. But such moves were already well under way, as can be readily gleaned from the latest dust-up over domestic spying by the National Security Agency (NSA) abetted by the telecommunications companies that participated in the wiretapping and "data mining" of customers' records. Joseph Nacchio, former chief executive of Qwest Communications International, recently revealed that the NSA had approached his company to assist in its wireless surveillance program *six months before* the September 11 attacks. Believing the program illegal, Nacchio turned them down.

When the NSA program was revealed in December 2005, the Democrats vowed to rein it in. After months of hearings, subpoenas and other posturing, Democratic Congressional leaders let a new law, which gave Bush even greater powers than he had initially sought, sail through committees, putting up virtually no resistance to its passage in August. The Democrats then complained that they

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The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution....6

At "Labor Conference to Stop the War" Workshop

Labor Opportunists, Renegades Embrace Bill Logan

In the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* we printed the preface to the recently published International Communist League bulletin "The Logan Dossier," documenting the facts and findings leading to the expulsion of one Bill Logan from our international tendency in 1979 as a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism" (see "The Logan Dossier," *WV* No. 900, 12 October). Among his crimes, Logan used his organizational position as chairman of our Australian section to break up couples and to try to force a young woman to get an abortion and, failing that, to give up her baby. Today, Logan heads up a dubious outfit calling itself the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT). As we wrote in "The Logan Dossier": "In publishing the documentary record of the Logan trial, we aim to make clear to a new generation of leftists that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement."

Yet at an October 20 Bay Area "Labor Conference to Stop the War," Logan masqueraded as a bona fide "workers' leader" from New Zealand. He participated in a workshop on "Class Struggle and the War" chaired by Jack Heyman, an executive board member of International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10 and the central chairman of this "labor conference." Logan retailed stories of "historical examples of workers political action against imperialist war." To hear this man, who apes all the attitudes of class privilege and imperialist elitism of the long-decayed British empire, cynically intone the Wobbly slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all," which the ILWU adopted as its own, was an outrage. A Spartacist League speaker intervened to expose this revolting and dangerous fraud: "I am offended and disgusted that this man, Bill Logan, is welcomed at this conference. He has committed crimes against communist morality and against working people."

Heyman tried to interrupt our speaker and defended Logan against what Heyman called "personal slanders." Far from slander, our exposure of Logan's crimes is an elementary ***defense of the workers movement***. Yet sitting silent through Heyman's attack on our speaker was none other than Internationalist Group (IG) leader Jan Norden. When he was still a leading member of our organization, Norden powerfully and rightly indicted Logan as "a criminally sociopathic individual who should be removed from all working-class organizations and other working-class organizations should be warned" ("On the Logan Regime Part III," *International Information Bulletin* No. 16, November 1983, which is available to the public). Now, taking the floor not long after our comrade at the conference, Norden's only mention of Logan was a brief, oh-so-comradely criticism of Logan's description of a 1930s Australian labor boycott of pig iron to Japan as an example of working-class struggle against war. Thus, Norden joined the labor opportunist Heyman and the renegades of the BT in legitimizing the twisted monster Logan as part of the workers movement.

When Norden and his small coterie of followers defected from our organization in 1996, Logan's BT hoped to woo them on the basis of shared hostility to the Spartacist League, the BT's central animating principle. At the time, Negrete, a present leading member of the IG, responded on behalf of the Norden group: "I personally witnessed the BT's lies, provocative behavior and unashamed orientation to the white labor aristocracy from the beginning.... The bottom-feeding scavengers of the BT live off anti-communism." (Negrete's 25 July 1996 "A Note on the 'Bolshevik' Tendency" was included in the Norden group's anti-Spartacist diatribe, *From a Drift Toward Abstentionism to Desertion from the Class Struggle*.) But politics makes for strange bedfellows and common bottom feeders.

In its propaganda, the IG issues thundering cries for the defeat of U.S. imperialism, promoting its credentials for "uniquely" calling for labor strikes against the war. But the real face behind the IG's bombast is the trade-union opportunist Jack Heyman, a buddy the IG shares in common with Logan's BT. There was much mutual flattery among them as Logan saluted Heyman for his role in "militant labor actions," while the IG promoted Heyman's conference as a potential "important step toward bringing to bear workers' power against the imperialist war" ("ILWU Dock Workers Under Attack," *Internationalist*, October 2007). Far from pointing to the mobilization of the power of labor against the brutal occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, this conference was little more than a talk shop for a bunch of sometimes left-sounding bureaucrats and a gaggle of reformists and liberals to peddle their wares in the shadow of the Democratic Party, the other party of U.S. imperialism.

In his remarks at the opening plenary session, Tim Paulson, the head of the San Francisco Labor Council, gave the game

Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency

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TROTSKY

LENIN

For New October Revolutions!

November 7 (October 25 by the old Russian calendar) marks the 90th anniversary of the workers revolution led by the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. Despite the subsequent Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state, culminating in its counterrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92 by Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed forces, the October Revolution was the international proletariat's greatest conquest. As historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon stressed in 1939, it shows the way forward in the struggle to sweep away the capitalist-imperialist system.

The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers' revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality.

It was said once of a book—I think it was Whitman's "Leaves of Grass"—"who touches this book, touches a man." In the same sense it can also be said, "Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution." Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it.

The October revolution put socialism on the order of the day throughout the world. It revived and shaped and developed the revolutionary labor movement of the world out of the bloody chaos of the war. The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers' revolution is to be made. It revealed in life the role of the party. It showed in life what kind of a party the workers must have. By its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.

—James P. Cannon, "Speech on the Russian Question" (October 1939), printed in *Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1943)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is October 23

No. 901 **26 October 2007**

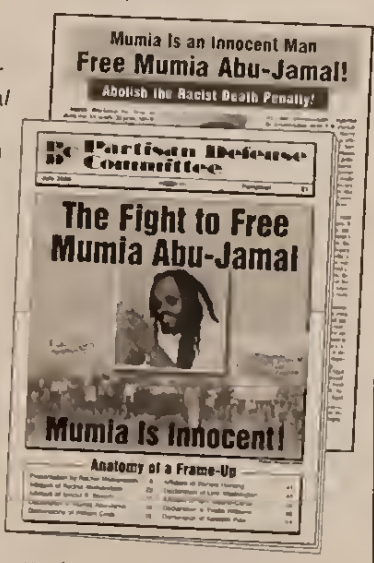
Join the Campaign to Free Mumia!

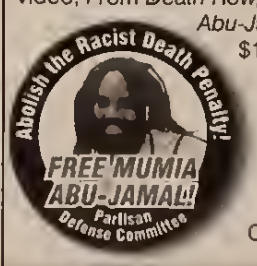
Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.





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away as to what kind of "labor action" was being promoted here. Appealing for trade unionists to join the labor contingent at the October 27 antiwar protest in San Francisco, initiated by the ANSWER coalition and United for Peace and Justice around the social-patriotic call to "Bring the Troops Home," Paulson boasted that this contingent would have as its speaker Democrat Barbara Lee, "the first and bravest of all the Congressional people." Such "unity" with the parties of the capitalist class enemy has long meant going after the revolutionaries by any means necessary. Trotting Logan out at this conference was a calculated provocation orchestrated by his BT, not only against the Spartacist League but against the workers movement as a whole. But for the IG, embracing Logan, the revolting antithesis of the liberating goals of Marxism, was the admission price, happily paid, into the pro-Democratic Party "anti-war" swamp in the Bay Area.

We intervened in this conference with our revolutionary program against imperialist war. We also urged participants to join us in labor-centered protest action to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and a number of people signed on to a Partisan Defense Committee statement demanding that this innocent man be freed. We are committed to arming the working class with the consciousness, confidence and fighting spirit needed to wage real combat against the imperialists and their dirty wars against the workers and oppressed of the world. Our exposure of Logan's crimes is part of that commitment. As we wrote in the preface to "The Logan Dossier":

> "We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose.... There is no place for the likes of a William King Logan in our movement."■

Northites' Scab Line on UAW

What kind of organization, writing about the recent United Auto Workers (UAW) strike against General Motors, "would advise workers, should the UAW come to their plant, to vote to keep it out" and state that "joining the UAW would not advance workers' interests one iota"? Our readers could be excused for thinking that such an appeal would come from the professional union-busters of the National Right to Work Committee. No, these were the words of the "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) in an October 12 posting on their World Socialist Web Site. And they were in direct response to the fundamental point we made in "Victory to the UAW Strike!" (*WV* No. 899, 28 September) that "organizing the unorganized is crucial to the very survival of the UAW." The SEP (formerly Workers League, WL) are political bandits who like to pass themselves off as Trotskyists. And when it comes to labor struggle, this outfit is nothing but scab "socialists."

More than a decade ago, SEP (then WL) honcho David North declared in a speech that "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" (*Bulletin*, 10 January 1992). The Northites soon showed what this line meant in practice when they openly apologized for scabs who crossed UAW picket lines in the long and bitter Caterpillar strike in the mid '90s. Today they oppose union organizing in non-union auto plants, offering the rationale that the sellout contract pushed by the UAW tops following the short-lived GM strike marked "the open transformation of the UAW into a business." Throw in some rhetoric about "globalization," and this all adds up to a "radical" veneer for siding with the bosses, who spend billions each year on thugs and spies, lawsuits and advertising campaigns to keep unions out.

To pass off their anti-union line, the Northites willfully conflate the trade unions—the basic defense organizations of the working class—with their misleaders, aptly characterized more than a century ago by the Marxist Daniel De Leon as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." The union tops must be thrown out and replaced by a new, class-struggle labor leadership. This surely is not where the SEP is coming from. In the early 1970s, when struggles against the Vietnam War and for black rights had shaken the U.S., the Workers League called on the reactionary AFL-CIO chief George Meany to "build a Labor Party" and offered a program for such a party that said not a word about the war or about the fight against racial oppression!

Ryan Garza/Flint Journal

September 24: UAW picket line at GM plant in Flint, Michigan. SEP political bandits join bosses in calling to keep UAW out of non-union plants.

A primary preoccupation of the union tops at the time was to work in league with the State Department in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The Northites joined right in, tailing every CIA-sponsored force arrayed against the Soviet degenerated workers state and East European deformed workers states, from the Afghan *mujahedin* to Polish Solidarność. As we noted in "Workers League vs. the Unions" (*WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993), David North's speech writing off the unions came right after U.S.-hacked Boris Yeltsin formally dissolved the USSR in December 1991. North seized on this to announce the death of the Soviet workers state. Revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky had aptly compared the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule to a giant labor organization that must be defended against the capitalist enemy despite its misleaders. North grotesquely inverted Trotsky's analogy to write off the organized labor movement along with the Soviet Union.

We exposed the SEP's union-busting line at a talk at New York City's Tamiment Library on October 12 by Bryan Palmer, author of a recent biography of American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon. Following comments from longtime WL/SEP leader Fred Mazelis, a Spartacist League speaker pointed out:

> "The SEP, which supported every imperialist-inspired force in destroying the gains of the 1917 Revolution, now come out against trade unions entirely and tell workers not to vote for the UAW should the organizing drive come to their factory. There is a word for that and it begins with 's' and it ends with 'b'."■

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Third Circuit Court of Appeals rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the PDC and LBLs call for protests the day after the decision.

BAY AREA
14th and Broadway, Oakland
Near the Federal Building
4:30-6:30 p.m.
(On Monday if the decision falls on Fri.-Sun.)
More info: (510) 839-0852 or pdcbayarea@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO
Kluczynski Federal Building
Northwest corner of Jackson and Dearborn
Weekday: 4:30 p.m.
Saturday: Noon
More info: (312) 563-0442 or chicagopdc@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
U.S. Federal Courthouse
Weekday: 5 p.m.
312 N. Spring St.

Westwood Federal Building
Saturday: 1 p.m.
11000 Wilshire Blvd.
More info: (213) 380-8897 or partisandefense-la@sbcglobal.net

NEW YORK CITY
Federal Building
Broadway between Worth and Duane Sts.
Weekday: 5-7 p.m.
Saturday: 1-4 p.m.
More info: (212) 406-4252 or (212) 267-1025
or partisandefense@earthlink.net

TORONTO
360 University Ave.
Across the street from the U.S. Consulate
between Dundas (St. Patrick station) and
Queen (Osgoode station)
Weekday: 6 p.m., Weekend: 1 p.m.
More info: (416) 593-4138 or pdctoronto@bellnet.ca

VANCOUVER
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building
South Plaza
Weekday: Noon
More info: (604) 687-0353 or
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

U.S. demonstrations are sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues.

For information on Berlin, Hamburg, London, Mexico City and Paris demonstrations: www.partisandefense.org

Subsequent to the PDC's call for protests, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC) has publicized the following actions, in the event of a negative decision, to take place the next day:

Philadelphia: 13th and Locust. Call (267) 760-7344 for information.
New York City: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Bldg. (125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Blvd.) Weekday: 5 p.m., Saturday: 1 p.m.

Join the PDC contingent three Saturdays after the decision at the National Demonstration in Philadelphia called by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Young Spartacus

Why They Can't Wait 'til 2008

RCP Maoists "Serve the People" ...Up to the Democrats

Every few months, yet another desperate statement proclaims that the world can wait no longer to "drive out the Bush regime." The author of these statements is the World Can't Wait (WCW) campaign of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Not coincidentally, WCW held its first major event a year prior to the 2006 midterm elections and staged rallies around the country in October 2006, right on the eve of those elections. The WCW, among others, proposes that Bush should be driven out through impeachment. Impeachment by whom, one might ask? Answer: by the Democratic Party majority in the House of Representatives.

World Can't Wait's "fight the right" preaching is laced with perfunctory warnings such as the one in WCW's "The Call to Drive Out the Bush Regime": "There is not going to be some savior from the Democratic Party." Translation: the WCW wants to mobilize people to put further pressure on the Democrats to end Bush & Co.'s reign in the upcoming presidential elections. In a nutshell, WCW is all about dressing up pro-Democratic Party pressure politics with outraged rhetoric and orange bandannas. These politics were already amply demonstrated in the RCP's earlier work in the antiwar "movement" via its Not In Our Name (NION) organization, which we have exposed in numerous articles, including in "Revolutionary Communist Party: Revolutionary in Name Only" (*WV* No. 823, 2 April 2004). *Refusing to stand for the military defense of Iraq against the U.S. imperialist war*, the RCP opted to "unite all who can be united," not least open representatives of the bourgeois Democratic Party and the Green Party, in its NION coalition. Protestations of the RCP's membership, who claimed a blazing response would be forthcoming, to the contrary, there was no response to our polemic. Not surprising; as we will show below, the RCP has a long track record of refusing to take a forthright stand against the depredations of U.S. imperialism. Moreover, the RCP is not just a garden-variety reformist organization in thrall to a wing of its "own" bourgeoisie. It has a particularly sordid record as Maoist apologists for the most venal acolytes of Washington across the globe.

Lacking anything to *politically* distinguish itself from the left-liberal swamp, and since apparently the world will in fact wait, the RCP has amped up its quirky cult of personality around RCP chairman and founder Bob Avakian. Voluble speeches from "Chairman Bob" occupy vast swaths of their paper. RCP chapters organize showings of excerpts from his *eleven-hour* DVD. And if that isn't enough, you can sign on to "Engage! A Committee to Protect and Project the Voice of Bob Avakian." But the effusive emptiness that is the RCP's current stock in trade doesn't stop at their great leader. WCW co-founder and RCP spokesperson Sunsara Taylor recently wrote a breathless "Reporters Notebook from Coachella," gushing that the reunited lineup of Rage Against the Machine at the festival "will certainly play in favor of humanity" (*Revolution*, 27 May). And if music isn't your thing, then you can always get excited about secondary colors. Thus the WCW's initiative, "Declare It Now," hopes "a groundswell of orange can turn into a groundswell of hope and danger—a groundswell that rises up from below and has the potential of sweeping Bush from office before his term is up" (www.declareitnow.com). Given that they've claimed black and neon green in the past, it seems the only color the RCP doesn't want to be associated with is red.

Jonathon D. Colman

Got Democrats? RCP's World Can't Wait at March 17 march on Pentagon. Inset: WCW T-shirt dresses up pro-Democratic Party pressure politics.

World Can't Wait

Making this crystal clear, not only the RCP's WCW but also the reformist, anti-Communist International Socialist Organization (ISO) signed a petition to Bush and Cheney advocating that: "The most effective way to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons would be to closely monitor its nuclear energy program, and to improve diplomatic relations—two tasks made much more difficult by threatening to bomb Iranian territory" (see "ISO, RCP to Bush: Disarm Iran, 'Lead the Way to Peace'," *WV* No. 870, 12 May 2006). Confronted with this petition at the Los Angeles stop on this spring's "Mission of a Generation—Stop the War Now: Drive Out the Bush Regime" speaking tour, Taylor spluttered that what the petition was about was the "most effective way to defend Iran from developing nuclear weapons," and of course in her personal view "nobody should have nuclear weapons." Well, we think that nuclear weapons are a part of the necessary defense of those countries in which capitalism has been overthrown—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea—as well as for those dependent capitalist countries in the cross hairs of U.S. imperialism, such as Iran. We say that Iran *needs* nuclear weapons to deter imperialist attack. In the event of a military attack by the U.S. or any country acting on its behalf, we call for military defense of Iran while giving no political support to the mullah regime.

RCP's World Can't Wait and ISO signed petition advising Bush and Cheney how best to disarm Iran, "lead the way to peace."

The RCP/WCW invokes the spectre of "fascism," claiming that Bush & Co. could "remake society very quickly, in a fascist way, and for generations to come" ("The Call to Drive Out the Bush Regime," undated, 2005). Such bombast is a very cynical tactic, and by no means a new one, to pimp for the capitalist Democratic Party (presumably the "anti-fascist" wing of the ruling class). There can be no doubt that Bush & Co. have done much to shred such gains as were won, through social struggle, over past decades. But their impulse toward bonapartism is nothing new for bourgeois rule—in fact they have used many of the laws and practices of the imperial presidency introduced by Democratic administrations before them.

In any case, this is hardly fascism—a form of bourgeois rule requiring the destruction of all workers organizations, often accompanied, as in the case of Nazi Germany, by the genocide of whole peoples and minority populations. Moreover, the fight against fascism requires the mobilization of the working class, including armed workers defense guards, to smash that threat, preferably in the egg, and to struggle for the seizure of state power against the capitalist rulers whose system spawns fascism, just as it does war, racism, poverty, national and racial oppression. The strategy of allying with a wing of this ruling class is treacherous, and historically has been proven to be so. (For more on this see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*.)

Should there be any doubt about the RCP's "anti-fascist" (read: anti-Bush) "unity" with the supposed enlightened bourgeoisie, we can report that at the Columbia University stop of the "Mission of a Generation" tour, Sunsara Taylor grotesquely concluded her speech by proclaiming a desire for unity with those who stand for the principles on which America was founded. As one of our comrades pointed out at that meeting, one of America's founding "principles" was chattel slavery.

It is embarrassing to have to point this out. Black oppression has its roots in the earliest days of slavery. After the Civil War, the second American Revolution, smashed the slave system, in 1877 the promise of black equality was betrayed by the Northern bourgeoisie in favor of an alliance with the former Southern slavocracy. The

special oppression of the black population serves the interests of the capitalist rulers, who use black workers as a reserve army of labor, last hired and first fired, and use anti-black racism to divide and weaken the working class as a whole. The native fascists of the Ku Klux Klan are the legacy of the betrayal of Radical Reconstruction. Their terror, which has helped keep the South an open shop region, has also made an imprint in the recent proliferation of nooses threatening black people at workplaces and schools across the country. Clearly, calling for the unity of the workers movement with the racist American capitalist class is like calling for unity between slave and slave master. The Spartacist League has organized to interdict fascist provocations through the united-front mobilization of labor/black power, requiring a political struggle against the Democratic Party and its labor lieutenants within the trade unions. We have produced a series of publications on this strategic question for the third, socialist, American Revolution, along with many articles in *Workers Vanguard*. (For reference, see our *Black History and the Class Struggle* series.)

As revolutionary communists, Spartacus Youth Club members seek to break leftist youth from the illusion that capitalism can be reformed to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed, and to win them instead to the fight for social-

Reuters

Young Spartacus

Members of Afghan women's militia with Soviet rifles at 1989 rally in Kabul. Right: Spartacist contingent at 1980 anti-draft rally in Washington, D.C. We hailed Red Army against U.S.-backed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, opposed anti-Soviet war drive.

ist revolution. The Democrats, like the Republicans and the Greens, are a party of the capitalist class, competing in the elections to administer a government that is nothing but the capitalists' executive committee. No matter which capitalist party is in power, the rule of the capitalist class is defended by the capitalist state—an apparatus of repression made up of the cops, courts, prisons and military—which is wielded against all the oppressed and exploited. By posing as a friend of labor, minorities and other oppressed groups, the Democratic Party plays an important part in preserving illusions in capitalism. For the same reason, it has historically been the preferred party to administer the imperialists' wars and adventures, from World Wars I and II, to Kennedy's machinations against Cuba, to the Vietnam War.

Our model is the Russian October Revolution of 1917. In that revolution, the working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, seized political power in its own name, expropriated the capitalists and landlords and established workers rule over one-sixth of the globe. Through the imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, we stood for the unconditional military defense of the USSR and for proletarian political revolution against the ruling nationalist, bureaucratic caste that undermined that defense through its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. (For further explanation, see "The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution," page 6.) Today, we defend the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. We fight for new October Revolutions in the capitalist countries. For its part, the RCP has written off those states in which capitalism has been overthrown as "capitalist" countries, as it earlier wrote off the Soviet Union as "social imperialist" and sided with reactionary forces against the USSR—from CIA-backed mullahs in Afghanistan in the 1980s to apartheid South Africa-backed mercenaries fighting heroic Cuban troops in Angola in the 1970s.

UPI

U.S. imperialism's killers flee Vietnamese Communist victory, Saigon, April 1975. RCP Chairman Bob Avakian says U.S. defeat was "not good."

Old Garbage in New Pails: RCP's Roots of Class Betrayal

Who are these RCP people, so rhetorically bombastic and so tamely in the wake of the "Anybody but Bush" pro-Democratic politics? For a start, far from undertaking the necessary study and assimilation of the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution, the RCP's leadership and program were founded in *hostile rejection of such a revolutionary, proletarian and internotionalist road*. "Chairman Bob," now enervating more young people with his warmed-over liberal-Maoist double-talk, is a product of the New Left, and among the more unsavory of its products. We can only provide here a capsule description of the RCP (formerly Revolutionary Union), which emerged from Students for a Democratic Society. As we noted in the introduction to the 1976 Spartacus Youth League pamphlet *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism*:

> "New Leftists were attracted to the Maoism of the Cultural Revolution period [1966-1976], not because it seemed the continuity of orthodox Stalinism, but because it seemed the highest expression of ascetic repudiation of the spoils of imperialism and of the 'Third World' nationalist-populist fervor toward which the student New Left looked as the impetus for the world revolution. People's China was seen as the vanguard of the non-white, 'Third World' poor struggling against the advanced white nations—a category that definitely included Russia. "There is no doubt that the New Left's preference for Mao's China over Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia was based largely on a healthy subjective impulse. The Russians' frank espousal of 'peaceful coexistence' was condemned as a cowardly attempt to conciliate American imperialism at the expense of the insurgent colonial peoples.... The New Leftists drawn to Maoism wanted passionately to create an egalitarian and just society; the apologists for the Kremlin did not."

However, Mao shared the Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country," which has always meant opposing proletarian revolutions internationally in an attempt to conciliate the imperialists. In 1972, Mao welcomed Nixon to Beijing while the U.S. bombed Hanoi, cementing an alliance with U.S. imperialism that manifested itself in China's increasingly nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy moves. Those who followed Mao through the increasingly transparent and immediate betrayals now lined up behind U.S. imperialism against the USSR, undergoing a corrosive process which made them much different political animals than the subjective anti-imperialists who formerly inhabited the New Left zoo. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we fought against the betrayals of both the Beijing and Moscow bureaucracies, calling for internationalist unity, demanding that China not act as a cat's paw for the U.S. imperialists.

Meanwhile, Maoists in the U.S., hopelessly compromised over China's alliance with their "own" rulers, underwent a series of splits and implosions following the death of Mao and, in 1977, the ascendance of Deng Xiaoping, twice purged as a "capitalist roader." The RCP would later split itself, and would come to regard the former "socialist" China as capitalist. As we wrote at the time of the RCP's split:

> "It is notable that both Avakian and Jarvis [Avakian's factional opponent in the RCP] understand that China's foreign policy—defined first and foremost by the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR—is Pandora's box. Had they undertaken a conscious conspiracy to divert attention away from the atrocities which have shaken the American Maoist movement (Peking's support to U.S./South Africa in Angola, its courting of the bloody Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, China's scandalous backing of the Shah of Iran, and its repeated calls for a strong NATO), the silence could scarcely be more complete.... Of course, this discretion is indeed the better part of valor for the RCP, which like any other Maoist sect would have an uncomfortable time determining where to locate a 'degeneration' of Chinese foreign policy. From Sukarno's decimation of the [pro-Chinese] Indonesian CP to Bandaranaike's massacre of Ceylonese youth rebels, the Maoists never allowed bloody repression to dampen their enthusiasm for 'anti-imperialist' dictators so long as they maintained friendly state relations with China."
>
> —"RCP Splits!" *WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978

This left the RCP without a country. The winds of Cold War II were blowing hard against the Soviet Union, as the U.S. rulers rearmed under Democrat Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade. The RCP was bankrupt in the face of such reality: it had taken a stand on the serious question of the *class* nature of both China and the Soviet Union not on the basis of any Marxist analysis, but rather simply on the basis of anti-materialist and increasingly cynical loyalty to Mao's wing of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy. Thus, it wrote off the gains of the 1949 Revolution on the basis that the Gang of Four did not prevail in an intra-bureaucratic fight within the CCP, just as it had parroted the line following the Sino-Soviet split that the Soviet Union became capitalist due to a speech by Khrushchev criticizing the bureaucratic "excesses" of J.V. Stalin. This is a cruel parody of scientific socialism, of revolutionary Marxism.

RCP Today: Fruits of Betrayal

The RCP has evolved into essentially a "death of Communism" left-liberal outfit which likes to indulge in "revolutionary" rhetoric, having long ago jettisoned any pretense to revolutionary purpose. It has even sunk so low as to denounce the heroic victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism, writing that: "When the NLF did 'win,' when the U.S. was driven out, when the

continued on page 11

The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited

Originally appeared as a series in *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 23-30, 22 June to 12 October 1973.

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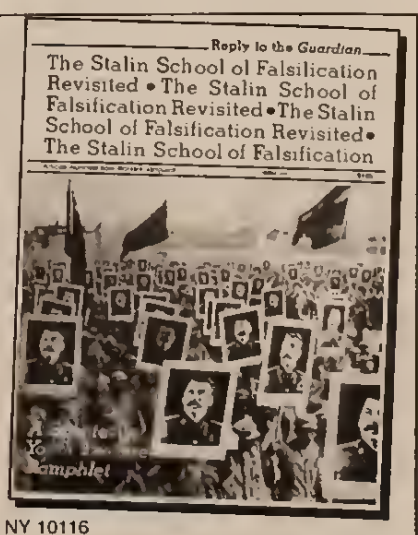


The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

This month marks the 90th anniversary of the Russian Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. The October Revolution was the defining event of the 20th century. Spurred especially by the carnage of World War I, the working class took state power, establishing the dictatorship of the

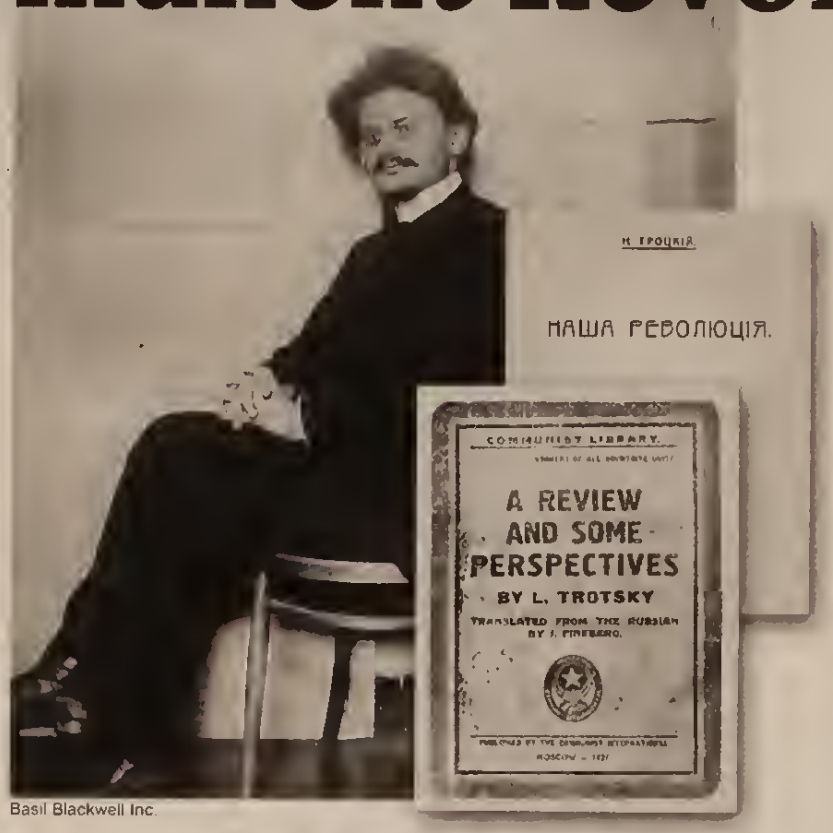
PART ONE

proletariat. In doing so, the multinational proletariat of Russia not only liberated itself from capitalist exploitation but also led the peasantry, national minorities and all the oppressed in driving out feudal tyranny and imperialist bondage.

The young workers state carried out an agrarian revolution and recognized the right of self-determination of all nations in what had been the tsarist prison house of peoples. The soviet regime took Russia out of the interimperialist world war and inspired class-conscious workers in other countries to try to follow the Bolshevik example. The Third (Communist) International, which held its inaugural congress in Moscow in 1919, was founded to lead the proletariat internationally in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The October Revolution was a stunning confirmation of the theory and perspective of permanent revolution developed by Trotsky. In his 1906 work *Results and Prospects*, Trotsky projected that because Russia, despite its economic backwardness, was already part of a world capitalist economy that was ripe for socialism, the workers could come to power there before an extended period of capitalist development. Indeed, the workers would *have* to come to power if Russia was to be liberated from its feudal past. At the heart of the Bolsheviks' success in 1917 was the coming together of Trotsky's program of permanent revolution with Lenin's single-minded struggle to build a programmatically steeled and tested vanguard party against all manner of reconciliation with the capitalist order.

Just before *Results and Prospects* appeared, the 1905 Russian Revolution had shaken the tsarist empire to its foundations and brought to the fore an intense debate over the future course of revolutionary developments. Russia was an imperialist power but also the weakest link in the imperialist chain, saddled with an absolutist monarchy, an encrusted landed aristocracy and a huge Russian Orthodox state church.



Basil Blackwell Inc.

Leon Trotsky in jail in aftermath of 1905 Revolution. Trotsky's 1906 *Our Revolution* (top inset) included *Results and Prospects*, which explained theory of permanent revolution and was republished under title shown (bottom inset) in Moscow in 1921.

The young, vibrant bourgeoisies of 17th-century England and 18th-century France had stood at the head of the urban and rural populace in bourgeois-democratic revolutions that swept away similar feudal-derived fetters on modern capitalist development and would give rise to an industrial proletariat. But the late-emerging Russian bourgeoisie—subordinated to foreign industrialists and bankers, tied by a thousand threads to the aristocracy—was weak and cowardly, fearful that it, too, would be swept away should the worker and peasant masses rise up against the tsarist autocracy.

Addressing this contradiction, Trotsky argued, as he later summarized in the August 1939 article "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution" (also known as "Three Concepts"):

> "The complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is inconceivable otherwise than in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat basing itself on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which will inescapably place on the order of the day not only democratic but also socialist tasks, will at the same time provide a mighty impulse to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West will shield Russia from bourgeois restoration and secure for her the possibility of bringing the socialist construction to its conclusion."

As the Bolsheviks anticipated, the October Revolution inspired proletarian upheavals in Europe, particularly Germany, as well as anti-colonial and national liberation struggles in Asia and elsewhere. But despite the revolutionary ferment, the proletariat did not come to power in any of the advanced capitalist countries of the West. Russia, bled white by imperialist war and the bloody Civil War that erupted a few months after the Bolsheviks took power, remained isolated. Conditions of great material scarcity produced strong objective pressures toward bureaucratism. The failure to consummate an exceptional opportunity for socialist revolution in Germany in 1923 allowed a restabilization of the world capitalist order and led to profound demoralization among Soviet workers. This facilitated a political counterrevolution and the rise of a privileged bureaucratic caste around Joseph Stalin.

In late 1924, Stalin promulgated the dogma of "socialism in one country." This flouted the Marxist understanding that socialism—a classless society of material abundance—could only be built on the basis of the most modern technology and an international division of labor, requiring proletarian revolutions in at least a number of the most advanced capitalist countries. Stalin and his henchmen suppressed proletarian democracy and, over the years, transformed the Communist International from an organizer of the world socialist revolution into its antithesis, strangling revolutionary possibilities abroad in hopes of convincing world imperialism to leave the USSR alone. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state and the Comintern did not go unopposed. Taking up the Bolshevik banner of revolutionary proletarian internationalism, Trotsky and his supporters fought against the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

Decades of Stalinist treachery, lies and bureaucratic mismanagement eventually opened the gates to the imperialist-sponsored forces of capitalist restoration, culminating in the counterrevolutionary overthrow of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. The workers state erected by the October Revolution no longer exists. But it remains vital for class-conscious workers and leftist intellectuals to study the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the world proletariat's greatest success and imperialism's greatest defeat ever.

Hoover Institution

Orthodox church service at plant in the Urals at turn of 20th century. Tsarist regime, factory owners sought to inculcate religious conservatism among workers to undercut growing labor unrest.

From Tsarist Russia to Post-Apartheid South Africa

Trotsky formulated his theory in regard to tsarist Russia. But history would demonstrate that the conditions that made Russia ripe for the proletarian seizure of power in 1917 would be replicated in their broad outlines in even more backward colonial and semicolonial countries, as imperialist capitalism extended its tentacles into ever more remote regions of the globe. This was seen decisively in China, where a young urban proletariat had emerged in the years during and after World War I. But unlike the Bolshevik Revolution, the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 went down to bloody defeat. The crucial reason, as we will detail later in this article, is that the proletariat was subordinated to the bourgeoisie instead of fighting for power in its own name and leading the mass of the peasantry. Drawing the lessons of that defeat, in *The Third International After Lenin* (1928) and *The Permanent Revolution* (1929), Trotsky generalized the theory of permanent revolution to all countries of belated capitalist development in the imperialist epoch.

The validity of this revolutionary perspective has been repeatedly demonstrated in the decades since. Dozens of former colonies have achieved independent statehood, including through heroic and protracted national liberation struggles. But none have managed to defy the laws of Marxist materialism: Short of the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no liberation from the yoke of imperialist domination and mass poverty. And across Latin America, revulsion over imperialist-dictated neoliberal austerity measures has been channeled into support for a new layer of bourgeois nationalist populists, from Hugo Chávez in Venezuela to Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico. Despite their "anti-imperialist" and even "socialist" rhetoric, the bourgeois nationalists are committed to defense of the capitalist order, which necessarily means subordination to the world imperialist system.

Or look at post-apartheid South Africa. Unusually in this period in which the apologists for imperialist exploitation have officially decreed communism to be dead, tens of thousands of South African working-class militants continue to rally around the red banner of the hammer and sickle, the emblem of the Soviet workers state that issued out of the October Revolution. But the South African Communist Party (SACP) tramples on the lessons of the October Revolution, centrally the need for a vanguard party intransigently opposed to all wings of the bourgeoisie and committed to the struggle for proletarian state power and revolutionary internationalism.

In 1994, the election of a government led by the African National Congress (ANC) of Nelson Mandela marked the

end of decades of white-supremacist rule. In the name of the martyrs of Sharpeville and Soweto and the many thousands of others who had given their lives in the struggle against apartheid, the ANC proclaimed a new era of emancipation in which the black and other non-white masses would no longer be consigned to segregation, degradation, murderous repression and grinding poverty. But the reality is that the ANC-led government presides over ***neo-apartheid capitalism***, based on the same social foundations as the former regime: the brutal exploitation of the overwhelmingly black proletariat by a tiny class of fabulously wealthy white capitalist exploiters (though now including a few black front men).

The SACP, a longtime ally and component of the ANC, hailed the advent of a "national democratic revolution" that would grow over into socialism. The Communist-influenced leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—formed in bitter labor struggles that demonstrated the immense social power of the black proletariat and heralded the death knell of apartheid rule—joined the SACP in a Tripartite Alliance with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. Thirteen years on, the bourgeois Tripartite Alliance government breaks workers strikes and unleashes cops on rebellious township youth. The black African masses are no nearer to social and national emancipation, much less socialism.

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Cambio 16

Combined and uneven development in Mexico: GM plant in Matamoros (left), impoverished slum children.

Russia on the Eve of the 1905 Revolution

In his book *1905* (written between 1908-09), Trotsky described Russia's enormous contradictions at the start of the 20th century: "The most concentrated industry in Europe based on the most backward agriculture in Europe. The most colossal state apparatus in the world making use of every achievement of modern technological progress in order to retard the historical progress of its own country." Investment from Europe (primarily France) had created a new urban proletariat in large-scale, state-of-the-art industrial concentrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow and the Urals. While this industrial proletariat constituted less than 10 percent of Russia's population, it was concentrated in economically strategic enterprises. The percentage of Russian workers employed in factories of more than 1,000 employees was higher than in Britain, Germany or the United States. Yet the tsarist autocracy, the counterrevolutionary gendarme for all of Europe's ruling powers, rested on a landed gentry that lived and breathed in a prior epoch.

Such conditions of "combined and uneven development" make the proletariat a uniquely revolutionary force in even the most backward capitalist countries in the imperialist epoch. Russia would not, and could not, simply repeat the experience of ascendant capitalism in England or France. Trotsky explained in "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution":

> "The development of Russia is characterized first of all by backwardness. Historical backwardness does not, however, signify a simple reproduction of the development of advanced countries, with merely a delay of one or two centuries. It engenders an entirely new 'combined' social formation in which the latest conquests of capitalist technique and structure root themselves into relations of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism, transforming and subjecting them and creating a peculiar interrelationship of classes."

The immediate prelude to the 1905 Revolution was the defeat of Russia's Pacific Fleet at Port Arthur in Manchuria in late 1904 by nascent Japanese imperialism. This emboldened bourgeois liberals to timidly urge greater civil liberties. But down below, larger forces were stirring. These came spilling out on the morning of Sunday, 9 January 1905. When a January 3 strike over firings at the massive Putilov metal works in St. Petersburg began to spread, a legal labor organization led by Father Gapon, a radical Russian Orthodox priest, tried to dissipate the growing class confrontation by organizing a procession to humbly petition the tsar for reforms, including an eight-hour day, the separation of church and state and a constituent assembly.

Dressed in their Sunday best, well over 100,000 workers with their families set off for the Winter Palace, the seat of the autocracy. In what came to be known as Bloody Sunday, the tsar ordered troops to open fire. Over 1,000 were slaughtered and almost 4,000 wounded. Russia exploded. By October 1905, a massive series of strikes culminated in a general rail strike and the formation of the Petersburg workers council (soviet), which elected Trotsky as its chairman in November.

In an attempt to quell the upheaval, the tsar issued the October Manifesto, granting a constitution and a limited legislature. The bourgeoisie, terrified of the independent power of the proletariat, eagerly embraced the Manifesto and joined the camp of open counterrevolution. At the same time, the tsar unleashed the Black Hundreds reactionaries in a nationwide pogrom against the Jewish population. Some 4,000 Jews were murdered and 10,000 maimed. This attempt to derail the revolution was courageously combatted by a broad range of socialist organizations that formed armed defense guards. Industrial workers, especially the mainly Russian rail workers, played an important role in defending Jews. Significantly, in St. Petersburg there were no pogroms because the working class showed its determination in advance to defend the Jewish population.

In Moscow, a general strike grew into an armed uprising of the proletariat, with pitched battles on barricades all over the city. Lenin considered the Moscow insurrection of December 7-19 the high point of the revolution. The determination of the insurrection undermined the loyalty of the tsar's troops. It took over a week to put down the insurrection and crush the workers' fighting units. Over 1,000 were killed, followed by a campaign of arrests and executions.

The experience of the St. Petersburg Soviet was of historic importance. Originating as a joint strike committee composed of delegates elected from their factories, the soviet soon began to act as an alternative center of power. After the soviet was crushed, Trotsky and other of its leaders used their trial as a platform to disseminate revolutionary ideas.

The Petersburg Soviet existed for 50 days, the Moscow barricades far less than that. But the impact of the 1905 Revolution was world historic (see "The Russian Revolution of 1905," *WV* No. 872, 9 June 2006). It sent fear into the hearts of the European ruling classes and galvanized the revolutionary wing of international Social Democracy (as Marxists called themselves at the time). It spurred anti-colonial movements throughout Asia and resonated through the workers movement internationally, including in the U.S., where the revolutionary syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was founded that year. In Russia, crucially, it illuminated the programmatic differences between the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), which would end up on opposite sides of the barricades in 1917.

Plekhanov and the Origins of Russian Marxism

Organized Russian Marxism originated in 1883, centering on Georgi Plekhanov's break from the dominant populist current to form the small Emancipation of Labor group in exile. The Narodniks (populists) were often heroic in their pursuit of a revolution against tsarist autocracy. Valiant but futile efforts to "go to the people" and reach out to the benighted peasant masses were followed by courageous but no less futile acts of terror against tsarist officials.

The Narodniks followed a tradition that stretched back to the 1825 Decembrist rising by military officers who sought to emulate modernized bourgeois Europe. But the Russian populists of the second half of the 19th century did not wish to follow the West European model of capitalist development. Instead, they envisioned a uniquely Russian socialism based on the *mir*, the traditional communal peasant land. But while the peasantry had a history of spontaneous, volatile explosions of collective rage, its outlook and aspirations were those of the petty proprietor, not the coherent and collectivist class interests of the urban proletariat. Moreover, as Plekhanov demonstrated in his seminal Marxist polemic against populism, *Our Differences* (1884), the peasant *mir* had already begun to disintegrate under the

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Spartacist Forums Salute the 90th Anniversary of the

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427 Bloor Street West
(1 block west of Spadina Station)
(416) 593-4138 • spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER
Wednesday, November 7, 6 p.m.
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building Room 213
(604) 687-0353
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

SAN FRANCISCO
Thursday, November 8, 7 p.m.
Centro del Pueblo
474 Valencia Street
San Francisco
(close to 16th St./Mission BART)
(510) 839-0851
slbayarea@sbcglobal.net

LOS ANGELES
Saturday, November 10, 5 p.m.
Mount Hollywood
Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue
(1 block east of Vermont, close to Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
(213) 380-8239 • slsycla@sbcglobal.net

CHICAGO
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Reynolds Club–South Lounge
(2nd floor)
University of Chicago
5706 South University Avenue
(312) 563-0441
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

Hear an Update on the Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

impact of capitalist market relations.

In fighting to popularize Marxism among radical intellectuals of his day, Plekhanov produced a Russian translation of Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, which outlined the proletariat's role as the most revolutionary class in history. "The history of all hitherto existing society," declared the *Manifesto*, "is the history of class struggles." Classes are defined by their relationship to the means of production. Capitalism created dynamically expanding and globally organized means of production and commerce. But the private ownership of those socially organized means of production and the barriers imposed by the bourgeois nation-state became in their turn shackles on the development of the productive forces.

The proletariat's place in production—and the fact that it has only its own labor power to sell—makes it the only class with both the material interest in liberating and expanding socialized production based on a collectivized economy and the social power to carry out this revolution. Plekhanov anticipated that capitalist development would soon lead to the emergence of a significant industrial working class. About "the rising proletariat," he declared:

> "They, and they alone, can be the link between the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia; they, and they alone, can bridge the historical abyss between the 'people' and the 'educated' section of the population. Through them and with their help socialist propaganda will at last penetrate into every corner of the Russian countryside. Moreover, if they are united and organised at the right time into a single workers' party, they can be the main bulwark of socialist agitation in favour of economic reforms which will protect the village commune against general disintegration.... ***The earliest possible formation of a workers' party is the only means of solving all the economic and political contradictions of present-day Russia.*** On that road success and victory lie ahead; all other roads can lead only to defeat and impotence."
>
> —*Our Differences* (1884), reprinted in *Selected Philosophical Works*, Vol. 1

Plekhanov succeeded in winning some of the best of the populists to Marxism. Among the formative figures in the Emancipation of Labor group was the former Narodnik Vera Zasulich, who was hailed throughout Europe for her heroism in attempting to shoot the St. Petersburg chief of police in 1878. Other Narodniks eventually consolidated into the main party of bourgeois liberalism, the Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets), and the petty-bourgeois Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs).

Marxists Internet Archive

Vezenberg and Co.

Left: Georgi Plekhanov, founder of Russian Marxism. Right: V. I. Lenin (seated at center) and Julius Martov (seated at right) with other leaders of League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, St. Petersburg, 1897.

The Marxist propaganda circles in Russia connected with Plekhanov turned to mass agitation in the mid 1890s, when a young Lenin and Julius Martov first came to the fore. At the same time, a reformist wing developed. This tendency, dubbed Economism by Plekhanov, limited its agitation to elementary trade-union demands while passively supporting bourgeois liberal efforts to reform tsarist absolutism. Beginning around 1897-98, Economism became the dominant tendency among Russian Social Democrats. Hostile to orthodox Marxism, the Economists were loosely associated with the reformist current around Eduard Bernstein in Germany.

The 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik Split

In 1900, the second generation of Russian Marxists (represented by Lenin and Martov) coalesced with the founding fathers (Plekhanov, Pavel Axelrod, Zasulich) to return Russian Social Democracy to its revolutionary traditions as embodied in the original Emancipation of Labor program. The revolutionary Marxist tendency was organized around the paper *Iskra* (Spark), and Lenin became its organizer. *Iskra* provided, for the first time, an organizing center for a Russian Social Democratic party, one from which Lenin directed work in Russia to win over local Social Democratic committees from Economism or, if necessary, split them.

Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) was a scathing polemic against the Economists' attempt "to *degrade* Social-Democratic politics to the level of trade union politics!" Against this, Lenin argued that the workers party must not act as a labor auxiliary to bourgeois liberalism but as a "tribune of the people." Such a party must agitate against injustice among all layers of the population and render the proletariat conscious of the need to become the ruling class and to reconstruct society on socialist foundations. By the time of the RSDLP's Second Congress in July-August 1903, the Economist tendency was a small minority.

Though the Iskraists walked into the Congress with a solid majority, beneath the seeming unity were considerable differences between the "soft" Martov, who favored a greater role for non-Iskraists in a unitary party, and the "hard" Lenin. These differences exploded over the first paragraph of the RSDLP's rules defining who was a member. Martov's draft defined a party member as one who "renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organizations." For Lenin, membership was defined "by personal participation in one of the Party organizations." This narrower definition was motivated by a desire to exclude opportunists and weed out dilettantes attracted to the RSDLP precisely because of its loose circle nature. With the support of the Economists and the Jewish Bund, Martov's formulation carried. But when the Economists and the Bund walked out of the Congress, Lenin's "hards" gained a slight majority. (Bolshevik is derived from the Russian word for "majority," while Menshevik comes from "minority.")

The decisive split came over the election of a new *Iskra* editorial board. When Lenin's proposal carried, Martov and his followers refused to serve on the editorial board or Central Committee. Plekhanov supported the Bolshevik faction but soon broke with Lenin and threw in his lot with the Mensheviks, who thus regained control of *Iskra*.

Lenin would spend the years between the 1903 split and the 1905 Revolution (and afterwards) waging a fierce struggle against those within the Bolshevik faction—as well as those outside it, such as Trotsky, who opposed Lenin in the split—who sought to reconcile the two factions. While the political differences between Lenin and Martov were unclear to most in 1903, their significance quickly grew. The logic of the factional struggle drove the Mensheviks further to the right, leading to reconciliation with the defeated Economists. Alexander Martynov, formerly the main exponent of Economism, became the Mensheviks' main theoretician.

Mansell Collection

14 July 1789: Depiction of storming of Bastille prison and garrison by Parisian working people at onset of Great French Revolution.

As we elaborated in the 1978 Spartacist pamphlet *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*, the 1903 split did not represent Lenin's final break from the Social Democratic concept of the "party of the whole class," in which all political tendencies claiming the banner of socialism, from avowed reformists to revolutionaries, coexist. Nonetheless, 1903 marked the ***beginning*** of such a break, the first step in the construction of a vanguard party led by a cadre of professional revolutionaries.

The 1905 Revolution, though it was defeated, became "the laboratory in which all the fundamental groupings of Russian political life were worked out and all the tendencies and shadings inside Russian Marxism were projected," as Trotsky would put it in his article, "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution." Trotsky observed:

> "Precisely because of her historical tardiness Russia turned out to be the only European country where Marxism as a doctrine and the social democracy as a party attained powerful development even before the bourgeois revolution. It is only natural that the problem of the correlation between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism was submitted to the most profound theoretical analysis precisely in Russia."

Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution

The Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks and Leon Trotsky put forward three distinct conceptions of the coming Russian Revolution. Pointing to Russia's backwardness, the Mensheviks insisted that the working class could only be an appendage to the liberal bourgeoisie, which was supposedly striving to establish a democratic republic. In early 1905, Martynov codified this orientation to the liberal bourgeoisie in his pamphlet, *Two Dictatorships*. The Mensheviks' chief tactician, Pavel Axelrod, spelled this out at the 1906 RSDLP "Unity Congress":

> "The social relations of Russia have ripened only for the bourgeois revolution.... In the face of the universal deprivation of political rights in our country, there cannot even be talk of a direct battle between the proletariat and other classes for political power.... The proletariat is fighting for conditions of bourgeois development. The objective historical conditions make it the destiny of our proletariat to inescapably collaborate with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the common enemy."

This basic line was upheld by all the Menshevik leaders, including Plekhanov. "They should not have taken to arms," was his epitaph on the 1905 Moscow insurrection (quoted in Lenin, "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," 29 August 1906). "We must cherish the support of the non-proletarian parties...and not repel them from us by tactless actions," Plekhanov stated, to which Lenin pointedly replied that "the liberals and landlords will forgive you millions of 'tactless' acts but will not forgive you a summons to take away the land." Quoting the above exchange, Trotsky explained in "Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution":

> "Plekhanov obviously and stubbornly shut his eyes to the fundamental conclusion of the political history of the nineteenth century: whenever the proletariat comes forward as an independent force the bourgeoisie shifts over to the camp of the counterrevolution. The more audacious the mass struggle all the swifter is the reactionary degeneration of liberalism. No one has yet invented a means for paralyzing the effects of the law of the class struggle."

For his part, Lenin accepted that the struggle for political freedom and the democratic republic in Russia was a necessary stage that would not undermine "the domination of the bourgeoisie" (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, 1905). But, crucially, Lenin had no illusions about some "progressive" character of the Russian bourgeoisie, categorically ruling out that it could consummate its own revolution:

> "They are incapable of waging a decisive struggle against tsarism; they are too heavily fettered by private property, by capital and land to enter into a decisive struggle. They stand in too great need of tsarism, with its bureaucratic, police, and military forces for use against the proletariat and the peasantry, to want it to be destroyed.... 'The revolution's decisive victory over tsarism' means the establishment of the ***revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry***."

Lenin wrote of such a dictatorship: "At best, it may bring about a radical redistribution of landed property in favour of the peasantry, establish consistent and full democracy, including the formation of a republic, eradicate all the oppressive features of Asiatic bondage, not only in rural but also in factory life, lay the foundation for a thorough improvement in the conditions of the workers and for a rise in their standard of living, and—last but not least—carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe."

In his 1906 article, "The Proletariat and Its Ally in the Russian Revolution," Lenin argued that "the crux of the Russian Revolution is the *agrarian* question." He knew, as Trotsky observed in "Three Conceptions," that "in order to overthrow czar-

ism it was necessary to arouse tens upon tens of millions of oppressed to a heroic, self-renouncing, unfettered revolutionary assault that would halt at nothing. The masses can rise to an insurrection only under the banner of their own interests and consequently in the spirit of irreconcilable hostility toward the exploiting classes beginning with the landlords."

For Lenin, the formula of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship remained algebraic. His outlines for a joint revolutionary dictatorship were not terms for an epoch of class peace but battle plans for an episode of class war extended to the international arena. The destruction of the Romanov gendarme would inspire European workers to take state power. They would then support the proletariat in Russia in doing the same.

Lenin's formula was irreconcilably opposed to the Mensheviks' tailing of the bourgeoisie. But it was inherently contradictory, projecting a dictatorship of two classes with conflicting interests. History would demonstrate that the tasks Lenin envisioned for the democratic dictatorship could only be carried out by the *dictatorship of the proletariat* resting on the peasantry, while the *formula* of the democratic dictatorship would be used by others to justify support to the bourgeois Provisional Government in 1917.

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, initially formulated in collaboration with the Social Democrat Alexander Parvus just before the 1905 Revolution, was distinct from those of both the Mensheviks and Lenin, but far closer to the latter. Like Lenin, Trotsky saw that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie had no revolutionary capacities, declaring in *Results and Prospects*:

> "*A national bourgeois revolution is impossible in Russia because there is no genuinely revolutionary bourgeois democracy*. The time for national revolutions has passed—at least for Europe.... We are living in an epoch of imperialism which is not merely a system of colonial conquests but implies also a definite régime at home. It does not set the bourgeois nation in opposition to the old régime, but sets the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeois nation."

In contradistinction to Lenin, Trotsky argued that the peasants could not play the role of an independent partner, let alone leader, in the revolution. Trotsky observed that peasant uprisings in Europe had brought down regimes, but this had never resulted in governments of peasant parties. In *Results and Prospects*, be noted that it was always in the towns where the first revolutionary classes arose that later overthrew feudalism. "If the proletariat does not tear power out of the hands of the monarchy nobody else will do so," he declared. He emphasized, "*The proletariat in power will stand before the peasants as the class which has emancipated it*." Later, Trotsky expanded his point in "Three Conceptions":

> "Finally, the peasantry is heterogeneous in its social relations as well: the kulak stratum [rich peasants] naturally seeks to swing it to an alliance with the urban bourgeoisie while the nether strata of the village pull to the side of the urban workers. Under these conditions the peasantry as such is completely incapable of conquering power."

Subsequent Stalinist falsifications to the contrary, the difference between Lenin and Trotsky was not over whether the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution could be skipped, or whether an alliance between the workers and peasants was necessary, but over the specific political form of that alliance. Trotsky stated: "The very fact of the proletariat's representatives entering the government, not as powerless hostages, but as the leading force, destroys the border-line between maximum and minimum programme; that is to say, it *places collectivism on the order of the day*" (*Results and Prospects*). He wrote:

> "It is possible for the workers to come to power in an economically backward country sooner than in an advanced country.... "In our view, the Russian revolution will create conditions in which power can pass into the hands of the workers—and in the event of the victory of the revolution it must do so—*before* the politicians of bourgeois liberalism get the chance to display to the full their talent for governing."

At the same time, Trotsky stressed: "*Without the direct State support of the European proletariat the working class of Russia cannot remain in power and convert its temporary domination into a lasting socialistic dictatorship*. Of this there cannot for one moment be any doubt. But on the other hand there cannot be any doubt that a socialist revolution in the West will enable us directly to convert the temporary domination of the working class into a socialist dictatorship."

Karl Marx's "Revolution in Permanence"

In developing his theory of permanent revolution, Leon Trotsky drew on the conclusions reached by Karl Marx following the defeat of the democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848-49, when he raised the formulation "revolution in permanence."

In their March 1850 "Address of the Central Authority" to the Communist League, Marx and his co-thinker Friedrich Engels predicted that in a coming resurgence of revolutionary struggle, petty-bourgeois democrats would play the same treacherous role that the German liberal bourgeoisie had played in 1848. The 1848-49 revolutions were democratic uprisings aimed at bringing about political democracy and destroying feudal remnants. In Germany, this included the need to demolish the barriers that splintered the country into numerous small princely states and the Kingdom of Prussia and thus hindered the development of a national capitalist economy.

But what became clear as the revolutionary upheaval gripped Europe was that the bourgeoisies feared the prospect of an armed and mobilized proletariat more than they resented the remaining impediments to their domination presented by the landed nobility. The revolutionary masses were betrayed when the forces of the liberal bourgeoisie made their peace with the aristocracy.

Marx's main point was that the proletariat must fight independently for its own aims against the petty-bourgeois democrats:

> "While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians in these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

Marx and Engels also recognized that without a revolution in Britain, Europe's most industrially advanced country at the time, an isolated French or German revolutionary regime would soon be crushed by an alliance of British finance capital and the Russian tsarist army.

Notwithstanding the treachery of the bourgeoisie, the German proletariat was still too weak in 1848-49 to take power. As Trotsky later put it in his book *1905*, "Capitalist development had gone far enough to necessitate the destruction of the old feudal relations, but not far enough to advance the working class, the product of the new production relations, to the position of a decisive political force. The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had gone too far to enable the bourgeoisie to assume the role of national leadership without fear, but not far enough to enable the proletariat to grasp that role."

Dietz Verlag Berlin

Above: Barricades in Moscow during 1905 Revolution. Inset: 11 December 1905 issue of *Izvestia*, paper of Moscow Soviet, calls for armed uprising. Below: Leaders of St. Petersburg Soviet during 1906 trial. Inset: First edition of Petersburg Soviet's *Izvestia*, 17 October 1905.

Basil Blackwell Inc

In his March 1850 Address, Marx commented, "That, during the further development of the revolution, petty-bourgeois democracy will for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany is not open to doubt." But the petty-bourgeois democracy showed itself to be incapable of taking power. In 1852 Marx wrote in his classic work, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*: "The peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order." In a 16 April 1856 letter to Engels, Marx stated emphatically: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on whether it is possible to back the Proletarian revolution by some second edition of the [16th century] Peasants' war. In which case the affair should go swimmingly." Lenin in 1918 pointed to this letter as a remarkable anticipation of the Bolshevik Revolution, and an exposure of the Mensheviks' fake-Marxist schema for a supposedly inevitable bourgeois-led "first stage" of the Russian Revolution.

The German bourgeoisie was indeed incapable of carrying out a democratic revolution. With the further rapid development of industrial capitalism, the main body of the German bourgeoisie formed an alliance with the Prussian landed nobility (the Junkers), which laid the basis for a "revolution from above" under the guiding hand of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Confronted with the power of the more advanced British and French bourgeois states, the reactionary Bismarck came to understand that only the industrial/financial bourgeoisie could transform Germany into a comparably advanced state and thereby ensure the survival and prosperity of the old landed classes as well. Thus the Prussian monarchy presided over the modernization and national unification of Germany through a *non-democratic* bourgeois revolution. As Engels wrote in the late 1880s:

> "A person in Bismarck's position and with Bismarck's past, having a certain understanding of the state of affairs, could not but realise that the Junkers, such as they were, were not a viable class, and that of all the propertied classes only the bourgeoisie could lay claim to a future, and that therefore (disregarding the working class, an understanding of whose historical mission we cannot expect of him) his new empire promised to be all the stabler, the more he succeeded in laying the groundwork for its gradual transition to a modern bourgeois state."
>
> —*The Role of Force in History* (1887-88)

A similar development took place around the same time in Japan, where a section of the old warrior caste ousted the feudal regime in 1867-68 to build up the Japanese military and enable it to stand up to the encroachments of the Western powers. In the following decades, an industrial bourgeoisie and modern imperialist power were created in Japan. By the turn of the century, entry to the small club of imperialist powers that continues to dominate the world today had been shut to other emergent bourgeoisies. (For more on this, see "The Meiji Restoration: A Bourgeois Non-Democratic Revolution," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 58, Spring 2004.)

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Labour History News Service

From left to right: Menshevik leaders Pavel Axelrod, Julius Martov and Alexander Martynov, Stockholm, May 1917.

U.S. Torture...

(continued from page 1)

had heen stampeded into passing the hill, which was to be renewed after six months. Congressional leaders are putting together another bill that not only continues to authorize NSA spying hut provides the telecom companies retroactive immunity from lawsuits for their role in assisting the govemment spying operation. As for Qwest's Nacchio, his reward for challenging the program's legality was prosecution for insider trading.

Courts Give Torturers Thumbs Up

Shortly hefore the start of the Mukasey hearings, on October 9 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear torture victim Khaled el-Masri's appeal of a federal appeals court's dismissal in March of his lawsuit against former CIA director George Tenet. On 31 December 2003, el-Masri, a German citizen of Lebanese descent and the father of six young children, was picked up while on vacation in Macedonia and shipped off to a squalid secret U.S. prison in Afghanistan. There he was held in solitary confinement, interrogated and beaten before being dumped in a remote part of Albania in May 2004, never having been charged with a crime. fn tossing out el-Masri's case, the appeals court subscribed to the government's assertion of "state secrets," agreeing that allowing el-Masri to challenge his abduction, imprisonment and torture would jeopardize "national security."

El-Masri's case recalls that of Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen born in Syria who was detained by U.S. authorities in September 2002 during a stopover in New York on his way hack to Canada. Accused of being a terrorist, Arar was deported to Syria under the notorious policy of "extraordinary rendition," imprisoned there in solitary confinement and tortured for nearly a year before being allowed to return to Canada. After a Canadian judicial inquiry cleared Arar of any "terrorist" links, the Canadian govemment paid him $10.5 million in January. But last year a federal court in New York City dismissed Arar's lawsuit against the Bush government demanding compensation and an apology. The court made this ruling on the grounds of "national security," which was defined as the "negative effect on our relations with Canada"! His appeal is scheduled for Novemher 9.

An article in the London *Sunday Times* (7 Octoher) hy Andrew Sullivan, a one-time Bush supporter who admits that he originally believed the accounts of torture at Guantánamo had been "invented hy the far left" or were "part of Al-Qaeda propaganda," shows how the lineage of U.S. "interrogation" techniques goes hack to those used by the Nazis. Titled "Bush's Torturers Follow Where the Nazis Led," Sullivan's article notes that "Verschärfte Vernehmung, enhanced or intensified interrogation, was the exact term innovated by the Gestapo to describe what became known as the 'third degree.' It left no marks. It included hypothermia, stress positions and long-time sleep deprivation."

Commenting on this article, Frank Rich bemoans in his *New York Times* (14 October) column how "our humanity has heen compromised by those who use Gestapo tactics in our war." What troubles such liberals is the damage of such exposés to the facade of American democracy across the world. For his part, former Democratic president Jimmy Carter intoned: "Our country for the first time in my life time has abandoned the basic principle of human rights" (London *Guardian*, 11 October).

AP

Khaled el-Masri at June 2006 German parliamentary hearing. A German citizen of Lebanese descent, el-Masri charges CIA in his kidnapping that led to months of torture in Afghanistan.

It was under the banner of "human rights" that the Carter administration began to rearm U.S. imperialism in the late 1970s after its humiliating defeat by the workers and peasants of Vietnam. In doing so, it sought to overcome the population's deep mistrust of the government and aversion to further military adventures. The target of this buildup was the Soviet Union—a workers state under the rule of a Stalinist bureaucracy—which stood as a military counterweight to U.S. imperiafism. Among the beneficiaries of the "human rights" campaign were the *mujahedin* cutthroats who received billions in CIA money and arms to fight Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan and whose hallmarks included throwing acid in the faces of unveiled women. The veterans of this "holy war" against the Soviet Union include Osama bin Laden, a Frankenstein's monster who later turned on his U.S. imperialist masters.

As Trotskyists, the International Communist League fought to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state and East European deformed workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. The destruction of the Soviet Union has left American imperialism militarily free to rampage unchecked from Iraq to Afghanistan. The only road to defeating the murderous imperialists for good is through a series of workers revolutions around the world, centrally in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast.

Torture: As American as Apple Pie

Rich & Co. to the contrary, torture and inhuman brutality are not aberrations in the workings of American "democracy." As we noted in "U.S. Imperialism's Torture, Inc." (*WV* No. 826, 14 May 2004):

> "Capitalist society was born in blood, modern imperialism continues the brutal practices of mass murder, torture and humfiation that accompany exploitation of labor and the ceaseless struggle between competing imperialist forces to dominate the world. From the Belgian Congo killing fields of King Leopold and the massacres in the Philippines by U.S troops in the early days of its imperialist expansion to the first concentration camps, created by the Spanish in Cuba and a little later used by the British in South Africa in the Boer War, to Japanese imperialist atrocities in China and Nazi Germany's Hofocaust, imperialism has created a world in constant, cruel convulsions."

U.S. forces employed torture and killings on a mass scale in its counterrevolutionary imperialist wars, from Korea in the 1950s to Vietnam a decade later. The slaughters carried out in fraq today by both U.S. military forces, their allies and mercenary outfits like Blackwater, along with mass roundups and detention in torture centers like Abu Ghraib, are likewise part of the "democratic" imperialists' store of counterinsurgency practices. From Afghanistan and Iraq to Guantánamo, we demand: Free the detainees!

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain recently noted in "The Myth of British Imperialism as a Force for Peace" (*Workers Hammer*, Autumn 2007) that "the British imperialists pride themselves on their mastery of 'counterinsurgency' based on the experience of subjugation in their former colonies. This point is not lost on the US imperialists: General David Petraeus, who currently commands US imperialism's troop 'surge' in fraq, recently puhlished a 'counterinsurgency' manual drawing on the example of Malaysia in the 1950s, where the British military crushed an anti-colonial revolt with unspeakable brutality." The article notes that in the effort to smash the Communist-led insurgency, the British rounded up ahout half a million mainly ethnic Chinese in concentration camps and carried out wanton massacres nf villagers as well as beheadings.

It was no accident that the torturers at Abu Ghraib included former U.S. cops and prison guards. One of them, Specialist Charles Graner Jr., was a guard at Pennsylvania's notorious SCI Greene prison where America's foremost black political prisoner, Mumia Ahu-Jamal, is held on death row. As Mumia wrote at the time, "The horrific treatment of Iraqis at Abu Ghraib has its dark precedents in the prisons and police stations across America" (*WV* No. 826, 14 May 2004). The widespread use of torture by many countries was noted hy Henri Alleg, a respected memher of the French Communist Party, at a recent rally for Mumia called hy the Committee for Social Defense in Paris. The author of the 1958 hook *La Question*, which recounted his imprisonment and torture by the French imperialists during the Algerian War, Alleg declared: "Today, I would say that in some ways it is worse...since it is no longer denied that there has been torture. Rather, laws are adopted that consider it normal!" (*WV* No. 900, 12 October).

The imperialists' depredations abroad and war on working people, blacks and immigrants at home must be met with the class-struggle mobilization of the proletariat—in the U.S. and internationally. The rulers of this decaying capitalist society are plenty dangerous. But they are also dependent on the labor of the working class for their profits. If mobilized independently of the capitalist parties and at the head of all the oppressed, the proletariat in its millions would be a powerful force in defense of its own interests and of the rights of immigrants, black people and others under attack. This perspective demands the huilding of a workers party—independent of and opposed to both the Democratic and Republican parties of capital—to lead the struggle to defeat the imperialists through socialist revolution. ft is to that task that the Spartacist League is dedicated.■

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Racist Backlash...

(continued from page 12)

exists to protect the rule and profits of the capitalist class, which thrives on the racial oppression that serves to divide the working class and block united class struggle.

The same Department of Justice that Sharpton & Co. appeal to helped oversee the murder of 38 Black Panther Party members and railroaded hundreds of others to prison, as part of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations against black and leftist activists in the 1960s. Today this murderous state apparatus has been enormously strengthened by the increased powers that Congress—with bipartisan support—and the courts have given to the President, the military and the cops in the name of the "war on terror."

The current rash of racist provocations has encouraged renewed calls for "hate crime" laws. These calls not only foster illusions in the racist cops and courts but bolster their repressive power. Similar measures have historically been wielded against the left, black militants and student radicals. For example, the Smith Act, passed in the lead-up to World War II ostensibly to go after domestic Nazis and their sympathizers, was used first against the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and later the Communist Party.

Washington Post

Spartacist League initiated 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped Klan march in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

Combatting illusions in the beneficence or neutrality of the capitalist state is crucial to unleashing the social power of the working class, a power which derives from the fact that its labor produces the profits pocketed by the bosses. A taste of this power was seen in the December 2005 New York City transit strike, in which this multiracial union crippled the finance capital of the world. That strike demonstrated how the racial divisions fostered by the capitalist rulers can be overcome through class struggle. Labor's power must be mobilized not only to defend workers' wages and benefits but to defend the rights of black people, immigrants and others oppressed by the capitalist ruling class. Standing in the way of such a mobilization is the trade-union bureaucracy, which supports the capitalist profit system and politically ties workers to the class enemy through allegiance to the Democratic Party.

We fight to break these political chains and to forge a revolutionary workers party, independent of and in opposition to the bourgeois state and its parties. Whether headed by the likes of Hillary Clinton or Barack Obama, the Democrats are the *other* party of racism, exploitation and imperialist war. As we put forward in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S., "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism":

> "Despite the destruction of industrial jobs and erosion of union strength, black workers, who have a significantly higher rate of trade-union membership than do white workers, continue to be integrated into strategic sectors of the industrial proletariat, which alone has the power to shatter this racist, capitalist system. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link fusing the anger of the dispossessed ghetto masses with the social power of the multiracial proletariat under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party."■

RCP...

(continued from page 5)

government led by the Vietnamese Workers Party consolidated power over the whole country, the result was not good. It was not good for the people of Vietnam, because the influence of the Soviet Union and of revisionism increasingly exerted itself" (Bob Avakian, "Reaching for the Heights and Flying Without a Safety Net," www.revcom.us, 2002).

In the face of the U.S. occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, and war moves against Iran, the RCP has repeatedly refused to take a side against U.S. imperialism and for the military defense of its victims. They have been justifying this in part by borrowing a line from liberal academic Benjamin Barber's book, *Jihad vs. McWorld*, which argues that ethnic and religious fundamentalism ("Jihad") and global capitalism ("McWorld") are both threats to (capitalist) democracy. Bob Avakian argues, "What we see in contention here with Jihad on the one hand and McWorld/McCrusade on the other hand, are historically outmoded strata.... If you side with either of these 'outmodeds,' you end up strengthening both." ("Why We're in the Situation We're in Today...and What to Do About It: A Thoroughly Rotten System and the Need for Revolution," quoted in "America's Fascists Call for 'Islamo-Fascism Awareness Week'," *Revolution*, 16 September).

Chairman Bob will recall, however, that the RCP sided with Islamic reaction—and the U.S. cold warriors—*when it counted*. In 1979 Soviet troops went into Afghanistan to defend the regime of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which was besieged by the forces of Islamic reaction because it had instituted reforms for women, including lowering the bride price. The U.S. imperialists ramped up their aid to the Islamic fundamentalists, in what became the largest covert CIA operation in history, on the Soviet Union's southern border. They funneled massive aid and military support to the *mujahedin*, barbaric champions of feudalism, illiteracy and the enslavement of women, in order to kill Soviet soldiers. . As a cover for its siding with U.S. imperialism, the RCP claims to have supported a mythical third force opposed to both the mullahs and the Soviets, while slandering the Soviet-backed government as a "tottering police state" engaged in "top-down brutality." But the RCP's real enemy was the liberating Soviet troops, as made clear in a retrospective article in *Revolutionary Worker* ("The Hidden History of Women in Afghanistan," 10 March 2002): "Revolutionary and progressive forces, including the country's Maoist organizations, threw themselves into the fight against the Soviet invaders." No doubt, if such existed. What we wrote in "Afghanistan: Hell for Women" (*WV* No. 654, 25 October 1996), immediately after the Taliban took power, remains powerfully the case: "*The blood of every unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundomentalists is also on the hands of those leftist organizations internationolly which lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan!*" (emphasis in original)

As for Iran, prior to its open call to the imperialist rulers to disarm this dependent country, the RCP has had various positions, none of them remotely Marxist. As part of China's alliance with U.S. imperialism, in 1971 the Beijing bureaucracy began to cozy up to the Shah of Iran for a Sino-Iranian rapprochement. While not as obsequious as some other (now defunct) U.S. Maoist outfits at the time in embracing this line, the RCP undertook the thankless task of simultaneously thundering against the Shah while covering for/denying China's blandishments.

On the eve of the mullah-led Iranian Revolution in late 1978, the RCP was busy covering for Khomeini, writing that "the Iranian people do not burn banks, porno theaters and Pepsi trucks because they oppose everything 'modern.' What they oppose is the U.S. domination of their country—and they attack all those things which *symbolize* this bloody tyranny." Supposedly, across the board, leftists and clerical right-wingers alike were "rebelling against everything *reactionary* in Iran: imperialism and the Shah's regime." ("Lies We're Fed About Iran," *Revolutionary Communist Youth*, 7 December 1978). Once in power, Khomeini made good on his promises, slaughtering untold numbers of leftists (many of whom supported his rise to power) held in the former dungeons of the Shah; women, gays and religious minorities were also on the chopping block. Uniquely on the left, we of the ICL called for a class-independent way forward and raised the call: Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For proletarian revolution in Iran!

Now Sunsara Taylor, writing in the RCP's newspaper *Revolution* (formerly *Revolutionary Worker*—spot the difference?), intones:

> "As part of coming to power in 1979, these [the Ayatollah Khomeini's] theocratic forces presented themselves, and drew mass appeal, from an 'anti-imperialist' pose. While they had real conflicts with a particular U.S. regime (the Shah of Iran), Khomeini and his forces were reactionary theocrats, not leaders of an anti-imperialist struggle. The real tragedy, and lesson, of the Iranian revolution was that revolutionary forces joined in spreading the illusion that these were anti-imperialist forces to be aligned with and tailed."
>
> —"U.S. Imperialism, Islamic Fundamentalism...and the Need for Another Way," 10 June

Paper really *will* take anything written on it! We can only paraphrase a comment attributed to Oscar Wilde: Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue.

Against the imperialist-backed counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Germany, we Trotskyists struggled for our program—we stood at our revolutionary posts and fought tooth and nail. We did not prevail, and the destruction of the Soviet Union represented a massive defeat for the world's working class, destroying the industrial-military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world and throwing consciousness back. Today, we seek to prevent such a counterrevolutionary outcome in the deformed workers state of the People's Republic of China: the entire world working class has a stake in this fight! But the RCP has no such stake.

Rather, it has made peace with the capitalist rulers here in the belly of the U.S. imperialist beast, channeling youthful militants into its NIONs, WCW campaigns and other assorted devices aimed at "driving the Bush regime out." Those youth who seek a revolutionary road, that of workers revolution to destroy this system of racism and war once and for all, who seek to learn from the lessons of history rather than from the mind-numbing pontifications of Bob Avakian, should seriously examine the politics and work of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. We have a world to win!■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

CHICAGO

Tuesday, November 6, 7 p.m.
Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism
University of Chicago
Harper Room 141
1116 E. 59th St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, November 1, 6 p.m.
South Africa: Permanent Revolution vs. "Two-Stage" Stalinist Betrayal
SFSU Cesar Chavez Student Center
Room T-153
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851
or e-mail: sycbayarea@sbcglobal.net

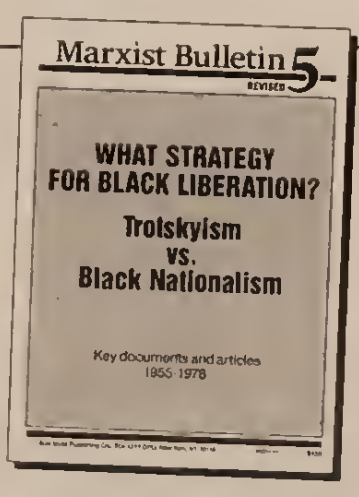
NEW YORK CITY

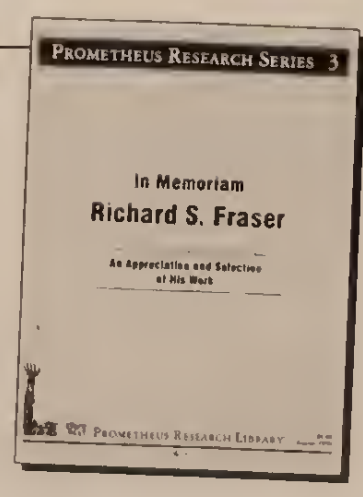
Thursday, November 8, 7 p.m.
The Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power
Spartacist Public Office
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nysl@tiac.net

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, November 8, 6 p.m.
The State and Revolution
UCLA, Haines Hall A78
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org





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WORKERS VANGUARD

Vicious Racist Backlash After Jena Protest

Free Mychal Bell Now!

An onslaught of racist provocations against black people has swept the U.S. in the last month in a backlash against the September 20 demonstration in Jena, Louisiana, when as many as 50,000 poured out to protest Jim Crow "justice." Nooses have been hung to terrorize black people at workplaces and at homes and schools from California to Connecticut. In Pittsburgh, black ironworker Errol Madyun found a noose at his workstation, and at a construction site in South Elgin, Illinois, a black worker looked up to find a noose above his head. In a highly publicized case, Madonna Constantine, a popular black professor at Columbia University Teachers College, found a noose hanging on the door of her office.

These incidents are an obvious, ominous echo of what happened in Jena, where three hangman's nooses were placed on a so-called "white tree" at the local high school after a black student asked to sit there in August 2006. Following months of racist insults and threats, five black youth were charged with attempted murder following a scuffle with a white student, while the sixth was charged as a juvenile. Just days before the mass protest, 17-year-old Mychal Bell, the only one of the six students who had been continuously imprisoned since the school yard fight, saw his aggravated assault and conspiracy charges thrown out because he had been tried as an adult. Outrageously, the day after the demonstration he was denied bail. He was finally granted bail the next week only to be vindictively returned to custody on October 11 on the pretext that the school yard scuffle was a probation violation! *Free Mychal Bell now! Drop all charges against the Jena Six!*

In the lead-up to the mass Jena protest, a noose was found on a tree outside a black cultural center at the University of Maryland. Only hours after the September 20 demonstration, two young whites, one an admitted Klansman, provocatively drove through the nearby city of Alexandria, threatening people who had returned from the protest by dragging two nooses from their pickup truck, which contained a rifle and brass knuckles. A *Chicago Tribune* (24 September) article reported that white-supremacist Web sites have featured one racist provocation after another against the six youth and their supporters. Three days after the protest, a window display in defense of the Jena Six at the Chicago office of the Socialist Workers Party was defaced with racist and anti-gay slogans.

Make no mistake about it: the noose is a call to race terror, invoking the lynch rope that brutally killed thousands of black people in the century after the Civil War. "The hangman's rope has become so prolific, some say, it could replace the Nazi swastika and the Ku Klux Klan's fiery cross as the nation's reigning symbol of hate," wrote the *Washington Post* (20 October). Like the "N" word, the lynch rope embodies a program of white supremacy and violence against black people. This was illustrated on September 11, when a group of whites hurling the "N" word attacked black basketball players from the Borough of Manhattan Community College in lower Manhattan. Graffiti with the "N" word and other racist slurs have accompanied many of the nooses left in recent weeks.

The oppression of black people was built into the American republic from its inception. It took a bloody Civil War to smash the slavocracy and free the black slaves. But the Northern capitalists who had defeated the slaveowners betrayed the promise of black freedom, codified in the Compromise of 1877 which withdrew the last federal troops from the states of the former Confederacy and sealed the defeat of Reconstruction. The racist reaction, including waves of Ku Klux Klan terror, led to the establishment of the Jim Crow system of segregation. While de jure segregation was dismantled some 40 years ago in the context of mass struggles for black equality, the segregation of the mass of black people as a race-color caste at the bottom of society remains a cornerstone of American capitalism.

This fact was undeniably shown when thousands of black and poor people were abandoned in the face of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Over 1,500 were killed and many thousands more displaced, including those who developed serious illnesses from living in FEMA trailers contaminated with formaldehyde. Today, the case of the Jena Six and the proliferation of nooses in the U.S. should further dispel the myth of the "end of racism." The Spartacist League fights for the program of ***revolutionary integrationism***. We seek to combat every manifestation of racist discrimination, fighting in particular to mobilize the social power of the integrated labor movement. At the same time, we understand that black liberation can be achieved only through the overthrow of the capitalist order and the integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. We say: *Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution!*

So many nooses have appeared in the New York area recently that the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News* (18 October) ran a headline, "Noose York City." For starters, the unions must defend their members and teach the racist scum a lesson when nooses appear at workplaces. The potential for labor-centered struggle against racist attacks was seen in NYC in October 1999, when the Ku Klux Klan called a rally in downtown Manhattan to organize for racist terror. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, initiated an 8,000-strong labor/black mobilization that ran the Klan out of town. Black Democrat Al Sharpton, who postures as a fighter against racist injustice from NYC to Jena and beyond, went to bat *for the KKK*, filing a court brief on behalf of the Klan. The reformist International Socialist Organization did its part in the failed effort to block the labor/black mobilization, building a diversionary rally for "tolerance" that included Latino cops on its platform.

The outpouring of protest over the Jena Six case expressed widespread anger over the conditions of black life in this country, which in many respects have worsened since the 1960s, from unemployment and rotten schools and housing to rampant racist cop terror and the massive imprisonment of blacks and Latinos due to the "war on drugs." The tens of thousands who came to Jena on September 20 included members of the United Auto Workers, International Longshoremen's Association and other trade unionists. But as we described in "Jena Six: Racist 'Justice', U.S.A." (*WV* No. 899, 28 September), "Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, whose longtime role as 'black leaders' has been to quell social unrest, came down to Jena to preach reliance on the same 'justice' system that from the county sheriff on up is a machine of racial and class oppression."

This was precisely the bankrupt strategy offered by Democratic politicians who used an October 16 hearing of the House Judiciary Committee as a platform to demand that George Bush's Justice Department intervene in the Jena Six case. Bourgeois liberals push the deadly illusion that racist injustice is an aberration that can be set right by federal intervention. What the cops and prosecutors are doing to the Jena Six is normal operating procedure in racist capitalist America. The capitalist state—based on bodies of armed men such as the police, military, courts and prisons—

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Daniella Zalcman/Columbia Spectator

Getty

Above: Spartacus Youth Club joins October 10 protest at Columbia University after noose was hung outside office of black professor. Right: Protester at September 20 march in Jena, Louisiana, which drew up to 50,000.

Finish the Civil War!
For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 902 — GCU C-701 — 9 November 2007

Republicans, Democrats Ratchet Up Threats

AP

U.S. Navy

Iran's Bushehr nuclear power plant in photo released in 2004. U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* in Persian Gulf, August 17.

U.S. Hands Off Iran!

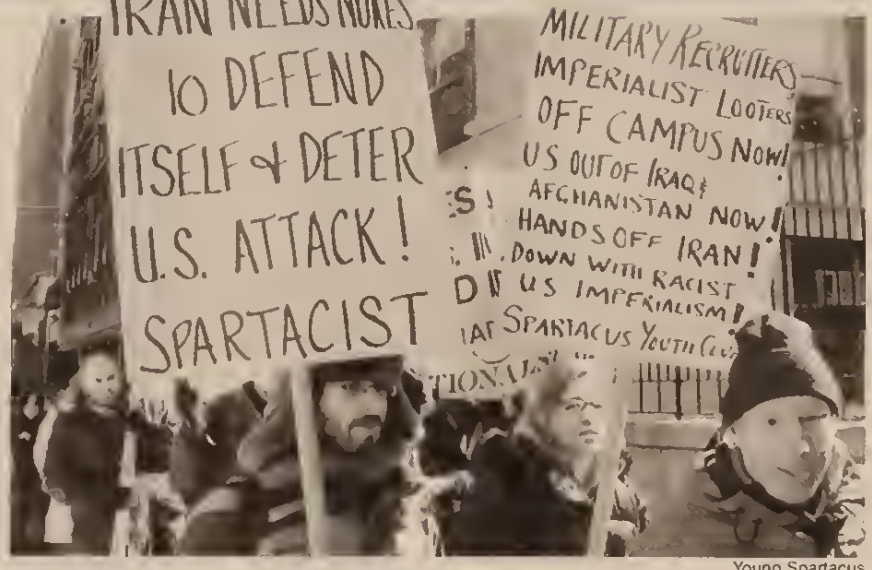
Down With Imperialist Sanctions!

On October 25, the Bush administration announced new unilateral sanctions against Iran, targeting the regime's Revolutionary Guard Corps and in particular the Quds division, which Washington accuses of "supporting terrorism." The sanctions also include four state banks. The sanctions against the elite Revolutionary Guard, which has 125,000 active troops and controls key sectors of the Iranian economy, mark the first time that the U.S. has taken such steps against the armed forces of another government.

As revolutionary opponents of U.S. imperialism, the Spartacist League opposes any economic sanctions against Iran. The 2003 war against Iraq, which has led to the death of upwards of a million Iraqis while unleashing communalist slaughter on a mass scale, was prepared by UN-imposed sanctions that killed 1.5 million people. Sanctions are an act of war and a step toward a full-fledged conflagration. Indeed, nearly half of the U.S. Navy's 277 warships, including two aircraft carrier groups, are in waters near Iran, with new military exercises already underway.

We say that in the event of military attack against Iran by the U.S. or by Israel—the only nuclear-armed country in the Near East—operating on behalf of the U.S. imperialists, it is in the interest of the international proletariat, not least the U.S. working class, to stand for the military defense of Iran without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Tehran regime. Every victory for the imperialists in their military adventures encourages more predatory wars; every setback serves to assist the working people and the oppressed the world over. *U.S. hands off Iran! All U.S. troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan now!*

The Democrats as well as the Republicans, with their kept media in tow, are straining every nerve to foment hysteria over Iran's nuclear energy program. The Iranian government says that it does not plan to develop the bomb. In fact, given the threats by the imperialists, it would be perfectly reasonable and necessary for Iran to pursue getting nuclear weapons and adequate delivery systems to deter attack. In today's world, possession of nukes has become a necessary means of maintaining national sovereignty. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 removed the primary military and political counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Since then, the U.S. rulers have ever more openly wielded their military might, which dwarfs that of their rival imperialist powers, to maintain their dominance in the world.



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club at Columbia University rally against Iraq occupation, February 15.

The latest round of sanctions against Iran comes after two prior rounds imposed last December and this spring by the United Nations Security Council demanding that Tehran halt its uranium enrichment program. But this time, while Britain and France have supported the U.S., there has been opposition by China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state and one of Iran's main trading partners, and by Vladimir Putin, the president of capitalist Russia, who accused the U.S. of running around "like a madman waving a knife."

Imperialist Madmen on the Loose

In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush labeled Iran, along with Iraq and North Korea, part of an "axis of evil." This was accompanied by a declared policy of "pre-emptive" nuclear attack against any country the U.S. deems a "threat," with Iran, North Korea and China among the countries listed as potential first-strike targets. Last year, Bush delivered an ultimatum to Iran: "Your desires for a weapon are unacceptable."

There have been numerous reports of new plans for U.S. air strikes. In the *New Yorker* (8 October), Seymour Hersh details how the current emphasis "is on 'surgical' strikes on Revolutionary Guard Corps facilities in Tehran and elsewhere, which, the Administration claims, have been the source of attacks on Americans in Iraq. What had been presented primarily as a counter-proliferation mission has been reconceived as counterterrorism." According to Hersh, this plan "is gathering support among generals and admirals in the Pentagon." Israeli air strikes in September against what the Israeli rulers claimed was a partly constructed nuclear reactor in Syria could be in line with what the U.S. imperialists seek to do in Iran. The Bush administration has announced plans to provide additional billions in weaponry for Saudi Arabia, Israel and Egypt to beef up regional bulwarks against Iran.

Speaking for Democratic Party strategists, liberal columnist Frank Rich noted in a *New York Times* (4 November) column:

> "The reason so many Democrats believe war with Iran is inevitable, of course, is that the administration is so flagrantly rerunning the sales campaign that gave us Iraq. The same old scare tactic—a Middle East Hitler plotting a nuclear holocaust—has been recycled with a fresh arsenal of hyped, loosey-goosey intelligence and outright falsehoods that are sometimes regurgitated without corroboration by the press."

The U.S. attacked Iraq precisely because it knew it had no "weapons of mass destruction"—i.e., a means to defend itself. Iran is a larger and far more populous country that sits on 10 percent of the world's oil reserves. And, as Hersh notes, "the crux of the Bush Administration's strategic dilemma is that its decision to back a Shi'ite-led government after the fall of Saddam has empowered Iran, and made it impossible to exclude Iran from the Iraqi political scene." Any attack on Iran would further enrage Iraq's Shi'ite majority. Moreover, with Iraq in ruins, the threat of a Turkish invasion to go after Kurdish fighters can only serve to destabilize Iraq's Kurdish north, the one relatively stable region in the country.

Meanwhile Pakistan, a key U.S. ally in the "war on terror" and in supporting the occupation of Afghanistan, is in a major political crisis, with military strongman General Pervez Musharraf having declared a state of emergency on November 3 and arresting up to 2,000 political opponents.

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On Iraq and the Democrats

6 October 2007
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Comrades:

I enjoyed the well-deserved skewering the reformists got in the latest WV ("Reformist Left: Tail of the Democratic Donkey. U.S. Out of Iraq Now!," WV No. 899, 28 September 2007.) But I was also concerned that our characterization of the Democrats' views on Iraq could be misunderstood to blur the distinction between communist and reformist opposition to the imperialist war and occupation. We write:

> "Democrats seek election to the White House based not simply on popular opposition to the Iraq occupation, but centrally because they see that particular war *and occupation* as running counter to the interests of U.S. imperialism. In this they speak for more rational and far-sighted wings of the ruling class...." (My emphasis.)

We follow this statement, one paragraph later, with the comment:

> "Meanwhile, not one major Democratic presidential contender calls for an immediate withdrawal from Iraq. Such a withdrawal would be correctly seen as a defeat for U.S. imperialism, and in the squalid world of American electoral politics, the Democrats do not want to be saddled with 'losing' this filthy war and occupation."

These statements are indisputably true, but taken together they can be misread to argue that the Dems recognize the occupation of Iraq is not in the best interests of imperialism, but they are simply too cowardly to openly advocate that position. That conclusion is why the reformists argue that mass protest will give the spineless Dems the necessary backbone to do the right thing.

I certainly won't dispute that the Democratic presidential contenders are a pack of weasels (my apologies to actual *mustelids*), but they absolutely do *not* oppose the continued occupation of Iraq, and neither do the more far-sighted wings of the ruling class. To the contrary, there appears to be a bourgeois consensus that Bush and his wack-joh cronies hlew what should have been a successful overthrow of Saddam Hussein, but nevertheless the US must now remain in Iraq until some loyal pro-imperialist henchmen can he estahlished atop stable pro-capitalist statelets, even if that requires the genocidal transfer and slaughter of whole ethnic populations. This bloody "consensus" was set forth to near universal capitalist acclaim in the Iraq Study Report, and the Dems are now campaigning on its implementation.

Ted Koppel, no radical journalist he, has the Democrats' number:

> "...[C]ongressional Republicans and Democrats have reached, if not a deal, an accommodation. They understand that there is, effectively speaking, no way of getting all the troops out soon.... I think what we're looking at...is a significant numher of U.S. forces in Iraq for some years to come."
>
> ...
>
> "...[W]hat the Iraqis are not capable of doing right now is protecting their own borders. It is not in the U.S.' interest that Iran, which is now becoming the regional superpower in the Persian Gulf ...has free access to Iraq. I think you're just going to see anywhere from 75 to 100,000 U.S. troops there for years to come."
>
> "...[A]ll the emphasis [has been] on the British withdrawal from Basra.... They withdrew about 15 to 20 miles outside of Basra. They're still there."
>
> (NPR Interview on Morning Edition, 7 September 2007.)

The Democrats agree that U.S. soldiers should be pulled back from the cities, where they make far too convenient targets, to their massive, near-impenetrable military bases. They just argue that presence shouldn't be construed as "permanent occupation," you understand. They are afraid to openly say that those troops will remain for years, decades, if that is what it takes to insure that unreliable warlords and unreliable fundamentalists do not get their hands on one of the world's largest proven oil reserves. But that is why the Democrats want the troops to remain, and will not advocate their withdrawal.

At bottom, the Democrats are loyal, pro-imperialist politicians. They argue they are best able to "secure Iraq's borders." They will support whatever they think are the most acceptable tactics of occupation. They will not withdraw U.S. troops until they can trust the oppressors they leave hehind. All the reformists' alihis, and mass demonstrations to apply pressure, won't cause the Democrats to act otherwise, because that would be a betrayal of the class they serve.

cgs.
Matt G.

***WV* replies:**

Matt G. raises interesting considerations. It is true that no leading Democratic presidential contender calls for immediate withdrawal from Iraq. However, this does not mean that the ruling class as a whole is committed to maintaining a costly military occupation of Iraq, which in any case is not the only means at the imperialists' disposal for maintaining domination of the oil-rich Near East.

There is no questioning the strategic importance of this region to U.S. imperialism. But despite the bipartisan support for the murderous war and occupation of Iraq, there has been significant opposition to the occupation among those in the ruling class who see the seemingly intractahle quagmire as gravely harmful to their world interests, including in the Near East. These concerns were expressed in a *Foreign Affairs* (Novemher/December 2007) article by Hillary Clinton titled "Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-First Century." Writing as Bush's presumptive successor, Clinton declares that the U.S. will face "a resurgent Russia," a "rapidly growing China" and "an unpredictable and dangerous situation in the Middle East." "To meet these challenges," she continues, "we will have to replenish American power by getting out of Iraq, rebuilding our military, and developing a much broader arsenal of tools in the fight against terrorism."

The Bush administration is leaving its replacement with a lose-lose situation in Iraq. We were not the only ones to predict that toppling Saddam Hussein's regime would be easy, but that the subsequent occupation would not. Such difficulties and setbacks for imperialism should provide an opening for the pursuit of class struggle at home against the capitalist rulers, which we have fought for as part of our program to defeat U.S. imperialism through proletarian revolution. With its support—either backhanded or overt—to the Democratic Party "lesser evil," the reformist left has once again served as a roadblock to this revolutionary perspective.■

TROTSKY

The Internationalism of the Bolshevik Revolution

LENIN

In an article marking the second anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted that the Soviet workers state provided a beacon for proletarian revolutions internationally. Today, following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union after decades of Stalinist betrayal and unrelenting imperialist pressure, the capitalist rulers proclaim the "death of communism" as they step up attacks on workers and the oppressed at home and on the neocolonial countries. Meanwhile, they target the remaining deformed workers states for counterrevolution. The International Communist League is committed to forging Bolshevik workers parties to lead new October Revolutions around the world, the only way to eradicate exploitation, oppression and imperialist war.

Why is Soviet power so firm and stahle, despite the incredible ordeals, the terrible famine and the difficulties created hy war and economic dislocation?

Because it is the power of the working people themselves, of the millions of workers and peasants.

The workers hold state power. The workers help the millions of labouring peasants.

The Soviet government has overthrown the landowners and capitalists and is steadfastly defending the people against attempts to restore their rule....

Tens and hundreds of millions of workers and peasants all over the world are suffering oppression, humiliation and plunder at the hands of landowners and capitalists. The old state apparatus, whether of a monarchy or a "democratic" (pseudo-democratic) republic, helps the exploiters and oppresses the workers.

Tens and hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in all lands know this; they see it and experience it in their everyday life.

The imperialist war lasted over four years; tens of millions were killed and crippled. What for? For the division of the capitalists' spoils, for markets, profits, colonies and the power of the banks.

The Anglo-French imperialist predators defeated the German imperialist predators. With every passing day they are exposing themselves for what they are—robbers and plunderers, oppressors of the working folk who batten on the misery of the people and tyrannise weak nations.

That is why support for Soviet power is growing among the workers and peasants of the world.

The severe and arduous struggle against capital was victoriously begun in Russia. It is now spreading in all countries.

It will end in the victory of the World Soviet Republic.

—V.I. Lenin, "Two Years of Soviet Power" (November 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 6

No. 902 **9 November 2007**

Spartacus Youth Club Classes

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Tuesday, November 27, 7 p.m.
The Russian Revolution of 1917: When the Workers Took Power
University of Chicago
Harper Room 141
1116 E. 59th St.
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441
or e-mail: chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net

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Defend China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam Against Imperialism and Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracies!
Spartacist Public Office
299 Broadway, Suite 318
(take any train to Chambers Street)
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or e-mail: nyspl@tiac.net

Visit the ICL Web Site: www.icl-fi.org

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Thursday, November 15, 6 p.m.
The State and Revolution
UCLA, Haines Hall A78
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239
or e-mail: slsycla@sbcglobal.net

TORONTO

Wednesday, November 21
6:30 p.m.
Trotskyism vs. the Stalinist Sellout of the Russian Revolution
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Building, Room 1080
100 St. George Street
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or e-mail: spartcan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, November 21, 6 p.m.
Anglo Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle— Independence for Québec!
University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 213
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
or e-mail:
trotskyist_vancouver@shawcable.com

Genarlow Wilson Finally Freed

Lesser/NY Times

October 26: Genarlow Wilson greeted by mother and sister shortly after his release from Georgia prison.

Following a Georgia Supreme Court ruling, Genarlow Wilson, a 21-year-old black man, walked out of prison a free man on October 26 after two years behind bars. Wilson never should have spent a day in prison! A high school honor student, all-conference football player and track star, Wilson was convicted of engaging in consensual oral sex with a 15-year-old girl on New Year's Eve in 2003, when he was 17. Under Georgia law, where the "age of consent" is 16, the girl could not be considered to be "legally consenting." Wilson was sentenced to a mandatory ten years in prison and lifetime registration as a "sex offender."

In 2006, a year after Wilson's conviction, the Georgia legislature passed a new law making such teenage sexual activity a misdemeanor punishable by no more than a year in prison. But the legislature refused to apply it retroactively and subsequently blocked bills allowing Wilson to reopen his case. Taking note of the new law, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that Wilson's sentence violated the Constitution's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment, stating that it was "grossly disproportionate to his crime."

From the standpoint of any rational society, Genarlow Wilson *committed no crime*. We oppose reactionary "age of consent" laws, which deny the fact that young people are, and have always been, sexually active. Our guiding principle is simply that of mutual effective consent. Government out of the bedrooms! This case exemplifies racist and anti-sex bigotry in the U.S. Reactionary "child molestation" laws are aimed at both increasing the repressive reach of the capitalist state and bolstering the institution of the family. According to the Georgia Public Defender Standards Council, black teens are five times as likely as whites to be sentenced under the law that sent Wilson to prison. Similar laws across the country were adopted throughout the 1980s and '90s as the racist capitalist rulers deemed a generation of black youth to be innate criminals who must be warehoused in prisons, mainly through the "war on drugs."

Wilson's freedom can be attributed not to the fairness of the state Supreme Court, which had twice turned him down, but to the widespread publicity and outcry against what a *New York Times* (30 April) editorial called "Georgia's Shame." Public figures like former president Jimmy Carter and even members of Wilson's jury called for his release. Much of the attention flowed from the equally grotesque persecution of Marcus Dixon, an 18-year-old black Georgia high school athlete and A student who was thrown into prison in 2003 under the same law for having consensual sex with a white girl just shy of 16. Amid a wave of publicity, the Georgia Supreme Court reduced his conviction to statutory rape, cutting his sentence to the 15 months he had already served.

After Wilson's release, Jesse Jackson Sr. stated, "Genarlow Wilson has been set free, but thousands are still imprisoned" (*Amsterdam News*, 1 November). Many of those are there thanks to the "war on drugs" pushed by Jackson, Al Sharpton and other black Democrats. As a *Young Spartacus* article titled "Free Genarlow Wilson!" (*WV* No. 887, 2 March) states:

> "The desperate conditions facing black youth—police terrorizing the ghettos, mass unemployment and incarceration, the rollback of affirmative action and resegregation of urban schools—can be eliminated only through the overturn of capitalist class rule by the multiracial working class. We fight to build the revolutionary workers party that is essential to lead the proletariat in this struggle. Black liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

BT's "Correction" Where German Imperialism Goes Wrong on World Peace

It seems that we stung the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) by publishing an article written by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany scandalizing the BT's German affiliate for propagating "anti-Communist nostalgia about the Bundeswehr [German army]" ("BT's Anti-Soviet Embellishment of German Imperialism," *WV* No. 900, 12 October). The German BT, Gruppe Spartakus, had written in *Bolschewik* (January 2006): "After the end of the Cold War, there was a change in the duties of the German Bundeswehr, which was supposed to function as a defensive army during the bloc confrontation." The January 2007 *Bolschewik* continued in the same vein, arguing that "the army was made smaller, in order to change it from a defensive army into an offensive army of attack."

This was indeed a scandal. From World War I through Hitler's blitzkriegs against the Soviet Union to the heavy tank formations lined up against East Germany and the USSR during the Cold War, it is not news to students of history or pretty much anybody who reads and thinks that the German military is relentlessly aggressive in pursuit of the imperialist interests of the German bourgeoisie. As our German comrades noted, "The impulse to describe the functions of the army of German imperialism as 'defensive' during the 'bloc confrontation' with the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies flows straight from the Cold War mythology that the 'democratic' West was threatened by 'Soviet expansionism'."

Caught out by our criticism, the BT issued a non-denial denial in a Web posting, "Reply to *WV* No. 900," dated October 23. The BT whines that it had already supposedly "repudiated the 'defensive army' formulation in a posting on the German section of our website" and appends a translation of this "correction," titled "'Defensive Army'—A Mistaken Formulation" and dated July 14. The German BT's "correction" simply further confirms our point. It states:

> "We do not consider that West German imperialism had a purely defensive strategy exclusively concerned with territorial defense. Our misleading formulation was intended to describe how the orientation of the Bundeswehr changed after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Warsaw Pact."

Not "*purely* defensive"? Not "*exclusively* concerned with territorial defense"? It's no accident that the BT's "correction" is accompanied by an appendix attacking the International Communist League for our *unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states*, including our support to the suppression of imperialist-backed, counterrevolutionary Solidarność. And it was our Soviet defensism that led the individuals who would later make up the BT, in Germany as elsewhere, to quit our party.

In addition to being caught out, again, for its Stalinophobic hostility to the Trotskyist program, the BT is no doubt reeling from our further exposure of its leader, one Bill Logan. Logan was expelled from our organization for crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency; the documentary record has been published in the ICL's two-volume *Logan Dossier*. We fully intend to continue our exposure of the BT's combination of retrograde politics and sinister pathology as an elementary act of hygiene within the workers movement. ■

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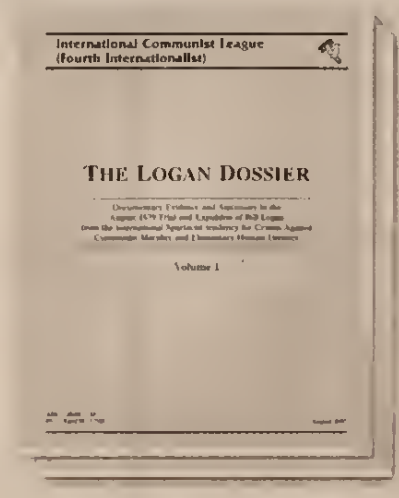


Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Protest "War on Terror" Arrests of Maori Activists, Leftists!

New Zealand

The following was issued as a leaflet on October 24 by the Partisan Defence Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/Australia, section of the International Communist League.

Numerous protests were held across New Zealand following the racist and deeply repressive 15 October "anti-terror" raids on Maori, peace and environmental activists. On 19 October up to 1,000 people in the township of Whakatane marched on the local police station in outrage at police actions, which included house raids and reportedly the boarding of a school bus by a gun-toting cop. Protesters carried placards saying, "He taonga te mokopuna [our children are treasures]," "We are not terrorists, we've been terrorised" and "Don't point the gun at me! I'm under 5" (New Zealand *Weekend Herald*, 20 October).

The following statement, produced on 18 October by the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) in Australia, was distributed in Auckland at a protest outside the District Court on Friday, 19 October, at a protest rally in the city the following day as well as at Auckland University. The city rally, which included leftists, Maori activists and civil rights campaigners, marched from Aotea Square to the Auckland Central Police Station. While there some protesters attempted to pull down the New Zealand flag with police emblem and replace it with the Maori sovereignty flag. This attempt resulted in a brief scuffle between police and activists with the activists escaping.

The PDC protest statement was well received, particularly by Maori activists. It was announced at Saturday's rally that international protests against the outrageous raids were being planned for the following week.

* * *

We protest the arrest and detention of 17 Maori, anarchist and environmental activists in raids carried out across New Zealand in the early hours of 15 October by hundreds of heavily armed police of the Clark Labour-led government. One of those arrested was veteran Maori sovereignty campaigner, Tame Iti. Mr Iti, Jamie Lockett and others whose names have not been released have been denied bail. While one Wellington judge described the information backing charges against four of these who appeared in her court as "scant," police have threatened further arrests amidst a hysterical media campaign.

Using the criminal attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 and the subsequent Bali and London bombings as a pretext, capitalist rulers from London to Washington to Canberra and now Wellington have seized the opportunity to jack up state repression, accompanied by racist hysteria in the service of suppressing Maori, trade unionists and leftists and youth opposed to bloody colonial occupations from Iraq to the Pacific.

Augmented police powers are being wielded to accustom people to the restriction of democratic rights and create a climate of fear aimed at quashing in advance any social struggle against the bloated capitalist profit system that consigns the working class and oppressed to increased exploitation and misery.

The 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act was used to justify the warrants for the arrests. While targeting Maori activists today, these measures ultimately threaten all opponents of New Zealand imperialism, the entire workers movement and the left. They are really about political suppression. We call on the workers movement in New Zealand and internationally to rally against this outrageous witchhunt. *Free all the arrested activists! Drop the charges!* ■

Nebraska Court Ruling Against Imprisoned Black Militant

Free Ed Poindexter and Mondo we Langa!

Class-war prisoner Ed Poindexter suffered a further blow to his fight for freedom on September 10 when Douglas County, Nebraska, District Judge Russell Bowie rejected his request for a new trial. This ruling flew in the face of new evidence proving that key witnesses perjured themselves at the 1971 trial in which Poindexter and his co-defendant Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, then known as David Rice, were convicted of murder and sentenced to life. Black Panther Party supporters and former leaders of the Omaha National Committee to Combat Fascism, Poindexter and Mondo were framed up as part of the Feds' notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO).

After a cop was killed by a bomb explosion in a vacant house in August 1970, Omaha police rounded up dozens of black people in a racist dragnet. Duane Peak, a scared 15-year-old, confessed to placing the bomb. After initially stating he acted alone, Peak was threatened with the death sentence and offered a deal in which he would be sentenced as a juvenile in exchange for helping to frame up Mondo and Poindexter. Although Peak named four others as well, the prosecuting attorney, Art O'Leary, said he was only interested in Mondo and Poindexter.

At trial, Peak testified that it was he who made the 911 call to lure cops to the abandoned building. But in the hearing before Judge Bowie held this May, vocal analyst Tom Owen testified that after studying a taped copy of the long-suppressed emergency call, he confirmed that Peak could not have made that phone call. The suppression of this tape is no accident. A 1970 FBI memorandum made available through the Freedom of Information Act records a warning by the Omaha Assistant Chief of Police that use of the tapes "might be prejudicial" to the trial of Poindexter and Rice.

n2pp info

Nat Weinstein

Ed Poindexter (left), Mondo we Langa

Though Peak's clearly coerced testimony was shown to be bogus, Judge Bowie ruled that the 911 call constituted "but one part of the evidence against the defendant." The other "evidence," cop testimony that dynamite was recovered from Mondo's basement, was equally specious. Jack Swanson, the Omaha PD Intelligence Division liaison with the FBI, testified at trial that he found the

continued on page 9

22nd Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Bay Area
Sunday, December 2
3 to 6 p.m.
Berkeley Fellowship of Unitarian Universalists
1606 Bonita Ave., Berkeley
(1 block east of MLK at Cedar St., near Berkeley BART)
For more information:
(510) 839-0852

Chicago
Sunday, December 9
3 to 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
(at Monroe)
For more information
(312) 563-0442

Los Angeles
Saturday, December 8
2 to 6 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.
(at Berendo Street, 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line Sta.)
For more information:
(213) 380-8897

New York City
Sunday, December 16
5 to 9 p.m.
CWA Local 1180 Hall
6 Harrison St., Manhattan
(#1 Train to Franklin, west on Franklin to Hudson, 1 block south to Harrison)
For more information:
(212) 406-4252

Toronto
Friday, December 14
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(1 block south of College at Ross St., west of Queen's Park Station)
For more information:
(416) 593-4138

Sponsored by the
Partisan Defense Committee
More information:
(212) 406-4252
partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org

Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

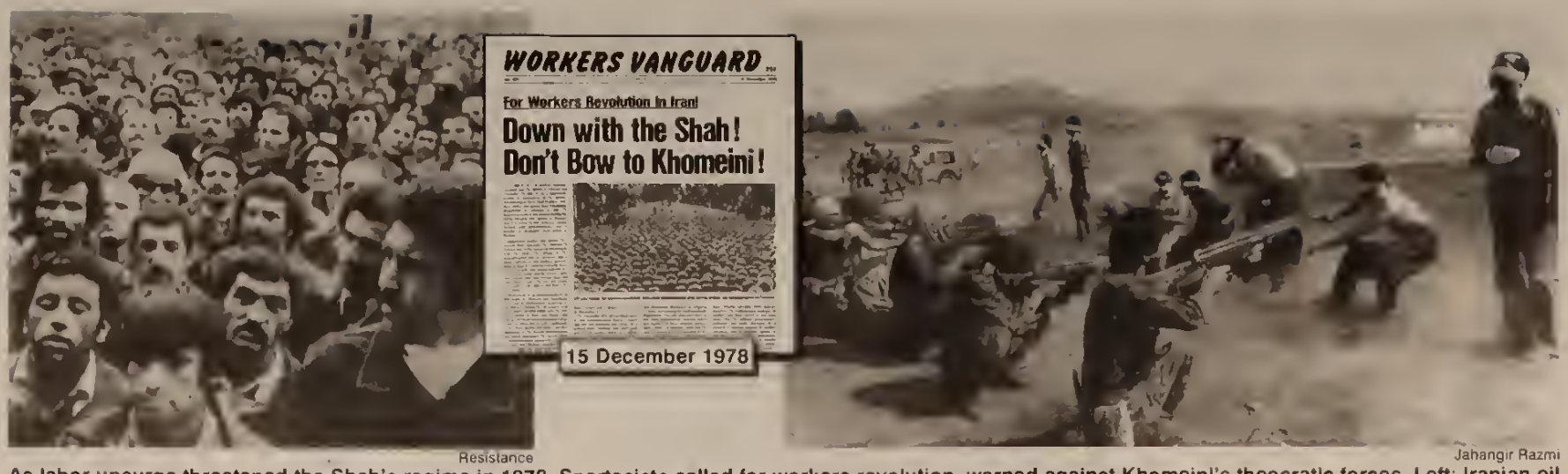
Jamal Hart Wins Prison Transfer

After months of harassment and provocations, Jamal Hart, son of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been transferred to the federal prison in Loretto, Pennsylvania, a low-security facility. Hart was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years on bogus firearms possession charges. A recipient of the Partisan Defense Committee program of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners, Hart was framed up for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father.

Hart's transfer from the FCI Schuylkill prison was held up for many months because his security level had been manipulated. This was the work of Case Manager Walter Whalen, who made his motivation clear by prominently displaying inside the prison a Fraternal Order of Police poster condemning Mumia. The harassment was stepped up when Hart filed an appeal after the February denial of his *habeas corpus* petition which, if granted, would have freed him. In April, Hart was thrown into solitary for a month. After his release from solitary, he continued to be denied all non-legal personal visits and phone calls. Hart's *habeas* appeal was denied by the same Third Circuit Court of Appeals that is currently considering Mumia's appeal. Free Jamal Hart! Free Mumia!

* * *

You can write to Jamal Hart at: Jamal Hart #50597-066, FCI Loretto, Federal Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 1000, Loretto, PA 15940.



Resistance

Jahangir Razmi

As labor upsurge threatened the Shah's regime in 1978, Spartacists called for workers revolution, warned against Khomeini's theocratic forces. Left: Iranian oil workers on strike in October 1978. Right: Iranian firing squad slaughters Kurdish rebels in August 1979, only months after mullahs came to power.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

On November 5, Pakistani police bloodily attacked thousands of demonstrators who had gathered in Lahore and other cities to protest the imposition of martial law. The Bush administration, while expressing "concern" over the situation, has made clear that billions in aid will continue to flow to the Musharraf regime, particularly funds slated for "counterterrorism."

While the Democrats (and some Republicans) criticize the Bush administration for its handling of the Iraq occupation, there is bipartisan consensus to go after Iran, though with some falling out over the details. Senator Hillary Clinton, the leading Democratic presidential candidate, voted in September to declare Iran's Revolutionary Guard a foreign terrorist organization, for which she was condemned by rivals John Edwards and Barack Obama, who accused her of giving Bush a "blank check" against Iran. Obama, interviewed by the *New York Times* (2 November), declared that if elected president he "would offer economic inducements and a possible promise not to seek 'regime change' if Iran stopped meddling in Iraq and cooperated on terrorism and nuclear issues." It takes some chutzpah for U.S. politicians to complain about Iranian "meddling" in Iraq when U.S. troops have devastated that country in enforcing a vicious occupation. Meanwhile, both Obama and Edwards have emphasized that they would keep "all options," including the threat of military attack, "on the table" in dealing with Iran.

Widespread sentiment against the Iraq occupation in the American populace redounded to the benefit of the Democratic Party during last year's midterm elections, in part thanks to the services of the reformist left, which tried mightily to build an "antiwar movement" premised on pro-Democratic Party "Anybody but Bush" politics. Now, however, even mainstream Democratic voters are bitterly complaining that electing Democrats has not made a dent. The Democratic Party is the *other* party of blood-drenched U.S. imperialism. During his presidency, Bill Clinton oversaw the murderous sanctions against Iraq and bombed Serbia into submission in 1999 while conducting the same type of bloody "surgical strikes" in Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq and the Balkans that the Bush gang is planning against Iran.

In no small part, the Democrats and other opponents of Bush's policies worry that the Iraq debacle has damaged U.S. imperialism's interests in the Near East and beyond, including by overstretching the military, which continues to have trouble finding new recruits. The Iraq occupation has diverted the U.S. rulers' attention from more strategically important areas, in particular China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states and the imperialists' key target for capitalist counterrevolution. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Cuban and Vietnamese deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We support North Korea's testing and development of nukes as a deterrent against imperialist blackmail.

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Democrats and Republicans both portray Iran's Islamic regime as a bunch of demented fanatics, and Bush has even ludicrously accused the Shi'ite government in Iran of arming Sunni fighters in Iraq. According to Frank Rich's *New York Times* column, some 52 percent of the U.S. population now supports a "preemptive" strike on Iran. But the real nuclear crazies are the U.S. imperialists, who have not only acquired the means to destroy the world many times over but have actually carried out nuclear terror, incinerating some 200,000 Japanese people in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The true enemy of working people, minorities and the oppressed in the U.S. is the U.S. bourgeoisie. The ruling class that is today threatening Iran is the same capitalist class that has slashed the pensions, health care and jobs of America's working people while shredding democratic rights through the reactionary "war on terror."

AP

Tehran: Iranian students march with banner reading, "Nuclear Energy Is Our Obvious Right," April 9.

As for Islamic reaction, the U.S. rulers fostered its growth for decades as a bulwark against "godless" Communism and even secular nationalism. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who was later Secretary of State during the Eisenhower presidency, wrote: "The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it." This policy found its highest expression in the funneling of vast quantities of arms and money to the Islamic fundamentalist terrorists fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

At the request of a modernizing nationalist regime in Afghanistan besieged by fundamentalist forces, the USSR intervened in 1979 to defend its southern border. The Soviets intervened on the side of social progress in Afghanistan in the only civil war in history in which the question of the rights of women played a central role. While most of the international left howled along with the imperialists against the Soviets, we said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!"

U.S. policy has been to back the forces of Islamic reaction, except when these forces have been arrayed against America's client regimes, like the Shah of Iran, who was overthrown in 1979. What culminated with an "Islamic Revolution" in fact began with a major proletarian upsurge that in particular involved Iran's heavily Arab and strategic oil workers. But the prospect of workers revolution, which would have radically changed the political terrain in the Near East and beyond, was betrayed as most of the left in Iran and internationally lined up behind the reactionary Islamic forces of Ayatollah Khomeini in the name of "anti-imperialism."

In contrast, the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) gave no political support to Ayatollah Khomeini's forces. We said: "Down with the Shah! Don't bow to Khomeini! For workers revolution in Iran!" We warned that absent a decisive break by the working class with the Islamic forces, the 1978-79 upheaval would have a disastrous outcome. And indeed, after taking power, the mullahs enslaved women in the veil, slaughtered thousands of leftists and trade unionists and intensified repression against Kurds and other minorities.

Today, Iran is a cauldron of discontent. The regime of reactionary president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is increasingly unpopular. Fanatical decrees against "Western haircuts," music and culture continue to stifle social life, especially for the country's women and youth, while repression against opponents of the regime and trade unionists intensifies. The *New York Times*, cognizant of the restlessness in Iran, warned in an October 29 editorial that an American bombing campaign would more likely result in the mullahs and Ahmadinejad being "turned into national heroes than hung from lampposts." Students, women, trade unionists and national minorities in Iran must have no illusions that their liberation will come from a "regime change" engineered by the imperialists. The multinational Iranian working class, leading all the oppressed behind it, must overthrow the Persian-chauvinist, clericalist regime. Key to this perspective is the forging of a Leninist workers party. Such parties must be built throughout the Near East—forged in struggle against all forms of fundamentalism and nationalism—to unite the proletariat in struggle against the imperialists as well as the region's capitalist rulers. For a socialist federation of the Near East!

In the U.S. and other advanced capitalist countries, the rapacious imperialist rulers must be swept away through workers revolutions. Imperialist war is not an issue of narrow policy concerns of one capitalist politician or another, but rather the function of the capitalist system in its decay. The struggle against imperialist war must be part and parcel of a struggle against the entire system of exploitation and oppression. This requires a fight to build a multiracial workers party by breaking the political chains tying the working class to its capitalist class enemy, particularly through the labor bureaucracy's support to the Democrats. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the revolutionary workers party needed to lead the struggle for workers power to victory in the heartland of world imperialism.■

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The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

Part One of this article appeared in WV No. 901 (26 October).

PART TWO

Mensheviks and Stalinists have long portrayed the February Revolution, which overthrew the Russian tsar, as the opening of a necessary "first stage" of the Russian Revolution. In fact, the February Revolution resolved none of the radical-democratic tasks of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" outlined by V. I. Lenin in 1905.

In a 9 January 1917 "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," Lenin had already dropped any mention of his 1905 formula. His speech reflected the development of the class struggle in Russia on the eve of World War I, an interimperialist war. After the 1907-10 years of reaction, the proletariat had raised its head again. By the first half of 1914, the level of strike activity had reached heights not seen since 1905. And this time, some 80 percent of the politically active workers were behind the Bolsheviks.

In his speech, Lenin spoke of 1905 in the terms of Trotsky's permanent revolution: "In reality, the inexorable trend of the Russian revolution was towards an armed, decisive battle between the tsarist government and the vanguard of the class-conscious proletariat." Like Trotsky, he now argued that the coming revolution "can only be a proletarian revolution, and in an even more profound sense of the word: a proletarian, socialist revolution also in its content.... Only class-conscious proletarians can and will give leadership to the vast majority of the exploited."

World War I had a profound impact on Lenin's thinking. The Second International had collapsed into social-chauvinism, with most of its sections supporting their own national bourgeoisies in the war. This led Lenin to generalize the split course with the Russian Mensheviks, which he had made definitive in 1912. He concluded that opportunism was not a vestigial or localized phenomenon; rather, as he laid out in his monumental study, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), the superprofits derived from the imperialists' exploitation of the colonies provided a material basis for an opportunist, pro-capitalist layer in the workers movement. Lenin fought for a complete break internationally from all reformist and centrist currents and raised the call for a Third International. Against the social-chauvinists and social-pacifists, he called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism against all the warring bourgeoisies and raised the slogan: Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!

VAAP photos

Petrograd, February 1917. Above: International Women's Day protest touched off February Revolution; banner demands increased rations for soldiers' families. Below: Revolutionaries take aim at Petrograd police headquarters.

The war had cut across the upsurge in class struggle in Russia, as an initial burst of patriotism inundated the proletariat. But the reactionary mood did not last too long. The horrors of the war spoke louder than all the priests and patriots. Russia was to see five and a half million soldiers killed, wounded or captured. Women slaved in munitions plants for pitiful wages while a "shower of gold" rained on war profiteers.

The February Revolution was triggered by a strike of mostly women textile workers in Petrograd (as St. Petersburg was renamed after Russia went to war with Germany) on International Women's Day, demanding increased war rations. Street clashes with the forces of "order" resulted in numerous casualties. But in the end, the tsar could find no loyal troops and was forced to abdicate. Soviets (councils) were immediately elected in the factories and army garrisons and at the front. In the provinces, police and state officials were arrested or sent packing. In the capital, the autocracy had been overthrown by the workers, but the government that emerged was a *bourgeois* government.

Trotsky remarked in his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1932) that the February Revolution represented the awakening of the peasant-based army. The first wave of army delegates elected to the soviets consisted heavily of literate petty bourgeois who largely supported the peasant-based Socialist-Revolutionaries (SRs). The war thus gave the SRs as well as the reformist Mensheviks, who represented urban petty-bourgeois layers as well as a section of the workers, a massive but historically accidental initial preponderance in the workers and soldiers soviets.

Even as street fighting was still raging in Petrograd in February, the Provisional Government was formed with the aim of erecting a constitutional monarchy. Meanwhile, within the soviets, the SR and Menshevik delegates, loyal to bourgeois republicanism, held the insurgent workers and peasants in check and desperately appealed to the bourgeoisie to take political power. But the masses were hostile to the bourgeoisie and looked to the soviets. That made these organs, despite their treacherous leadership, the de facto power in the country. Thus the paradox of the February Revolution: the workers, many of them inspired by the Bolsheviks, carried out the revolution, yet the government that came out of it was bourgeois.

The February Revolution resulted in a situation of *dual power*. As Lenin described in "The Dual Power" (April 1917), "Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the *bourgeoisie, another government* has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies." This situation could not persist—one class or the other would have to rule.

Lenin Rearms the Bolsheviks

Meanwhile, the Bolshevik Party, with Lenin still in exile in Switzerland, was being steered on a conciliationist course under J. V. Stalin and Lev Kamenev, who were veteran Bolsheviks. Taking over the Bolsheviks' central organ, *Pravda*, upon their return from Siberian exile in March 1917, Stalin and Kamenev used Lenin's old formula of the "democratic dictatorship" to trample on Lenin's uncompromising opposition to the liberal bourgeoisie. The 15 March issue of *Pravda*, the first to list Stalin and Kamenev as editors, came out for support to the bourgeois Provisional Government "in so far as it struggles against reaction and counterrevolution." Turning sharply against the Bolsheviks' revolutionary defeatism, *Pravda* declared to Russian soldiers that "every man must remain at his fighting post" and that "all 'defeatism,' or rather what an undiscriminating press protected by the tsarist censorship has branded with that name, died at the moment when the first revolutionary regiment appeared on the streets of Petrograd." *Pravda* also called for the merger of the Menshevik and Bolshevik parties.

In his report to a March 1917 Bolshevik party conference, Stalin sounded like the Menshevik Georgi Plekhanov denouncing the December 1905 Moscow insurrection for antagonizing the bourgeoisie. Stalin stated: "It is not to our advantage at present to force events, hastening the process of repelling the bourgeois layers, who will in the future inevitably withdraw from us. It is necessary for us to gain time by putting a brake on the splitting away of the middle-bourgeois layers" ("Draft Protocol of the March 1917 All-Russian Conference of Party Workers"). He also declared, "Insofar as the Provisional Government fortifies the steps of the revolution, to that extent we must support it; but insofar as it is counterrevolutionary, support to the Provisional Government is not permissible."

To the Mensheviks' offer of fusion raised at this conference, Stalin responded, "We must do it. It is necessary to define our proposal for a basis of union." The Menshevik and SR leaders were jubilant, but there were numerous protests from Bolshevik cadres. As the worker-Bolshevik Alexander Shlyapnikov, a Central Committee member, put it: "The indignation in the party locals was enormous, and when the proletarians found out that *Pravda* had been seized by three former editors arriving from Siberia they demanded their expulsion from the party" (quoted in Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*).

Lenin was reading *Pravda* with alarm. Even before he returned from exile on April 3, he warned in his "Letters from Afar" that the Provisional Government was a bourgeois government and that the slightest support to it meant support of the imperialist war. When he finally arrived and gave his famous speech atop an

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armored car at the Finland Station, its effect on the Bolsheviks was electrifying. In the face of the official delegation of social-patriots sent to greet him, he spoke in honor of the German revolutionary Marxist leader Karl Liebknecht, who had been imprisoned for his opposition to the war and had denounced those "socialists" who supported their own bourgeoisies as guilty of class treason. For Lenin, any support to the Provisional Government was a *split issue*.

In his "April Theses," Lenin explained that it was only "owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat" that power had been allowed to pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie at this stage ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," April 1917). "The country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution," wrote Lenin, "to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants." When *Pravda* published Lenin's "Theses" on April 7, not a single other Central Committee member signed them.

In a rejoinder published in the next day's *Pravda*, Kamenev used much the same language to denounce Lenin's "April Theses" that the Stalinists would later use against Trotsky's permanent revolution: "As for Comrade Lenin's general scheme, it appears to us unacceptable, inasmuch as it proceeds from the assumption that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is *completed*, and builds on the immediate transformation of this revolution into a socialist revolution." Quoting Kamenev's statement, Lenin replied in "Letters on Tactics" (April 1917):

> "After the [February] revolution, the power is in the hands of a *different* class, a new class, namely, the *bourgeoisie*.
>
> "To this extent, the bourgeois, or the bourgeois-democratic, revolution in Russia is *completed*.
>
> "But at this point we hear a clamour of protest from people who readily call themselves 'old Bolsheviks.' Didn't we always maintain, they say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution is completed only by the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry'?...
>
> "My answer is: The Bolshevik slogans and ideas *on the whole* have been confirmed by history; but *concretely* things have worked out *differently*....
>
> "The person who *now* speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect *gone over* to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques."

Stalin receded into the shadows, confining his criticism of the "April Theses"

P.I. Volkov

Lenin addressing Petrograd Soviet, April 1917.

to their "impracticality" while quietly siding with the conciliators. Kamenev, later joined by Zinoviev, led the charge against Lenin, right up to their open strikebreaking against the revolution when they publicly denounced Bolshevik plans for an insurrection on the eve of October.

Lenin concluded in an article written after he won a majority of the Bolshevik All-Russian Conference in April to his side: "Only assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government" ("A Strong Revolutionary Government," May 1917). Lenin had in effect adopted the program of Trotsky's permanent revolution.

Trotsky and Lenin Reunite

At the same time, Trotsky had come to recognize the correctness of Lenin's bitter struggle from 1903 on to build a disciplined, programmatically solid vanguard party. In the period before the 1903 split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks at the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) Second Congress, Trotsky had earned the nickname of "Lenin's cudgel." But in 1903, Trotsky balked at Lenin's insistence on a hard party of professional revolutionaries. However, he also opposed the Mensheviks' orientation to the liberal bourgeoisie.

Trotsky declared himself to be outside both factions. He worked closely with the Bolsheviks in the 1905 Revolution, but in the years that followed, his attempts to unify all factions cut against Lenin's fights to sharply differentiate revolutionaries from opportunists and inevitably led Trotsky into episodic rotten blocs against the Bolsheviks. This came to a head in 1912, after the Bolsheviks' final split with the Menshevik faction, when they constituted themselves as a separate party. In August 1912 Trotsky took the lead in organizing a conference with "pro-party" Mensheviks in Vienna—what became infamous as the "August Bloc"—which sought to reverse the split.

Once the February Revolution had taken care of tsarism and brought the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie to power, the majority of the Menshevik leadership joined the bulk of the Second International in adopting a line of "defensism" toward its "own" ruling class. Under the impact of the war and Lenin's scathing polemics against his conciliationist efforts, Trotsky was increasingly drawn toward Lenin's insistence on a complete break with opportunism.

Thus in 1917, Trotsky and Lenin were in agreement on the decisive questions of the party and the class character of the revolution. Upon his return from exile on May 4, Trotsky did not immediately join the Bolsheviks but worked with them while in the leftward-moving *Mezhrayontsi* (Inter-Borough) organization, which he steered toward fusion with the Bolsheviks. The fusion was consummated at the Bolsheviks' Sixth Congress which began in late July. As Lenin later acknowledged, once Trotsky had recognized the impossibility of unification with the Mensheviks, "from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik" (quoted in Trotsky, *The Stalin School of Falsification* [1937]).

Throughout the events of 1917, Lenin pounded on the need for a proletarian seizure of state power. After the first Provisional Government was brought down in a firestorm of outrage over its pledge to continue the hated imperialist war, a new government was formed in early May. SR and Menshevik leaders formally accepted ministerial portfolios. Lenin explained that the Russian bourgeoisie had "resorted to a method which for many decades, ever since 1848, has been practised by the capitalists of other countries in order to fool, divide and weaken the workers. This method is known as a 'coalition' government, i.e., a joint cabinet formed of members of the bourgeoisie and turncoats from socialism." He went on:

> "The simpletons of the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties were jubilant and fatuously bathed in the rays of the ministerial glory of their leaders. The capitalists gleefully rubbed their hands at having found helpers against the people in the persons of the 'leaders of the Soviets' and at having secured their promise to support 'offensive operations at the front,' i.e., a resumption of the imperialist predatory war, which had come to a standstill for a while."
>
> —"Lessons of the Revolution" (August 1917)

In his classic work *The State and Revolution* (September 1917), Lenin retrieved the writings of Marx and Engels on the question of the state from under a mountain of social-democratic obfuscation. Pointing to the key lesson Marx drew from the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune, when the Parisian proletariat held power for nearly three months before being bloodily crushed, Lenin cited Marx's statement in *The Civil War in France* (1871) that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." Lenin explained: "Marx's idea is that the working class must ***break up***, ***smash*** the 'ready-made state machinery,' and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it."

Lenin revived Marx's understanding that the proletariat cannot maintain an alliance with, let alone lead, the peasantry unless the workers wield ***state power***: "The proletariat needs state power, a centralised organisation of force, an organisation of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to *lead* the enormous mass of the population—the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and semi-proletarians—in the work of organising a socialist economy."

Having already dropped his earlier formula of a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," Lenin explicitly asserted that the state could not represent two different classes:

> "The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realise that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism. Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the ***dictatorship of the bourgeoisie***. The transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: ***the dictatorship of the proletariat***."

When the Bolsheviks led the proletariat to power in October 1917, they gave flesh and blood to the Marxist understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Comintern and the Colonial Revolution

The October Revolution had an electrifying effect internationally. It was felt most immediately among the workers of the other warring European powers, especially Germany. But the tidal wave it set off reached far beyond Europe, including throughout the colonial world.

Prominent among those drawn to the banner of Communism were students and other intellectuals who wanted to overcome profound social oppression, autocratic government and subservience to imperialism in their own countries and had become disillusioned in the capacity of their own weak, corrupt bourgeoisies to achieve anything resembling the Great French Revolution of 1789-93. But the early Communist International (CI) was still breaking new ground when it addressed the question of the relationship of Communist parties in the colonial world to bourgeois-nationalist movements. The Bolsheviks expected workers revolution in the imperialist centers to by and large resolve the colonial question.

The Comintern's early work on the national and colonial question was largely aimed at drawing a hard programmatic line between the Communists and the chauvinist cesspool of the Second International. Before World War I, there had been a spread of attitudes on the colonial question within the Second International. On the left wing were many who solidarized with the colonial victims of their "own" rulers. But these Kautskyan "parties of the whole class" also included right-wing elements who championed the "civilizing" mission of imperialism (and were sometimes openly racist toward "lesser" peoples overseas and at home). Once the war broke out, the pro-war Socialist leaders acted as recruiters for the imperialists' efforts to defend and extend their colonial empires.

Lenin drew the sharpest line against such social-chauvinism. He insisted, "Repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation" ("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1914). A working class in bloc with its own rulers against oppressed nations and the colonial masses would never make a socialist revolution.

continued on page 8

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Left: Provisional Government cabinet of ministers including Prince Lvov (bottom left), Alexander Kerensky (bottom, third from left) and Pavel Miliukov (bottom, second from right). Below: First session of Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, February 1917.

International Publishers

Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

The "21 Conditions" adopted at the Second CI Congress in 1920 demanded that the Communist parties in the imperialist countries support "every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds" and carry out "systematic propaganda among their own country's troops against any oppression of colonial peoples." At the same time, the Second Congress "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" warned against subordinating the colonial proletariat to the bourgeoisie, stating: "The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but should not merge with it, and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in its most embryonic form."

The Second Congress had not yet assimilated the significance of the changes wrought by the world war. Before 1914 there had been virtually no industrial development in the colonial and semicolonial countries, whose economies were built around agriculture and the extraction of raw materials for the benefit of the imperialist powers. But with the disruption of international trade and the emphasis on war production in the belligerent powers, countries such as China and India experienced substantial industrial growth and the rapid development of a militant, young proletariat. The war choked off the supply of consumer goods and capital from the West European powers, giving a powerful impetus to local capitalist industry.

Unlike India, China was not an outright colony. The Chinese Revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen's bourgeois-nationalist movement, had overthrown the decrepit Qing (Manchu) dynasty, which was beholden to the imperialist powers. However, the country was soon riven by warlordism and remained prostrate before the Western and Japanese imperialists, chopped up into "spheres of influence." On the other hand, by 1919 there were some 1.5 million industrial workers, concentrated in large enterprises in a few urban centers (see "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997). These changes gave the Chinese proletariat great potential social power; however, by themselves they did not answer the question of whether this proletariat, a tiny minority in a country of extreme social backwardness, could become politically conscious and contest for state power. By the time this question was posed pointblank in 1925-27, the Comintern had begun its qualitative degeneration.

The "Anti-Imperialist United Front"

At its Fourth Congress in November-December 1922, the CI introduced the slogan of an "anti-imperialist united front" in its "Theses on the Eastern Question." This went beyond the correct consideration of ***common actions*** against imperialism with bourgeois forces in the colonial and semicolonial world and mooted a ***political bloc*** with such forces on the basis of a minimum program of democratic demands.

Boni and Liveright

Workers at Petrograd's Putilov metal works, a bastion of Soviet power during Bolshevik Revolution. Banner at left proclaims: "Long Live the Third International."

While remaining critical of the colonial bourgeoisie, the Theses were ambiguous on the key question of the proletariat's relationship to it: "The proletariat supports and advances such partial demands as an independent democratic republic, the abolition of all feudal rights and privileges, the introduction of women's rights, etc., in so far as it cannot, with the relation of forces as it exists at present, make the implementation of its soviet programme the immediate task of the day." Implicitly the Theses posed a Menshevik, "two-stage" program for the colonial revolution, with the first stage being a democratic struggle against imperialism.

Though the Theses were vague about the work of Communist sections in the backward countries, the Congress delegate from the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), Tan Malaka, openly defended his party's prior entry into the bourgeois-nationalist Islamic League (Sarekat Islam). The PKI's practice clearly ran counter to the Second Congress insistence on the political independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois nationalists. And where the Second Congress had stressed "the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, and mullahs, etc.," the Fourth Congress Theses instead neutrally asserted, "As the national liberation movements grow and mature, the religious-political slogans of pan-Islamism will be replaced by political demands."

Well before the Fourth Congress, CI chairman Gregory Zinoviev had declared at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East that a "division of the program of the Communist Parties into a minimum program and maximum program...must be considered valid in the immediate future particularly for the countries of the Far East, to the extent that the next stage of development of these countries is the democratic overturn and the independent —political and economic—class organization of the proletariat" ("Theses on the Tasks of Communists in the Far East," January 1922).

When Bolshevik Central Committee member and future Left Oppositionist A. A. Joffe was commissioned as the head of a Soviet diplomatic mission to negotiate with Sun Yat-sen's Guomindang (Nationalist Party—GMD), he sought to hew to the principled stance adopted at the Second Congress as against the policies then being pushed by the emissary of the CI's Executive Committee (ECCI) in China. In a 22 July 1922 letter to the Russian Communist Party Politburo, Joffe asserted:

> "Our policy in China, as throughout the world, must above all else pursue the goals of world proletarian revolution.... In internal Chinese politics, conduct a line for the national liberation and unification of China and the creation of a united, truly independent and free-democratic (soviet?) Chinese republic.... Support the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) even more [than Sun Yat-sen], not fearing its open closeness with the Embassy. Irrespective of the weakness of this party, to regard its ***complete independence*** as necessary, and the efforts of certain agents of the CI ECCI to fuse this party organization with the party of Sun Yat-sen as ***completely incorrect***."
>
> —translated from *Bol'shevistskoe rukovodstvo. Perepiska* [Bolshevik Leadership, Correspondence], *1912-1927* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1996)

The ECCI agent to whom Joffe referred was G. Maring (Henricus Sneevliet), a Dutch Communist who had engineered the PKI's entry into Sarekat Islam. In August 1922, Maring strong-armed the young CCP into a partial entry into the GMD. Maring was supported by the ECCI. Lacking an alternative to Maring's course, and in an effort to pressure Sun Yat-sen to act against the imperialists in China, Joffe signed a January 1923 "non-aggression pact" with the GMD that foreswore attempts to introduce communism into China. That August, a Politburo motion by Stalin assigning Mikhail Borodin as Political Adviser to Sun stated: "To instruct comrade Borodin in his work with Sun Yat-sen to be guided by the interests of the national liberation movement in China, ***and not at all be distracted by aims of planting communism in China***" (emphasis added). Stalin got his way. At its third national conference that year, the CCP voted to turn the partial entry into a full entry and resolved that the "GMD should be the central force of the national revolution and should assume its leadership."

By the time of the Fourth Congress of the CI, Lenin was increasingly sidelined by illness, and an anti-Trotsky "Troika" (triumvirate) of Stalin, Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev coalesced and came to the fore in the Soviet Communist Party and the CI. All five members of the CCP Central Committee had initially *opposed* entry into the GMD. Their objections should have been fully discussed and debated inside the Comintern. But these differences were kept secret from opponents of the bureaucratic clique then congealing at the top of the Soviet state and Comintern.

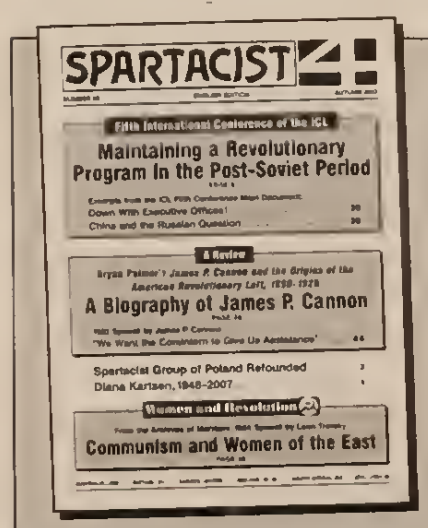
Even so, Trotsky opposed the Troika's line on entry into the GMD when it came up for a vote in the Politburo in 1923 and thereafter. While Trotsky kept his overt opposition to the Troika within the Politburo, he at the same time distinguished himself publicly by warning the Communists of the East against blending their programs into the nationalism of parties like the GMD. He opposed the concept of two-class "worker-peasant" or "farmer-labor" parties promoted by Zinoviev and Stalin for the U.S., Poland and other countries—to disastrous effect—and insisted that the Guomindang was a bourgeois party.

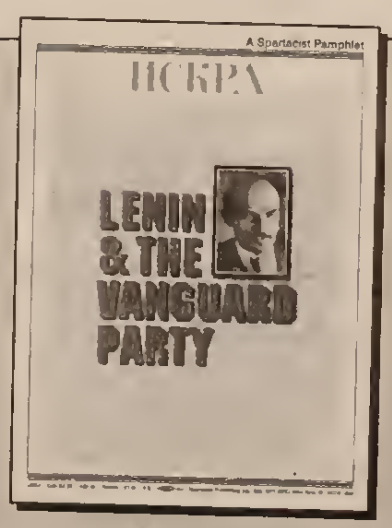
Muravel-Guide

Group of delegates to Fourth Comintern Congress, 1922. Nikolai Bukharin is leaning against Gregory Zinoviev at lower right; CCP leader Chen Duxiu is in middle of photo, above and to left of Zinoviev.

"Socialism in One Country": A "Theory" of Betrayal

When Lenin recovered from a stroke in the fall of 1922, he was horrified to learn that the pressures of the growing bureaucratic layer in the Soviet state and party were finding increasing expression within the Politburo. He collaborated with Trotsky to beat back a proposal pushed by Stalin and others to weaken the state monopoly of foreign trade—a crucial bulwark of the collectivized economy. Lenin later resolved to consummate a bloc with Trotsky to have Stalin removed as General Secretary, at the 12th Party Congress in April 1923, in no small part due to an abusive policy pursued by Stalin and his cohorts toward non-Russian nationalities in the Caucasus that smacked of Great Russian chauvinism. But Lenin was again struck down by illness in March 1923, after which Trotsky pulled back from a sharp fight. With the Troika in charge, the 12th Congress made a special agenda point to





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Imperial War Museum

Leon Trotsky, then Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, with Adolf Joffe arriving at January 1918 Brest-Litovsk talks with Germany.

welcome into its ranks the old Economist and Menshevik, Alexander Martynov.

Martynov would become central to the Troika's fight against Trotsky over China. It was Martynov, for instance, who coined the characterization of the GMD as a "bloc of four classes" (workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie), which was used to justify the CCP's liquidation into that bourgeois-nationalist party. As Trotsky later noted in "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" (September 1928):

> "Martynov not only wormed his way into the party, but he became one of the chief sources of 'inspiration' in the Comintern.... They have come closer to him and they have stooped to him—solely because of his struggle against 'Trotskyism.' For this he did not need reeducation. He simply continued to fight 'permanent revolution' just as he had done for the previous twenty years."

A few months after the 12th Party Congress came the defeat of the 1923 revolution in Germany, which had enormous worldwide consequences. The failure in Germany was due to the incapacity of the Communist International under Zinoviev and the lack of a sufficiently steeled Communist Party in Germany: the German KPD adapted to the Social Democracy and, in October, even entered Social Democratic-led regional *bourgeois* governments (see "Rearming Bolshevism: A Trotskyist Critique of Germany 1923 and the Comintern," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001). The postwar revolutionary wave, already receding by 1921, was stopped and the global bourgeois order stabilized. In Soviet Russia, the workers had been intensely following the course of the German workers revolution. Its defeat had a huge demoralizing effect on Soviet workers, prolonging the isolation of the workers state and helping pave the way for the usurpation of political power from the proletariat by the nascent Soviet bureaucracy.

The elections to the January 1924 13th Party Conference were rigged to allow only three representatives of the loose grouping of oppositionists associated with Trotsky, despite their broad support in the urban centers and in the Red Army. "Trotskyism" was condemned as a heresy antithetical to Leninism. Lenin died on January 21, the day after he learned the outcome of the Conference. After January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled had all changed. In the fall of 1924, Stalin generalized the conservative bureaucracy's aversion to the proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist program of the October Revolution with his "theory" that socialism—a society based on a qualitatively higher level of productivity, in which classes have disappeared and the state has withered away—can be built in a single country, and in economically devastated Russia at that.

"Socialism in one country" was a program of retreat and a false promise of the stability for which Soviet society ached after years of war, revolution and privation. It crystallized the mood of conservatism that affected not only the Soviet party but the young Communist parties of the West in the face of the restabilization of world capitalism. It flew in the face of the theory and practice of not only Lenin and the Bolshevik Party but of Marx and Engels, who had always been explicit that socialism would prevail only as a world system.

"Socialism in one country" was the banner under which countless revolutionary opportunities were betrayed by the Stalinists. But the transformation of the CI from an instrument for world socialist revolution into an agency for diplomatic maneuvers did not happen overnight. During the 1920s, first Zinoviev and later Stalin experimented with various coalitions with bourgeois forces, eventually leading to the murderous sabotage of the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. By 1933, Stalin's Comintern could not be awakened by what Trotsky called "the thunderbolt of Fascism"—the victory of Hitler's Nazis without a shot being fired by the powerful German workers movement. The CI had proved itself utterly dead as a force for revolution. By 1935 it had explicitly codified a program of class collaboration (the Popular Front) and played an aggressive counterrevolutionary role in the Spanish Civil War in order to prop up bourgeois rule. The Stalinized Comintern was indeed, as Trotsky described it, "the great organizer of defeats."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Wide World

J.V. Stalin, Alexei Rykov, Lev Kamenev and Zinoviev in Moscow, 1925. Inset: Pamphlet titled *Trotsky Before the Court of the* Communist Party includes Trotsky's 1924 *Lessons of October* and speeches by Kamenev and Stalin titled "Leninism or Trotskyism?"

Poindexter...

(continued from page 4)

dynamite in a coal bin but changed his story in a 1974 federal appeal hearing to say he saw it by the furnace. In the hearing before Judge Bowie, another cop who backed up Swanson's trial story now claimed that he, not Swanson, discovered the dynamite. Police photos of the basement show no dynamite, which first appeared in a photo of the *trunk of a police cruiser*. Bowie ruled these contradictions in sworn police testimony "immaterial."

The Nebraska chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) submitted an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief detailing COINTELPRO surveillance, disruption, frame-up and terror. The brief documents frame-ups against Black Panthers such as Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in Los Angeles, who spent 27 years in prison for a crime the LAPD and Feds knew he did not commit, and Dhoruba bin Wahad in New York, who spent two decades in prison based on falsified evidence. In a 1990 BBC documentary about the Nebraska case, Jack Swanson boasted that as a result of the arrests of Poindexter and Mondo the Black Panther Party "completely disappeared from the city of Omaha." Thirty-eight Panthers were killed by the Feds and cops. Hundreds more were framed up and locked away, foremost among them Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was falsely convicted of the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sent to death row.

Despite their nearly four decades of imprisonment, Ed Poindexter and Mondo we Langa remain unbowed. Poindexter has earned both bachelor's and master's degrees and is recognized as a caring mentor for fellow prisoners. Mondo, a celebrated playwright, author and artist, has recently published a collection of poems and raps titled "The Black Panther Is an African Cat." In a prison interview two days before the decision against Poindexter, Mondo was quoted as saying that 37 long years behind bars gave him "low expectations" about a favorable ruling in a Nebraska courtroom.

Mondo should know. In 1974 a federal district court overturned his conviction based on the illegality of the search of his house, as did a federal appellate court a year later. But in 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the case returned to Nebraska state courts. The Nebraska Supreme Court then ruled that his appeal time had lapsed! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Free Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa now!

* * *

Ed Poindexter and Mondo we Langa are among the 16 class-war prisoners receiving stipends from the Partisan Defense Committee, which is preparing to hold its 22nd annual Holiday Appeal fundraiser in support of this program. For more information about the PDC and its class-war prisoners fund see www.partisandefense.org. You can write to Poindexter and Langa at: Ed Poindexter, 27767, 1-A-12, Nebraska State Penitentiary, Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68542-2500; W.M.E. we Langa, 27768, Nebraska State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 2500, Lincoln, NE 68542-2500.■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee
e-mail: partisandefense@earthlink.net • Web site: www.partisandefense.org
P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680 • (312) 563-0442
c/o Box 29574, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029 • (213) 380-8897
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 • (510) 839-0852

Jennifer Beach

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Court rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues have called for protests the day after the decision. Others have also called for protests.

For more information see the PDC Web site, www.partisandefense.org

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

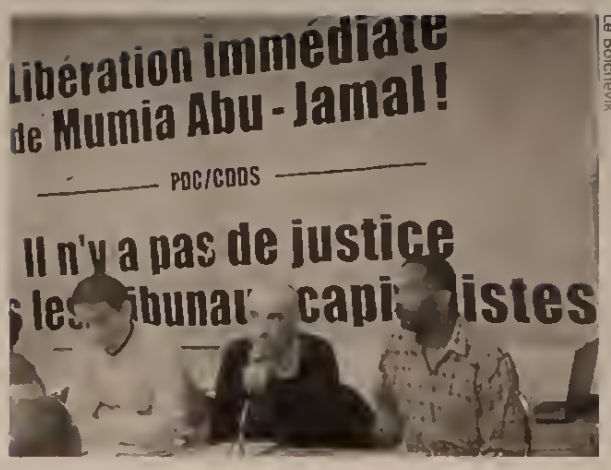
Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

we brought his case to civil rights organizations and anti-death penalty gatherings, to the campuses and to left and labor organizations in the U.S. and internationally. Aiming to make Mumia's case known to the public, we fought to get his columns published in the black press and to publicize his case in liberal journals such as the *Nation* and the *Village Voice*. The PDC also initiated united-front rallies in an effort to mobilize broad social forces, reaching out as well to prominent personalities and political figures. Many saw in Mumia's fight for freedom and justice a reflection of their own struggles against racism and reaction—from aboriginal people in Australia and youth of North African origin in France to black people throughout North America. By the fall of 1990, statements of support for Mumia encompassed unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers.

These efforts laid the groundwork for the outbreak of mass protest that answered the warrant for his execution, which was signed on 1 June 1995. Over the next few days, protesters took to the streets around the world. On June 19 in Johannesburg, PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson addressed some 15,000 workers at a trade-union demonstration where the crowd chanted, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Mumia's struggle has resonated especially strongly among black workers in South Africa, where the death penalty had long served as a tool of apartheid state terror. Today, South Africa's National Council of Trade Unions and National Union of Mineworkers are among the signatories to the PDC statement demanding Mumia's freedom.

In Italy in June 1995, a demonstration for Mumia was made an official part of a larger protest in Rome of over 60,000 workers fighting against pension cuts. After a speaker from the Mumia contingent from Naples called for his freedom, one of the official platform speakers announced: "I think that I can safely say that all of us here want to express our solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal, that we all defend Mumia Abu-Jamal. Do you all agree?" The workers shouted their agreement.



Paris: Daniel Carreno, assistant secretary of SUD-TMT postal sorting workers union, addressing September 29 rally called by Committee for Social Defense.

As Mumia's execution date drew near, a united-front labor/black mobilization initiated by the PDC in downtown Manhattan on August 3 drew 1,000 people, including contingents from union locals representing hundreds of thousands of workers in the Northeast. On August 12, five days after Mumia won a stay of execution, contingents of workers marched with their union banners alongside the PDC at a protest for Mumia in Philadelphia initiated by Workers World Party's National People's Campaign.

In a column written four days after the stay was announced, Mumia told his supporters, "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!" Mumia's case had become the focal point of struggle against the racist death penalty. His name had become a household word. Articles about Mumia and his own written commentaries were a regular feature of the U.S. black press. Mumia's face was emblazoned on the T-shirts of student activists and youth in the ghettos; his name became a symbol in hip-hop for racist frame-up and also rolled off the lips of many union activists.

But over time, a massive movement was demobilized by a political program advanced by liberal and reformist organizations—Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party, among others—that centered their protest actions around the call for a "new trial" for Mumia. In doing so, they hoped to attract prominent bourgeois liberals who view Mumia's case not as emblematic of the capitalist legal system but as an aberration that stains the fabric of American "democracy." This strategy undermined the very basis of the support Mumia received from masses of people who identified with his opposition to oppression and injustice, which are inherent in capitalist society.

Mumia Is Innocent—Free Him Now!

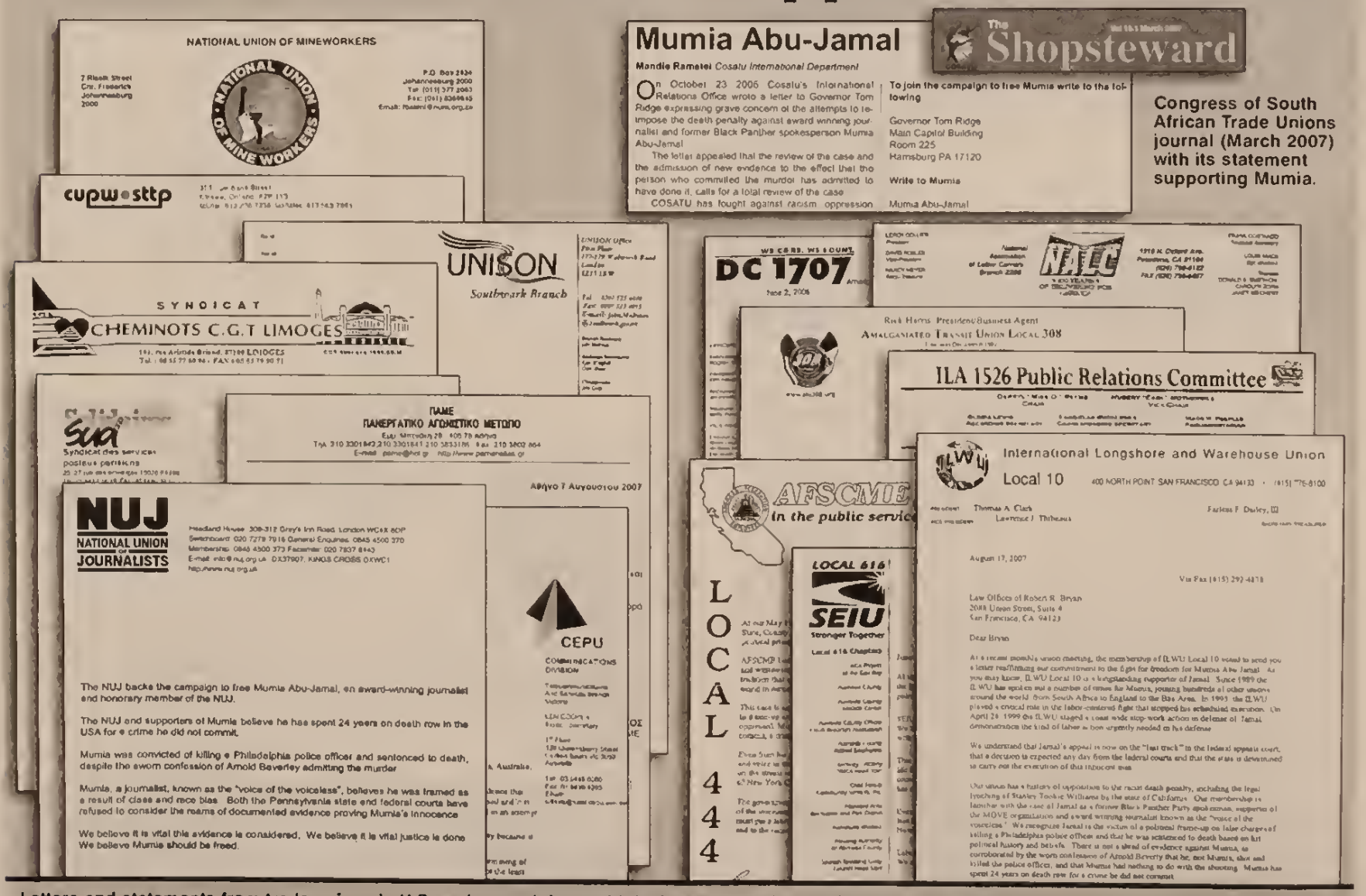
The PDC's class-struggle defense strategy is rooted in the pioneering work of the International Labor Defense (ILD) led by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the American Communist Party and, later, of American Trotskyism. In leading the struggle to free anarchist immigrant workers Sacco and Vanzetti in the 1920s, the ILD constantly combatted illusions in the capitalist courts and politicians sown by the reformist Socialists and labor tops of the day (see "Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti," *WV* Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September). This is no less important today as we seek to revitalize mass protest for Mumia.

Our efforts to reach out to NYC unions generated a June 2006 letter from the AFSCME District Council 1707 city workers union to Democratic Pennsylvania governor Ed Rendell, who as Philly D.A. in 1981 led the prosecution of Mumia. In expressing support for Mumia, the letter stated: "A new open trial without insincere legal trappings will prove his innocence and go a long way to make our nation whole to our people and the rest of this world. Killing him would reinforce the most backward notions about our nation." It is important that the union has opposed the threat to execute Mumia and declared his innocence. But any idea that the capitalist justice system is fair and impartial can only undermine the effort to mobilize labor's social power.

How this question plays out was seen at the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" demonstration in San Francisco. That day, the West Coast International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) carried out a port shutdown in solidarity with Mumia. Centrally initiated by Jack Heyman, an ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member at the time, this was a powerful example of the kind of social power that must be brought to bear in the fight to free Mumia. But Heyman himself undermined this action by tying it to appeals for a new trial.

The central demands of the S.F. protest—to stop the execution of Mumia and for a new trial—were tailored to attract support from Democratic Party politicians and other bourgeois liberals who view Mumia's case as an isolated "miscarriage of justice." Heyman, a key speaker at the rally, uttered not a word against either the "new trial" call or the Democratic Party. Heyman typifies those in the labor bureaucracy who adopt an appearance of militancy as a deceptive cover for reformist

International Labor Support for Mumia



Congress of South African Trade Unions journal (March 2007) with its statement supporting Mumia.

Letters and statements from trade unions in U.S. and around the world declare support for the fight for Mumia's freedom.

politics. The "Millions for Mumia" protests marked a high point in the number of people marching for Mumia. But within a few years, the thousands who had come out for Mumia rallies dwindled to a few hundred.

Those who call for a new trial often claim that this is "what Mumia wants"—as if Mumia has not been fighting all along for his freedom! Rachel Wolkenstein, a PDC counsel who served on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999, answered this at the May 5 London PDC rally, which was also addressed by speakers from the Communication Workers Union and the RMT (see "International Rallies Demand: Free Mumia!" *WV* No. 893, 25 May). Wolkenstein observed that in earlier struggles for class-war prisoners, the call was not for a "new trial for the Guildford Four, or for Angela Davis, or Huey Newton" but for their freedom. Responding to comments from the floor, she observed that Mumia "knows perfectly well every word I said here. He sent greetings to this rally, brief though they were, making the point that he was fighting for his freedom." As the French CGT Limoges railway workers union wrote in a March 1 letter: "There is no need for a new fast-track procedure in the appeals court. All the facts and evidence" of Mumia's innocence, the letter noted, "are known."

Seeking to obstruct a class-struggle fight for Mumia's freedom, the liberal writer David Lindorff and the rad-lib Michael Schiffmann claim that fewer people have turned out for Mumia recently because the PDC has pushed such "divisive" issues as the confession of Arnold Beverly—i.e., the overwhelming evidence of Mumia's innocence and the state frame-up. The notion that the Beverly evidence is divisive is utterly belied by the range of prominent individuals and labor organizations that have signed on to the PDC statement containing the confession, which Beverly submitted in a 1999 affidavit that is printed along with supporting evidence in the PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*

In the U.S., ads with the PDC statement and signatories have appeared in the *Nation* magazine and in such widely read black newspapers as NYC's *Amsterdam News*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Philadelphia Tribune* and the *San Francisco Bay View*. The ad has also appeared in the French Communist Party's *L'Humanité*, the *Morning Star* in Britain and *junge Welt* in Germany. It also ran in *Share*, Canada's largest-circulation ethnic newspaper.

Some 250 union organizations, officials and members in the U.S. have signed the PDC statement, including four chapters of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Amalgamated Transit Union, International Longshoremen's Association and AFSCME locals and the Chicago-area United Auto Workers Women's Committee. International supporters include CGT railway workers in France, COBAS postal workers in Italy, SNTE educational workers in Mexico and hospital workers in Vancouver. A Hamburg, Germany factory stewards council of the giant IG Metall union and the Greek All-Workers Fighting Front, a half-million-strong union federation, have also signed on. Other union groups, such as the Conference of European Harbor Unions, have issued their own statements demanding Mumia's freedom. Mumia has been made an honorary member of a number of unions, including the National Union of Journalists in London, which recently issued a letter instructing its members to mobilize for Mumia (see *WV* No. 898, 14 September).

In an August 17 letter to Mumia's lead attorney, Robert Bryan, ILWU Local 10 wrote that Mumia is "the victim of a political frame-up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer and that he was sentenced to death based on his political history and beliefs." SEIU Local 616, representing 14,000 public sector workers in the Bay Area, wrote in a 13 June 2006 letter: "Mumia has spent almost a quarter century on death row for a crime he did not commit, a crime that someone else has confessed to."

Michael Schiffmann has provided a valuable service by unearthing and publicizing crime scene photos showing that much of the evidence of Faulkner's killing was doctored by police in order to prosecute Mumia. However, Schiffmann & Co. have used this and all other evidence of Mumia's innocence not to argue for his immediate freedom but to press for a new trial. And in throwing mud at the Beverly confession, they *undermine* the fact of Mumia's innocence and the depth of his frame-up. Beverly's testimony is that he and another man were hired to kill Faulkner, who had become a problem for the mob and corrupt cops by interfering with the graft and payoffs involved in illegal gambling, drugs and prostitution. Lindorff, Schiffmann et al. reject this powerful evidence of innocence because it shows that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, had prosecutor or racist judge but of an entire "justice" system upholding the interests of the racist capitalist rulers.

Unchain Labor's Power!

At the Harlem PDC rally, Pam Africa questioned the PDC's labor centrality, pointing to the participation of poor and unemployed people in protests for Mumia: "They stood beside the workers. I'm saying we must give credit to all those people who worked to free Mumia." Rachel Wolkenstein replied:

> "Our numbers on a street in a demonstration show our desire to stand for something.... But that is not the same thing as being able to stop this system, *shut it down!* These are very different things. And that is why we talk about the power of the working class. It is not a dismissal of the good will, the heart, the needs and the oppression that otherwise exists in society. It is not a statement that those people who are unemployed are not part of the struggle. But that is the duty of the labor movement: to *organize* the unemployed, to *fight* for jobs for the unemployed, to *unionize* people across the board."

If labor is to mobilize its power on Mumia's behalf, it must do so independently of the capitalist politicians, racist cops and courts. Prior to the rally, the 300,000-strong SEIU Local 1199 added its name to the PDC statement. However, the leadership of this union and others were busy at the time working over their members to vote for "pro-labor" capitalist politicians in the midterm Congressional elections. Wolkenstein pointed out that they "would do better, if they were here today as a first step fighting for Mumia."

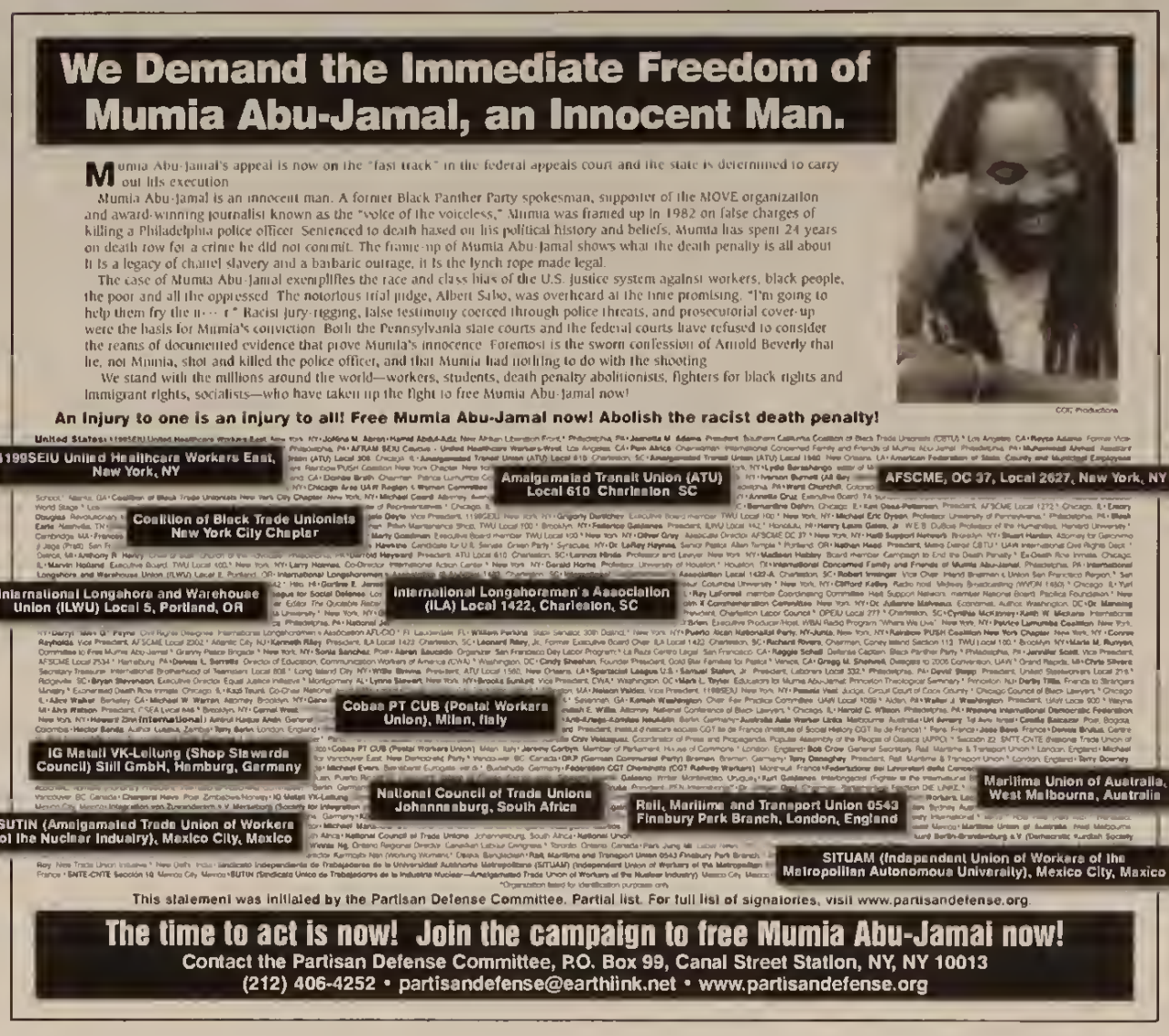
She won applause for saying that they should have "been prepared to bring out their membership in defending the transit workers when they were out on strike" and should "commit themselves along with every other union here, that labor will *stop* in this city until Mumia is free."

During this campaign, we have repeatedly had to fight against the notion that the capitalist cops belong in the labor movement. At the Berlin rally, Gert Julius of the Tempelhof/Schöneberg local of the DGB union federation said that one "shouldn't use the blanket label of *Bullen* [cops] for the police" and that "trade unions are for everyone." Steffen Singer of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League, responded: "As Marxists, we understand that being—that what you do—determines consciousness. And the task of the police is indeed to carry out, with arms, the laws of the bourgeoisie, its rule. In practice, you can see that in any strike."

Some U.S. union officials have told the PDC that they would not officially support Mumia because of the presence of cops, corrections officers and security guards in their unions. It is the cop "union," the F.O.P., which has led the campaign for Mumia's execution and brutalized Mumia's supporters. How can the unions mobilize for Mumia if they are infested with the cops, the paid guardians of the racist capitalist system? Cops out of the unions!

As the hour of decision in Mumia's federal appeal approaches, trade unionists and all supporters of his fight for freedom must prepare for action. The PDC has called for emergency protests following a negative decision, as have other organizations, and a national demonstration has been called for three weeks later. Union activists: Bring out your co-workers! Spread the word! These rallies must serve as a springboard for mass protest. The kind of pressure that can have an impact on the capitalist courts is the social power of the multiracial labor movement demanding that Mumia, an innocent man, be freed now! ■

Over 800 individuals and organizations, including unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, have signed on to PDC statement for Mumia that has appeared in the *Nation* and in black newspapers such as NYC's *Amsterdam News*, *Chicago Defender*, *Philadelphia Tribune* and *San Francisco Bay View*.



The London Underground Engineering Branch of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union donated funds to run Mumia statement in British black newspaper *The Voice*.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

International PDC Campaign

The fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is a defining cause for all opponents of the racist American "justice" system. But this struggle also bears enormous consequences for all who are in the capitalist rulers' cross hairs. Mumia was sentenced to death for a crime he did not commit, the December 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. Police, prosecutors and judges conspired to railroad Mumia —a former Black Panther, a supporter of the MOVE organization and a renowned journalist—employing frame-up methods used to victimize countless union activists, black militants and leftists over the years. In seeking to silence this powerful "voice of the voiceless," they aim to intimidate any who would struggle on behalf of workers, black people and the poor.

With Mumia's life in the balance, the Partisan Defense Committee—a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League—and its international fraternal organizations have campaigned over the past few years to rekindle mass support for his freedom. From New York City, Chicago, Oakland and Los Angeles to London, Paris and Berlin, we have initiated rallies calling to free Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty. These rallies have brought together representatives of left, labor and civil rights organizations raising their own views on which way forward in this struggle.

In this campaign, we have focused particularly on bringing Mumia's cause to the trade unions. Our policy is that of *class-struggle defense*, based on the Marxist understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided between two classes—the capitalists who own the means of production and the workers whose labor they exploit. The legal lynchers must be answered by mobilizing the social power of the working class. We do not deceive those who would fight on Mumia's behalf by peddling the lie that pleading with the capitalist courts and political parties will bring him justice. Mumia is the victim of a racist and political frame-up. And now his fight is at a critical juncture, as he and his supporters await a decision by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals on whether to uphold his death sentence or keep him in prison for life, or alternately to grant him a new trial or further court hearings.

Over 800 individuals and organizations, including unions representing hundreds of thousands of workers, have signed a PDC statement demanding Mumia's freedom and the abolition of the racist death penalty. Titled "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man," the statement cites the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Daniel Faulkner. As a sign of its commitment to Mumia's cause, the London Underground Engineering Branch of the Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union paid for the statement to run as an ad in a local black newspaper. As a resolution adopted by the SUD-TMT postal sorting workers union in Paris in October 2006 stressed, Mumia's imprisonment "constitutes a real warning to all those who will one day stand up to and take on the oppressors of minorities and more widely the working class."

While supporting all possible legal proceedings on Mumia's behalf, we fight against relying on the legal system that has shown it will stop at nothing to kill him or consign him to a "life" in prison hell. Mumia was in the sights of the FBI and Philly cops from the late 1960s, when he was a 15-year-old leader of the Black Panther Party. To secure Mumia's conviction, cops and prosecutors intimidated witnesses and suppressed and falsified evidence. The Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) has repeatedly threatened Mumia's supporters, leading a howling mob in July 1995 outside the 1199C hospital workers union hall in Philadelphia to stop a fundraiser for Mumia and continuing such harassment to this day, including by organizing boycotts of musicians and others who have spoken out for Mumia. Judges at all levels have denied evidence exonerating Mumia, with the courts repeatedly refusing to hear the Beverly confession. With very few exceptions, the capitalist politicians, both Democratic and Republican, have abetted the cops and prosecutors, with the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passing a resolution last December condemning the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis for naming a street in honor of Mumia.

We fight for mass protest centered on the working class, whose social power lies in its ability to choke off the profits that are the lifeblood of capitalism. That power was displayed in December 2005 when New York City transit workers in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 defied the state Taylor Law and went on strike, crippling the financial center of world imperialism for three days. Writing in solidarity with Local 100, Mumia quoted Karl Marx's statement that the law "is but the will of one class made into a law for all." Mumia continued, "The same law demanded that Blacks take the back of the bus. The same law outlaws the right of those who labor to withhold their labor, to better their condition, and those who follow them." Mumia has long spoken out on behalf of labor. During a lockout of 2,500 unionized ABC technicians in 1998, he refused an interview by reporters from the "20/20" TV news show, stating that he would rather die than cross the picket line.

The crucial importance of bringing out labor's forces for Mumia was the center of discussion at a PDC-initiated rally in Harlem in October 2006, which was addressed by a TWU Local 100 official, Pam Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, representatives of the PDC and others (see "For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!", *WV* No. 880, 10 November 2006). Speaking for the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense, Local 100 member Tom Cowperthwaite emphasized:

> "Especially now, we who are outside the prison walls must not forget Mumia, nor our obligation to appeal to labor and the entire working class to act now—stop the executioners! In 1995 when the first death warrant was signed, a worldwide protest by unions, civil rights activists and death penalty abolitionists forced the rulers to grant a stay of execution just days before Mumia was scheduled to die. Today, we need even larger mobilizations of union power."

COC Productions

WV Photos

Top: May 17 San Francisco rally for Mumia on day of Third Circuit Court hearing in Philadelphia. Below: South African workers at June 1995 COSATU protest hold up flyers demanding "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, the Labor Black Leagues have focused their efforts on bringing out union support for Mumia. Based on the only significant integration in racist America —the workplace and factory floor—the trade unions have the social power and potential to become battalions in the struggle against racial oppression and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system.

Mumia's case is a microcosm of capitalist class rule and the black oppression that is intrinsic to it. In the U.S., the barbaric death penalty is the legacy of chattel slavery, the lynch rope made legal. The road to black freedom lies in the struggle for revolutionary integrationism—the full integration of black people into an egalitarian, socialist America. The fight for black freedom is the strategic question of the American proletarian revolution. There can be no socialist revolution in the U.S. unless the working class takes up the fight for black freedom—opposing every manifestation of racist repression and discrimination—and there can be no liberation of black people without the overthrow of this capitalist system.

If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step toward infusing workers with the consciousness that this system must be overturned through proletarian socialist revolution. But this requires a struggle against the policies of the labor misleaders, who rarely use labor's strike weapon even in defense of their own members and look instead to the Democratic Party, the courts and other agencies of the enemy class. The labor bureaucracy's pro-capitalist program is a major obstacle in the fight for Mumia's freedom.

An International Fight

When the SL and PDC first took up Mumia's defense more than 20 years ago,

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 903 — GCU C-701 — 23 November 2007

EPA

Reuters

Italy

Left: As Italy's popular-front government pushed through vicious anti-immigrant law, police raided Romanian immigrant camp in Rome, October 31. Right: Bulldozer destroying "illegal" encampment in Rome, November 3.

Defeat Racist Campaign Against Gypsies, Immigrants!

Stop the Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

We print below a November 12 leaflet, abridged and edited for publication, by the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). As proletarian revolutionary internationalists, the ICL fights to mobilize the workers movement against vicious, racist attacks on immigrants, whether in Europe, the U.S. or other capitalist countries. In so doing, we do not seek to tinker with the capitalist system by promoting an "alternative" immigration policy. Rather, we seek to imbue the working class with the consciousness that it must fight in defense of all the oppressed as part of a struggle to sweep away the murderous capitalist profit system through socialist revolution.

Our Italian comrades' fight against the persecution of immigrants including of Roma (Gypsy), Romanian, North African and Chinese descent by the popular-front government led by Romano Prodi will have resonance for the workers movement in the U.S., which has seen escalating anti-immigrant hysteria pushed by the Democratic and Republican parties alike.

This was underlined recently when Democratic New York governor Eliot Spitzer—who as attorney general obtained strikebreaking injunctions against the December 2005 New York City transit strike—furiously backpedaled from his proposal to grant a driver's license to anyone who passes a driving test, irrespective of immigration status. As the racist backlash over the plan swelled, Democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Clinton at first evaded taking a position before coming out against this minimal measure. Meanwhile, roundups of immigrants and deportations continue apace, threatening the whole workers movement by attacking its most vulnerable sections. The need to mobilize labor's power in defense of immigrant workers and to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist labor tops, who tie workers to their exploiters through their support to the Democratic Party, and against the reformist left, which strengthens those ties through its "Anybody but Bush" politics.

* * *

On October 31, the capitalist popular-front government of the Democratic Party and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) *unanimously* approved an obscene racist decree that allows for deportations of foreign citizens, including from the European Union [EU], for "crimes" against public "safety" and "human dignity." In practice, the law allows the deportation of thousands of Roma and Romanian immigrants for such "crimes" as begging and washing car windows.

Newspapers and TV stations have used the killing of a woman in Rome, a murder of which a Romanian Roma man has been accused, to launch a hysterical campaign reminiscent of the stereotypes in Mussolini's racist propaganda. The Rome City

continued on page 2

Government Hands Off ILWU Local 10!

Earlier this month, a U.S. district judge ordered that the capitalist government run the elections in the San Francisco Bay Area International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10. This ruling was the fruit of complaints by two Local 10 members who ran to the Department of Labor to seek redress for having been disqualified from running for union office in the two prior elections. In doing so, they opened the door for the bosses' government to stick its nose into internal Local 10 affairs. Under the pretext of "democratic elections," the Feds will try to cripple Local 10's ability to defend its members. A *WV* salesman reported that longshoremen understand that the Feds are coming after the union because its contract is up next year.

Indeed, the timing of this ruling was no accident. The Local 10 elections occur just before the opening of negotiations for the 2008 contract between the ILWU and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). The capitalist state, acting in the interests of the shipping bosses and the ruling class as a whole, wants to bring the strategically powerful ILWU to heel, as the West Coast ports are vital chokepoints for the booming trade with China, Japan and the entire Pacific Rim. The government's vendetta against the ILWU caries over from the last contract battle in 2002. At the time, "Homeland Security" chief Tom Ridge phoned the ILWU International president to warn that a strike could "threaten national security." The Bush administration threatened to send the military to operate the ports. After the PMA locked out the ILWU from all 29 West Coast ports for ten days, President Bush invoked the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act to force ILWU members back to work.

Now the government is bringing its anti-terror laws directly to the waterfront unions, moving to begin making workers enroll in the Transportation Worker Identification Credential program, with its criminal background checks, at the Port of Oakland this month. Enrollment has already begun in some East and Gulf Coast ports. The bosses' state increasingly invades the workplace in the name of "security"—especially as part of the reactionary "war on terror"—just as it invades the unions in the name of "democracy." What "port security" really means was shown at the Port of Sacramento in August when two black Local 10 longshoremen were pulled from their car, beaten by police and thrown in jail when returning to work after lunch (see *WV* No. 900, 12 October). All labor must demand: Drop the charges against Jason Ruffin and Aaron Harrison now!

The capitalist state—the courts, the cops, the military—is run in the interests of America's Wall Street rulers by their dual parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein was among the first to demand that Bush invoke Taft-Hartley in 2002, and Democratic Party politicians are some of the loudest calling for strengthening "port security." It is an indictment of the ILWU tops that they advocate support to "friends" in the Democratic Party and back government "port security" measures.

The anger of Local 10 members at the government's takeover of their union elections should be directed into a fight for the political independence of the working class from the exploiters, their political parties and the capitalist state. That means a struggle to build a workers party that fights for a workers government. For the unions to become battalions in the struggle against the capitalist profit system, they must break the political chains that tie them to the class enemy. ***Government, courts out of the unions!*** ■

Italy...

(continued from page 1)

Council sent in bulldozers to demolish shanties on the city's outskirts, and the government launched an ethnically based roundup in Roma camps and immigrant neighborhoods. Police departments were mobilized to deport dozens of Roma and Romanian immigrants, and the government announced 5,000 more deportations.

The racist hysteria unleashed by the government has directly fed reactionary right-wing forces. The head of National Alliance, [Gianfranco] Fini, strolled through Rome neighborhoods calling for the deportation of all homeless people and unemployed immigrants, and fascist squads wielding clubs and knives attacked three Romanian immigrants in front of a supermarket. Racist patrols, arson and violent attacks have pounded Roma camps for months. The fascists are a deadly threat to all minorities, immigrants and the working class. ***What is needed are defense guards of workers and immigrants, based on the trade unions, to defend Roma camps and immigrant neighborhoods!***

Although the fascists exploit the occasion to put their genocidal program into practice, the real immoral instigators of the lynching (to use the words of [leftist newspaper] *Il Manifesto*) are sitting in the government in Rome, and they are called the Democratic Party, Rifondazione Comunista & Co.

By attacking the Roma in the name of "security," the government takes aim at an easy target, a marginalized and defenseless minority persecuted for centuries and surrounded by pervasive racist prejudice. The government's real aim is to tighten control on the flow of immigrant labor and to strengthen the repressive powers of the bourgeois state apparatus. The capitalists need a pool of labor that is deprived of rights and can be blackmailed and subjected to threats of deportation in order to increase profits, increase the exploitation of the proletariat and divide it along ethnic lines. In Italy there are 600,000 Romanian immigrants, concentrated in the most exploited and oppressed layers of the proletariat. Such a victim was Ion Cazacu, a construction worker burned to death in the town of Gallarate in 2000 by his Italian "master" for having dared to ask for decent working conditions.

With the extension of the European Union to include Romania and other East European countries, the capitalists fear that immigrants who have formally become European citizens will be more difficult to discriminate against, deport and terrorize than non-EU citizens. The expansion of the European Union is the fruit of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, a historic defeat for the proletariat that reduced these countries to miserable semicolonies of imperialist Europe, prey to interethnic conflicts and nationalist wars.

Restrictions on the right to work and the racist persecutions and deportations that Romanian immigrants are subjected to show the true face of the European imperialist "democracies." For the countries of East Europe, entry into the European Union meant "shock therapy" against workers and minorities and the transformation of those countries into protectorates of the main European imperialist powers (including Italy, one of the main investors in Romania). Just as the racial laws against Slovenians, Croats, Roma and Jews under fascism served the imperial fantasies of the Italian bourgeoisie, so today nationalist revanchism and attacks against immigrants and minorities are part of the bourgeoisie's ambitions to play the role of regional power in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. ***No restrictions against East European workers! Stop the deportations! Down with the capitalist European Union!***

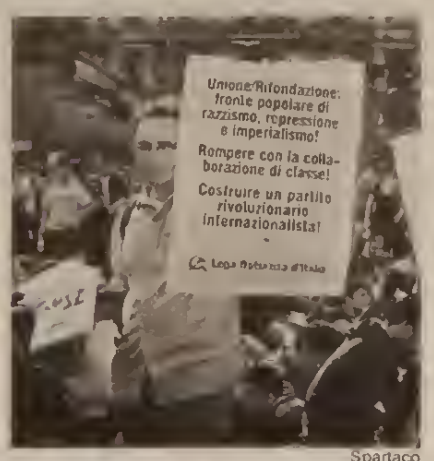
The anti-immigrant decree coincides with a fierce anti-worker offensive symbolized by pension cuts and increased slashing of work contracts. It is necessary to fight for the distribution of all existing work among the entire workforce without any cuts to wages and including an adequate sliding scale of wages. It is necessary to fight for the unionization of all non-unionized workers. The fight for the immediate, basic needs of the working masses must be linked to the perspective of proletarian power and an internationally planned and collectivized economy that places humanity's enormous resources in the service of the masses and not for the profit of a small minority of exploiters. It is in the interests of all workers to defeat the government's racist attacks. An attack on one is an attack on all: ***Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!***

Following approval of the decree, [RC's] *Liberazione* (2 November) denounced the government's measures. What a pity that Rifondazione is ***directly responsible*** for the new "racial laws." RC is part of the government that approved them. Its Minister for "Social Welfare," Paolo Ferrero, voted in favor of the decree and RC leaders defend it. In the end, Rifondazione would be happy with a figleaf amendment to sweeten the repressive decree. These racist laws are ***an integral part of Rifondazione's policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie***. It is not the first time that Rifondazione has approved such laws. The most obvious example is that of the Turco-Napolitano Law of the first Prodi government [1996-98], for which Rifondazione voted and which instituted the CPT ethnic prisons and opened the road to deportations and racist terror. After having withdrawn its support to the first Prodi government, RC then opposed the CPT and the [2002 anti-immigrant] Bossi-Fini Law, but once back in government it continued to support racist laws, imperialist missions (Lebanon and Afghanistan) and anti-worker measures.

The Prodi government is a ***capitalist government***, a variant of what Marxists call popular fronts: coalitions between bourgeois parties and reformist workers parties. We oppose all forms of support to or trust in these governments. We are against any kind of electoral support, however "critical" it may be, to parties of the working class that are in popular fronts. In contrast are the reformist tails of Rifondazione, which all supported the government in the elections: Falcemartello [affiliated with the International Marxist Tendency of the late Ted Grant], the Workers Communist Party [MPCL—affiliated with Jorge Altamira's Coordinating Committee for the Refoundation of the Fourth International] and Sinistra Critica [Critical Left—affiliated with the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel]. These groups also bear responsibility for the government's attacks.

Falcemartello continues to remain inside Rifondazione as the latter sells out working-class interests bit by bit, and this ***in itself*** is class betrayal. From the moment it was clear that RC's credibility in the eyes of workers was at risk, Falcemartello called on RC to quit the government in order to save face. But this operation, doubly criminal, serves only to maintain Rifondazione's authority in the workers movement and to spread the illusion that it is possible to transform RC into a party that fights for the interests of the workers. Even should RC break with the government, as it did in 1998 so as not to lose control of its base, it would do so in order to tie workers to class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Rifondazione Comunista cannot be reformed. It is a bourgeois workers party, with a social base in the workers movement and a pro-capitalist leadership and program. In order to fight for the interests of workers and immigrants, it is necessary ***to break with the class collaboration of Rifondazione, Falcemartello, Sinistra Critica and MPCL.***

The bourgeoisie considers the Roma to be some sort of "subhumans" that they would like to get rid of and that make an easy scapegoat in periods of social and economic crisis. For centuries, the Roma have been persecuted and hunted from one country to another. With the end of the pre-capitalist economy in which they occupied a marginal economic niche as artisans and performing artists, they were thrown to the margins of society, becoming victims of terrible persecutions, bloody pogroms and the Nazi and fascist extermination, ending with the *porrajmos*, the extermination of 500,000 Roma. Capitalism in its phase of decay continues to keep this persecuted people in a state of endemic poverty and segregation. Only socialist revolution will make possible the full integration of Roma into society with full rights, as shown by the example of the October 1917 proletarian revolution in Russia that overthrew capitalist power. The October Revolution destroyed the tsarist empire—that prison house of peoples—and laid the basis for freeing the oppressed nations and ethnic minorities, including the Roma peoples, from the jackboot of Great Russian chauvinism.



Spartaco

April 20: LTd'I at Milan protest against police attacks on Chinese immigrants. Placard denounces "Popular Front of Racism, Repression and Imperialism."

Professing his anti-communist faith, RC leader Nichi Vendola justified the racist stereotypes against Romanians, saying that "during the regimes of Eastern Europe, Romania was a black hole, a conglomeration of moral and material misery" (*Il Manifesto*, 2 November). Even under the grotesque Stalinist regime of Ceaucescu, Romania (as with Tito's Yugoslavia) was a deformed workers state in which the collectivized and nationalized economy guaranteed an unprecedented standard of living and degree of national and ethnic integration. The Roma were recognized as a national minority and had the right to education in their language, besides being relatively integrated into the proletariat, army and state apparatus. It was the counterrevolutionary destruction of those workers states that turned the Balkans, East Europe and the Soviet Union into a conglomerate of interethnic massacres, nationalist genocide and desperate poverty. The current emigration of Roma from Romania is often in order to escape horrible racist persecution.

The LTd'I fought to the end for unconditional military defense of these deformed workers states and the Soviet Union against capitalist counterrevolution, and for a workers political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucratic caste and replace it with a workers soviet government. On the contrary, Falcemartello, Sinistra Critica and the forerunners of the MPCL all sided with the forces of counterrevolution supported by the imperialists, contributing to counterrevolution with all its devastating consequences. The LTd'I fights to build a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that mobilizes the working class at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for a socialist society.■

TROTSKY

The Will to Fight

Fighting to forge Bolshevik workers parties internationally against the powerful currents of "death of communism" ideology, we value Shakespeare's presentation of the struggle for the will to do what must be done.

LENIN

To be, or not to be; that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous
fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And, by opposing, end them. To die,
to sleep—
No more, and by a sleep to say we end
The heartache and the thousand
natural shocks
That flesh is heir to—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep.
To sleep, perchance to dream. Ay, there's
the rub,
For in that sleep of death what dreams
may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil
Must give us pause. There's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life,
For who would bear the whips and scorns
of time,
Th'oppressor's wrong, the proud
man's contumely,
The pangs of disprized love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of th'unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? Who would these
fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscovered country from whose boum
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?
Thus conscience does make cowards of
us all,
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.

—William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act III, Scene 1

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is November 20

No. 903 **23 November 2007**

Monique Code

Jamal Hart (right) with son.

22nd Annual Holiday Appeal

December 16th Committee

Tom Manning

strugglemag

Jaan Laaman

Anarchist Black Cross

Janine Africa

Ben Corbett

Leonard Peltier

Free the Class-War Prisoners!

"The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause that Passes Through a Prison," *Labor Defender*, September 1926

For the past 22 years, the Partisan Defense Committee has been sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression. In doing so, we have revived the tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party and the ILD's first secretary (1925-28). This year, as in years past, the PDC calls on labor activists, fighters for black rights, radical youth and defenders of civil liberties to join us in building our annual Holiday Appeal, which raises funds for this unique program.

The Holiday Appeal benefits will focus particularly on our campaign to mobilize mass protest demanding freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mumia currently awaits a decision by a federal appeals court on whether to reinstitute the death sentence, keep him entombed in prison for life or grant him a new trial or other legal proceedings. For those fighting for Mumia's freedom, there must be no illusions in capitalist "justice." Earlier this year, the capitalist courts again turned down appeals by class-war prisoners Leonard Peltier, Ed Poindexter and Mumia's son Jamal Hart. Build the Holiday Appeal! Free all class-war prisoners!

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." The fight to free America's foremost class-war prisoner has reached a crucial juncture. This past May, oral arguments were heard before the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals—the last stage before the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision could come at any moment.

9 December 2007 marks the 26th anniversary of Mumia's arrest for a killing that the cops know he did not commit. Mumia was framed up for the 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner and sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. More than six years ago, Mumia's attorneys submitted to the courts the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner, but to the racists in black robes, a court of law is no place for evidence of the innocence of this fighter for the oppressed.

Mumia faces the racist death penalty or life in prison because he has always spoken for the oppressed, like the Jena 6 or those left to die in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Workers, immigrants, minorities and all opponents of racist oppression must redouble their efforts to free Mumia now!

Leonard Peltier is an internationally revered class-war prisoner. His incarceration for his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier's frame-up trial for the deaths of two marauding FBI agents in what had become a war zone at the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975 shows what capitalist "justice" is all about. Although the lead government attorney has admitted: "We can't prove who shot those agents," and the courts have acknowledged blatant prosecutorial misconduct, the 63-year-old Peltier is still locked away. In separate lawsuits, early this year federal courts in New York and Minnesota kept under government seal thousands of FBI documents, once again covering up the racist frame-up that has already stolen 30 years of his life.

Jamal Hart. Mumia's son, was sentenced in 1998 to 15½ years without parole on bogus firearms possession charges. Hart was targeted for his prominent activism in the campaign to free his father. Although Hart was initially charged under Pennsylvania laws, which would have meant a probationary sentence, Clinton's Justice Department intervened to have Hart thrown into prison under federal laws. Hart was transferred to Minersville, PA, where prison officials subjected him to repeated provocations and improperly adjusted Hart's security level to deny him transfer to a lower level security facility; a transfer to Loretto, PA, has finally been granted. In October, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals summarily turned down Hart's *habeas corpus* petition which would have freed him after more than ten years in prison.

Eight **MOVE** members, **Chuck Africa, Michael Africa, Debbie Africa, Janet Africa, Janine Africa, Delbert Africa, Eddie Africa** and **Phil Africa**, are in their 30th year of prison. They were sentenced to 30-100 years after the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own cross fire. In 1985, eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops. In 2008, the MOVE prisoners will be eligible for parole, but without massive calls for their freedom can only expect continued imprisonment.

Jaan Laaman and **Thomas Manning** are the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison, convicted for their roles in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings in the late 1970s and '80s against symbols of U.S. imperialism such as military and corporate offices. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Their children were kidnapped at gunpoint by the Feds.

The Ohio 7's politics were once shared by thousands of radicals during the Vietnam antiwar movement and by New Leftists who wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary program and saw themselves as an auxiliary of Third World liberation movements. But, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not a crime. They should not have served a day in prison.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa** are former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were victims of the deadly FBI COINTELPRO operation under which 38 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds more imprisoned on frame-up charges. Poindexter and Mondo, railroaded to prison for a 1970 explosion which killed a cop, were sentenced to life and have now served more than 35 years in jail. In September, a Nebraska court denied a new trial for Poindexter despite the fact that a crucial piece of evidence excluded from the original trial, a long-suppressed 911 audio tape, proved that testimony of the state's key witness was perjured.

Hugo Pinell is the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. He was a militant anti-racist leader of prison rights organizing along with his comrade and mentor, George Jackson, who was gunned down by prison guards in 1971. Despite hundreds of letters of support and no disciplinary write-ups for over 26 years, Pinell has repeatedly been denied parole, most recently in November 2006. Now in his 60s, Pinell continues to serve a life sentence at the notorious Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit in California.

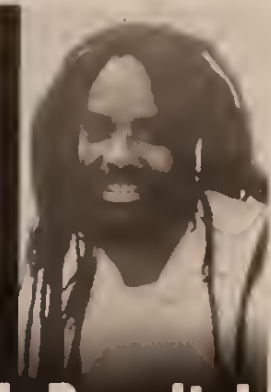
Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeals will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

22nd Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Bay Area
Sunday, December 2
3 to 6 p.m.
Berkeley Fellowship of Unitarian Universalists
1606 Bonita Ave., Berkeley
(1 block east of MLK at Cedar St., near Berkeley BART)
For more information:
(510) 839-0852

Chicago
Sunday, December 9
3 to 7 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
(at Monroe)
For more information:
(312) 563-0442

Los Angeles
Saturday, December 8
2 to 6 p.m.
Immanuel Presbyterian Church
3300 Wilshire Blvd.
(at Berendo Street, 2 blocks west of Vermont/Wilshire Red Line Sta.)
For more information:
(213) 380-8897

New York City
Sunday, December 16
5 to 9 p.m.
CWA Local 1180 Hall
6 Harrison St., Manhattan
(#1 Train to Franklin, west on Franklin to Hudson, 1 block south to Harrison)
For more information:
(212) 406-4252

Toronto
Friday, December 14
7 to 10 p.m.
Steelworkers Hall
25 Cecil Street
(1 block south of College at Ross St., west of Queen's Park Station)
For more information:
(416) 593-4138

Sponsored by the
Partisan Defense Committee
More information:
(212) 406-4252
partisandefense@earthlink.net
www.partisandefense.org

Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

Spartacists at NYC Bryan Palmer Presentation

Defending the Legacy of James P. Cannon

On October 12, social historian Bryan Palmer spoke about his recently published *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* at a meeting sponsored by New York University's Tamiment Library. The event was co-sponsored by the Prometheus Research Library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League. The PRL had made available to Palmer material on the Communist Party of the U.S. and the Communist International in their early Leninist phase, and more generally aided in research for the book. Also co-sponsoring Palmer's talk were the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Socialist Action, the Socialist Equality Party (SEP) and the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT), most of whom (falsely) claim to stand in Cannon's tradition. Other left groups, including the Internationalist Group (IG), Solidarity and the League for the Revolutionary Party, were among the overflow audience of some 120.

As we noted in "A Biography of James P. Cannon" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007), the publication of this book is a major event for us. A founding leader of the American Communist movement and later of American Trotskyism, Cannon was the finest revolutionary yet produced in the United States. Cannon's status at the time of his death in 1974 as National Chairman emeritus of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had abandoned a revolutionary program more than ten years earlier, does not negate his many years as the foremost Leninist leader in this country. As SL National Chairman James Robertson noted in a 1974 memorial meeting for Cannon: "All that comrade Cannon could do—and it was not a personal capacity but was evolved out of his times and out of his battles—was to be the successful strategist and leader of a proletarian revolution in North America!" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 38-39, Summer 1986).

Palmer's book is a substantial addition to the existing published material on Cannon's political evolution and his leadership role in the first decade of American Communism. The study of this period of his life is critical for revolutionaries not only in the U.S. but internationally because of the unique continuity of Leninism-Trotskyism in the U.S., a continuity that was broken in, for example, France and China. In addition to Cannon's writings on the history of American Communism and Trotskyism, the new biography supplements the PRL's own books on Cannon: *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928* (1992) and *Dog Days: James P. Cannon vs. Max Shachtman in the Communist League of America, 1931-1933* (2002).

The Tamiment event was democratically run, with each co-sponsoring organization getting a literature table. After Palmer's 45-minute speech, which recapped the highlights of his book and stressed that Cannon "was the red thread of continuity in the American revolutionary tradition," each co-sponsoring organization had three minutes' presentation time. The floor was then opened for wider discussion. Our comrades relished the all-too-rare opportunity to polemically engage political opponents whose responses usually range from evasion to exclusion or violence.

We stand on the program and legacy of the revolutionary James P. Cannon. The same cannot be said for any of the other co-sponsoring organizations, whose occasional hosannas to Cannon stand in contrast to their anti-revolutionary practices. Against the "unity of the left" swamp, our comrades distinguished themselves as those who stand in the tradition of Cannon, i.e., Bolshevism. We exposed the emptiness of our political opponents' pretenses to stand in the Cannon tradition on two fundamental principles of Leninism-Trotskyism: the need for a complete organizational and political split from reformism and centrism as a precondition for building a revolutionary vanguard workers party, and the unconditional military defense of the Soviet workers state that issued out of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

October 12: Bryan Palmer speaking about his new biography of James P. Cannon at Tamiment Library in New York City.

WV Photo

"Revolutionary Regroupment" ...Out of Defeat?

We took issue with Palmer's call at the end of his presentation for "revolutionary regroupment" among leftists, a sentiment echoed by the BT and Solidarity. Regroupment generally results from big changes in the objective situation, usually victories, and involves a process of splits and fusions. The Bolshevik Revolution (October 1917), toward the end of the terrible world war, impelled hundreds of thousands of former left social democrats, anarchists and syndicalists (Cannon among them) to re-examine their political programs, laying the basis for the founding of the Third (Communist) International and the construction of Communist parties around the world.

Calls for regroupment are hollow in this period of deep reaction, shaped above all by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, a world-historic defeat for the working class. While the bulk of the left internationally either hailed or abetted this defeat, we Spartacists fought to the end against the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East and Central Europe. As Leon Trotsky pointed out to supporters who thought that the Left Opposition's trenchant analysis of the Stalinist betrayal of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution would bring significant recruitment, "our predictions can win some few intellectuals who take an interest in such things, but not the masses" ("Fighting Against the Stream," April 1939).

Talk of regroupment from the mouths of such opponents of the revolutionary working-class movement as those at the Tamiment event can mean only one thing: huddling together as the "left" (or not so left) wing of class collaborationism in whatever liberal, pro-Democratic Party "movement" happens to be popular. In contrast, the SL continues Cannon's fight for the *political independence* of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, its parties and the capitalist state.

Our comrades went into the Tamiment meeting politically armed with the extensive *Spartacist* review. It was telling that seriously addressing Palmer's work, including forthrightly criticizing its weaknesses, was left to the speakers from the PRL, SL and Partisan Defense Committee. The entire event had an odd quality. There was some genuine debate between us and Palmer, while the other groups engaged in abstract and hypocritical praise of Cannon, turning him into a harmless icon.

Sales of Spartacist and PRL literature were brisk. It was noteworthy that many people bought the ICL's new two-volume bulletin, "The Logan Dossier." Bill Logan was expelled from our tendency in 1979 for crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency. Among his crimes, Logan used his organizational position as chairman of our Australian section to break up couples and to try to force a young woman to get an abortion and, failing that, to give up her baby. We published these bulletins to emphasize that a pathological monster like Bill Logan has no place in the workers movement. Yet the BT long ago embraced Logan as its leader. That in itself says everything one needs to know about what this dubious organization means by "regroupment."

On October 20, one week after the Tamiment event, we observed an example of such "regroupment" at a Bay Area Labor Conference to Stop the War, at which Logan masqueraded as a bona fide "workers' leader" from New Zealand and Australia. At that conference, the IG's Jan Norden engaged in an oh-so-polite political exchange with Logan, legitimizing him as part of the workers movement. Long before departing our organization in 1996, Norden had condemned Logan as a "criminally sociopathic individual." But no longer. As we wrote in "Labor Opportunists, Renegades Embrace Bill Logan" (*WV* No. 901, 26 October), "For the IG, embracing Logan, the revolting antithesis of the liberating goals of Marxism, was the admission price, happily paid, into the pro-Democratic Party 'anti-war' swamp in the Bay Area."

Political Bandits and Cannon Bashers

Many of the co-sponsoring organizations had written their own reviews of Palmer's book. The award for the most outrageous dishonesty in a review goes to David North's SEP and its "World Socialist Web Site." The previous incarnation of the SEP, the Workers League, and its parent group, Gerry Healy's International Committee, slandered Cannon as a "prisoner of the reactionary pragmatic and empiricist method" who failed to "master the algebra of revolution" and as an "anti-dialectical" hureaucrat shaped in the school of the degenerating Communist International under Gregory Zinoviev (Michael Banda, *James P Cannon: A Critical Assessment* [1975]). In their sinister "Security and the Fourth International," the Healyites peddled the Stalinist lie that Joseph Hansen and other leaders of Cannon's SWP were complicit in Trotsky's 1940 assassination by a Stalinist agent. (For more on the Healy outfit, see "Healyism Implodes" and other material in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86.) None of these slanders made their way into the SEP's review of Palmer's book by Fred Mazelis titled, "A Fighter for Marxism in America."

While Mazelis waxed lyrical at the Tamiment event about Cannon's fusion of "the strengths of revolutionary syndicalism with the lessons of Bolshevism," the

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RGASPI

Cannon with Red Army soldiers at time of 1928 Sixth Comintern Congress. First issue of the *Militant*, launched in 1928, declares support for International Left Opposition. November 1932 issue of U.S. Trotskyist youth paper salutes 15th anniversary of October Revolution.

Dubious BT's "United Front" Fraud

The Fight for Class-Struggle Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal

We reprint below recent letters from the International Bolshevik Tendency (BT) to sections of the International Communist League and the Partisan Defense Committee, along with replies. The first letter was addressed to the Trotskyist League of Canada. A similar letter was sent to our comrades in Britain.

25 September 2007

Trotskyist League
Toronto, ON

Comrades,

At the Trotskyist League (TL) public forum on 22 September a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) spoke about the continuing struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. During the discussion round I agreed with the idea of organizing a demonstration in Toronto in the event that the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals.

I also agreed with Comrade Tynan of the PDC who proposed that the slogans for such a demonstration should be "Mumia is Innocent!", "Free Mumia!" and "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" These same slogans were in fact the basis of unity for the 75-person demonstration on 17 May that we helped initiate, which was endorsed by a number of organizations. At your meeting we suggested that the PDC's projected protest be organized on a similar basis, i.e., as a united front, and stated our willingness to co-sponsor such an event and seek endorsements from the dozen-odd groups that backed the 17 May demonstration. We believe that the relative success of that protest provides the basis for building a larger mobilization this time.

The TL/PDC speakers did not seem to appreciate the advantages of broadening the appeal of the projected protest by including other groups. TL spokesperson John Masters did say that the IBT and others would be "more than welcome to get involved" with the PDC event, and stated that any groups that participated would be allotted three minutes to speak. This is reasonable enough, but we think that an important opportunity is being missed. Prior to the 17 May demonstration there had been no significant public event for Mumia in Toronto for almost five years. The sponsorship of a broad range of student, black, socialist and anarchist organizations was, in our view, responsible for attracting many individuals to the May demo who might not have attended an event held by only one of the participating groups.

While the 17 May protest had to be organized at the last minute, this time there is an opportunity to hold a preliminary organizing meeting where a basis of unity could be agreed upon (we would push for the same slogans you propose) and a division of labor worked out for publicizing the event and carrying out other practical tasks.

We believe that in any future united-front demonstration each participating group should have a chance to put forward its own distinctive views and criticisms. While the TL/PDC had the largest single contingent at the May event, accounting for almost a third of the crowd, many participants were there because of the endorsements by other organizations.

In our view, a united front involving a number of different groups will broaden the protest's appeal and produce a larger demonstration with more impact. We urge the comrades of the TL/PDC to carefully consider such an approach, rather than attempting to organize an event where you are the sole sponsor.

Yours for Mumia's freedom,
Josh Decker,
for the International Bolshevik Tendency

* * *

10 October 2007

Josh Decker
Bolshevik Tendency, Toronto

We are responding to your September 25 email addressed to the TL. Our call, issued on September 3, to prepare for an emergency protest in Toronto on the slogans "Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" is one of several initiated by the PDC and its fraternal defense organizations internationally in the absence of evident preparation for protest action by other groups, including in Toronto. Subsequently, some other organizations have called protests in other cities, which we have publicized as the information becomes available.

We have long fought for the broadest possible mobilization for Mumia's freedom, centered on the social power of organized labour and with full freedom of criticism for participating organizations. That has entailed political struggle against those who foster deadly illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist state and, correspondingly, seek to denigrate or censor our class-struggle perspective. This is in contrast to your own record of conciliating such forces, including at the May 17 Toronto demonstration where, for example, your speakers declined to mention, much less argue against, the reformists' "new trial" calls that have undermined mobilizations for Mumia's defense. It is in this context that we must take your demand for a "preliminary organizing meeting" to agree a "basis of unity" for Mumia protests.

As our spokesmen reiterated at the September 22 TL forum "Immigrants and minorities: Key to working-class struggle," all groups who agree with the rally slogans—as you say you do—should do their part to build the protest, including by publicizing it, bringing out their members and supporters and distributing their own propaganda if so desired. Groups that do this will of course be granted speaking time, as has always been the norm at such PDC-initiated demonstrations. That is exactly what a united front is. We urge you to direct your efforts to building what will be an urgent action in fighting for Mumia's freedom. Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal—an innocent man!

An updated version of our leaflet calling for the emergency protest is attached.

Chris Simpson
Partisan Defense Committee, Toronto

* * *

9 November 2007

Partisan Defense Committee/
International Communist League

Comrades,

We regret your decision to reject our proposals for united-front demonstrations in Toronto and London in the event of an unfavorable ruling on Mumia Abu-Jamal's current appeal before the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. Rather than seeking to work with other organizations which support Mumia, you seem intent on holding events under your own banner. On 17 May we helped organize an effective united-front emergency action in Toronto to coincide with Mumia's hearing on the basis of three slogans: "Mumia is Innocent!," "Free Mumia!" and "Abolish the racist death penalty!" We believe that this demonstration, in which you participated, provides a model for how "the broadest possible mobilization for Mumia's freedom" can actually be built.

Almost by definition, a demonstration co-sponsored by several organizations working together will have a broader appeal than a protest organized by a single group. As we noted in our 25 September letter, "The sponsorship of a broad range of student, black, socialist and anarchist organizations was, in our view, responsible for attracting many individuals to the May demo who might not have attended an event held by only one of the participating groups." You did not comment on this in your 10 October reply, perhaps because you have a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the May demonstration. While your supporters made up a third of the crowd, your reason for not co-sponsoring it was pretty odd (see "A New Spartacist 'Principle'," www.bolshevik.org, 27 May).

Instead of a united front, you propose that everyone simply follow the International Communist League (ICL) and its Partisan Defense Committee (PDC):

> "[A]ll groups who agree with the rally slogans—as you say you do—should do their part to build the [PDC] protest, including by publicizing it, bringing out their members and supporters and distributing their own propaganda if so desired. Groups that do this will of course be granted speaking time, as has always been the norm at such PDC-initiated demonstrations. That is exactly what a united front is."

Not quite. A real united front is a *joint* initiative by two or more organizations for a common purpose. In a united front one component does not "grant" the others the right to speak. Your comrade Joseph Seymour put it like this:

> "A united front does not refer to any and every kind of cooperation with other political organizations. A united front is essentially a common action characteristically around concrete, usually negative, demands on bourgeois authority. The characteristic organizational form of the united front is a technical coordinating committee."
>
> —"On the United Front Question," 1974

Your approach smacks of a "united front from below" in which one group calls for everyone to unite under its leadership. The problem with this is that people who do not politically identify with a particular tendency often lack enthusiasm for taking its direction, and as a result, mobilizations organized in this fashion tend to be smaller than those that are more broadly based.

It is clear that we have substantial agreement on the essential questions

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WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee contingent at 15 September 2006 Oakland rally called by the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Jennifer Beach

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Court rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues have called for protests the day after the decision. Others have also called for protests.

For more information see the PDC Web site, www.partisandefense.org

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

Part One of this article appeared in WV *No. 901 (26 October) and Part Two in* WV *No. 902 (9 November).*

PART THREE

It was in the wake of the catastrophic defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 that Leon Trotsky generalized his theory and perspective of permanent revolution, which had been borne out by the Russian October Revolution of 1917, to other countries of belated capitalist development. In the period between 1923 and 1925, the Chinese proletariat had not yet emerged as a contender for power. At this time, Trotsky correctly stood for Soviet military aid to the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (GMD) and for a military bloc between the GMD and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) against the warlords, who were agents of one imperialist power or another. His prognosis for colonial revolutions in this period still had the tentative quality of the 1920 Communist International (CI) Second Congress "Theses on the National and Colonial Question," which did not exclude the possibility of a radical bourgeois regime arising for a time in China.

Even as he warned the embryonic Communist movements of the East against adapting to nationalism, Trotsky stated, "There is no doubt that if the Chinese Guomindang party manages to unify China under a national-democratic regime then the capitalist development of China will go ahead with seven-mile strides" ("Perspectives and Tasks in the East," April 1924, reprinted under the headline "Communism and Women of the East" in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007). But in contrast to the Troika of J.V. Stalin, Lev Kamenev and Gregory Zinoviev that stood at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and the CI, Trotsky opposed the CCP's entry into the Guomindang. He insisted that the Chinese Communists maintain their independence and not merge political banners with the bourgeois nationalists.

The Second Chinese Revolution began with the Shanghai Incident of 30 May 1925, when British troops fired into a demonstration protesting repression against strikers, killing 12. In response, a general strike was called in Shanghai, which quickly spread. British goods were boycotted and Chinese longshoremen in Hong Kong bottled up the port. The GMD drove out the local warlord in Canton, but

Kelley & Walsh

Public meeting of Shanghai General Union during workers' takeover of city, Spring 1927.

the growing general strike made a clash between the Chinese bourgeoisie and the proletariat inevitable. In 1925, up to a million workers participated in strikes, many of them directly political in nature. Two years later, Chinese unions counted three million members.

Sun Yat-sen, the founder of Chinese nationalism, had died in 1925. His successor, General Chiang Kai-shek, launched a coup in Canton in March 1926 to crush the proletariat and roll back the CCP's positions within the GMD. In May, Chiang ordered the CCP to turn over a list of its members in the GMD. Key CCP leaders renewed their calls for the party to exit the GMD. But the CI representative, Mikhail Borodin, declared that Communists should do "coolie service" for the GMD and this nationalist party was even admitted to the Comintern as a "sympathizing" section. Only Trotsky voted against this, in the Russian Politburo. The "two-stage revolution" propounded for China by Stalin's Comintern was a rehash of the Mensheviks' servile position in 1917 when they supported, and then entered, the bourgeois Provisional Government—with the added twist that the CCP was liquidated wholesale into the bourgeois Guomindang.

The decisive political events took place the following year in Shanghai. As Chiang's army approached in March, over 500,000 workers staged a general strike, which turned into an insurrection. The workers stormed the police stations and drove the warlords out of the city. The proletariat had Shanghai in its hands, but Stalin ordered the CCP to give Chiang a triumphant welcome as he entered the city on March 26. Two days later Chiang declared martial law. On March 31, as these events were unfolding, Trotsky demanded that the CCP organize soviets and initiate a revolutionary struggle for power. But that same day Stalin & Co. ordered the CCP to hide its weapons. Stalin had ordered a surrender, and Chiang would take no prisoners.

On April 12, Chiang staged a massive coup—tens of thousands of Communists and trade unionists were slaughtered. The Comintern then turned to the Guomindang's "left" faction based in Wuhan and had the CCP enter a coalition government there. But the "left" GMD quickly turned its guns on the CCP and reunited with Chiang.

Faced with Trotsky's scathing criticisms of Stalin's conciliationist policies, as the 15th Congress of the Russian Communist Party opened in December 1927, Stalin cynically called an uprising in Canton. Having fought against Trotsky's call to form soviets at the height of the proletarian upsurge, Stalin now attempted to conjure up a Canton "soviet" out of thin air. The Communist workers, despite their heroic efforts, never had a chance. After the massive defeat in Shanghai, the bulk of the working masses remained passive. The Canton Commune added an estimated 5,700 fatalities to the terrible toll of 1927.

The defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution had a profound impact on the CCP. Retreating to the countryside, the party turned away from the proletariat, transforming itself into a peasant party both in composition and political outlook. When the 1949 Chinese Revolution overthrew capitalist rule, it did so under the leadership of a Stalinized, peasant-based party that established a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in which the proletariat was excluded from political power.

Permanent Revolution and the Joint Opposition

A political assessment of the catastrophic defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution was indispensable, and it was carried out by Trotsky. From March 1926 on, his attention had been focused on China. When he submitted a report to the Politburo on military-diplomatic dangers in the Far East that month, he again proposed that the CCP leave the Guomindang instantly. As noted by the Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher in *The Prophet Unarmed* (1959), Trotsky held that "it was the diplomat's business to make deals with existing bourgeois governments—even with old-time warlords; but it was the revolutionaries' job to overthrow them." This was a declaration of war by Trotsky, the beginning of his direct intervention into Comintern policies in China.

In September 1926, Trotsky argued in "The Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang":

> "The petty bourgeoisie, by itself, however numerous it may be, cannot decide the main line of revolutionary policy. The differentiation of the political struggle along class lines, the sharp divergence between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, implies a struggle between them for influence over the petty bourgeoisie, and it implies the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie between the merchants, on the one hand, and the workers and communists, on the other."

Up until that year, Trotsky had sought to evade the bureaucracy's charge that the theory of permanent revolution was his original sin against Leninism. But now the question of permanent revolution vs. the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-

Winstar

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Left: Workers take over Shanghai as Chiang Kai-shek's forces approach city, 1927. Stalin's 1927 autographed photo (center) dedicated to Chiang "in honor of the victory of the Guomindang and the liberation of China." Right: Tens of thousands were massacred following Chiang's 12 April 1927 coup in Shanghai.

stage" revolution posed the very fate of the Chinese proletariat. As Trotsky would write in a footnote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930): "I found myself compelled to return to this question only at the moment when the epigones' criticism of the theory of the permanent revolution not only began to nurture theoretical reaction in the whole International, but also became converted into a means of direct sabotage of the Chinese Revolution."

For most of the period when the dispute over China raged, Trotsky's Left Opposition was in a political bloc with the Leningrad-based opposition of Zinoviev, who, along with Kamenev, had fallen out with Stalin in late 1925. In "A Critical Balance Sheet: Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 56, Spring 2001) we observed: "Trotsky and Zinoviev-Kamenev shared a theoretical opposition to 'socialism in one country' and an opposition to the pro-peasant economic policies of the Stalin/Bukharin bloc. But they differed on the concretes of Comintern policy."

Within this Joint Opposition there were significant differences over China. Zinoviev had been the chairman of the Comintern until he was removed in October 1926 and thus had heavy responsibility for its early policy in China, including the decision to enter the Guomindang. The Zinovievites opposed the demand raised by Trotsky that the CCP leave the GMD, even after the latter had begun openly carrying out counterrevolutionary policies. And the public line of the Joint Opposition was that of the Zinovievites.

In early 1927, as part of his accommodation with Zinoviev, Trotsky supported the call for a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," a slogan he had rejected two decades earlier in the Russian context. Likewise, the September 1927 platform of the Joint Opposition declared: "Trotsky has stated to the International that on all the fundamental questions over which he had differences with Lenin, Lenin was right—in particular on the questions of the permanent revolution and the peasantry." And by the time the Joint Opposition publicly called for the CCP to leave the Guomindang in the fall of 1927, the question was moot, as all wings of the GMD had turned on the Communists.

It was not until September 1927 that Trotsky unambiguously asserted: "The Chinese revolution at its new stage will win as a dictatorship of the proletariat, or it will not win at all" ("New Opportunities for the Chinese Revolution"). In a 1928 letter to Left Oppositionist Evgeny Preobrazhensky, Trotsky acknowledged:

> "From April to May 1927 I supported the slogan of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry for China (more correctly, I went along with this slogan) inasmuch as the social forces had not as yet rendered their political verdict, although the situation in China was immeasurably less propitious for this slogan than in Russia. After this verdict was rendered by a gigantic historical action (the experience of Wuhan) the slogan of the democratic dictatorship became a reactionary force and will lead inevitably either to opportunism or adventurism." (our translation)

Trotsky summed up the cardinal political lesson of the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution in "The Political Situation in China and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition" (June 1929):

> "*Never and under no circumstances may the party of the proletariat enter into a party of another class or merge with it organizationally.* An absolutely independent party of the proletariat is a first and decisive condition for communist politics."

Zinoviev and Kamenev capitulated to Stalin at the December 1927 15th Party Congress. Some 1,500 Oppositionists were soon expelled and allowed re-entry only on condition of denouncing permanent revolution. This Congress marked the end of the Joint Opposition and sent shock waves into the Left Opposition itself, some of whose members reconciled themselves to the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Preobrazhensky declared, "We, the old Bolsheviks in opposition, must dissociate ourselves from Trotsky on the point of permanent revolution" (quoted in Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Unarmed*).

Crapouillot

1928: Leon Trotsky with Natalya Sedova and son Leon Sedov in exile in Alma Ata, where Trotsky wrote his critique of the draft program of the Comintern and started work on *The Permanent Revolution*.

Trotsky Rearms

In rising to the unprecedented challenge of fighting against the bureaucratic usurpation in the Soviet Union and its catastrophic consequences in China, Trotsky had to grow as a Leninist party leader. A letter left for Trotsky by Adolf Joffe upon his suicide played a key role in stiffening Trotsky's resolve in the struggle to forge the International Left Opposition. (The Stalinists had denied Joffe permission to travel abroad to seek medical treatment.) In his 16 November 1927 letter, Joffe asserted:

> "I have always believed that you lacked Lenin's *unbending will*, his *unwillingness to yield*, his readiness even to remain alone on the path that he thought right in the anticipation of a future majority.... *Politically you were always right*, beginning with 1905, and I told you repeatedly that with my own ears I had heard Lenin admit that even in 1905, *you, und not he*, were right....
>
> "But you have often *abandoned your rightness* for the sake of an overvalued agreement or compromise. This is a mistake."

In his dying words, Joffe confirmed that Lenin had explicitly acknowledged the correctness of the theory of permanent revolution advanced by Trotsky for Russia in 1905. Joffe wrote this just as Trotsky grasped the global validity of permanent revolution. Once and for all Trotsky absorbed Lenin's "policy of irreconcilable ideological demarcation and, when necessary, split, for the purpose of welding and tempering the core of the truly revolutionary party," as he put it in *The Permanent Revolution*, which was framed as a polemic against Karl Radek, one of the former Oppositionists who had capitulated to Stalin.

The programmatic founding document of the international Trotskyist movement was Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the Communist International—A Criticism of Fundamentals" (published in English in *The Third International After Lenin*), a critique of the Stalin/Bukharin draft program submitted to the Sixth CI Congress in 1928. Trotsky sharply drew the lessons of the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution, linking the fight against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution with the defense of permanent revolution as the core of the program for the colonial and semicolonial world. He branded the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" slogan a "noose for the proletariat" and emphatically affirmed that permanent revolution had "been completely verified and proven: in theory, by the works of Marx and Lenin; in practice, by the experience of the October Revolution."

In "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" (also included in *The Third International After Lenin*), Trotsky noted that in the brief time that Communist workers held power in Canton, their program included workers control of production, nationalization of large industry, the banks and transportation, "and even the confiscation of bourgeois dwellings and all bourgeois property for the benefit of the toilers." He asked: "If these are the methods of a bourgeois revolution then what should the proletarian revolution in China look like?"

Trotsky explained permanent revolution as the *antithesis* of "socialism in one country":

> "It is precisely here that we come up against the two mutually exclusive standpoints: the international revolutionary theory of the permanent revolution and the national reformist theory of socialism in one country. Not only backward China, but in general no country in the world can build socialism within its own national limits."
>
> —*The Permanent Revolution*

In his November 1929 introduction to the first Russian edition of *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky noted, "The socialist revolution begins on national foundations—but it cannot be completed within these foundations. The maintenance of the proletarian revolution within a national framework can only be a provisional state of affairs, even though, as the experience of the Soviet Union shows, one of long duration. In an isolated proletarian dictatorship, the internal and external contradictions grow inevitably along with the successes achieved. If it remains isolated, the proletarian state must finally fall victim to these contradictions."

Hundreds of young CCP cadre studying in Moscow were won to the Left Opposition. But it was not until after the beheading of the proletariat in April 1927 that CCP leaders in China like Chen Duxiu learned of Trotsky's fight. By then Chen, the founding leader of Chinese Communism, had been made the scapegoat for the bloody disaster Stalin's class collaborationism had wrought. Though isolated, Chen still had many defenders among the top party cadre, who shared his view that liquidation into the Guomindang had been behind the defeat. They had heard of factional fights in the Russian party but had no idea what they were about. When they finally read Trotsky's critique of the Stalinist betrayal in China, Chen and many others were won to Trotskyism. While Chen had implemented the Comintern's disastrous line, he had thought through his mistakes, which made him a better communist.

Many Chinese Trotskyists were killed by Stalin's regime. By the late 1930s, to consolidate his position atop the bureaucracy that had usurped control of the Soviet party and state, Stalin had murdered or otherwise eliminated virtually every one of the surviving "old Bolshevik" cadres.

In China, the Trotskyists sought to maintain roots within the urban working class under extremely onerous conditions. On top of Chiang's counterrevolutionary terror came the murderous occupation of China by Japanese imperialism. As we noted in "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997): "The 1930s did see some sporadic workers' economic struggles in Shanghai and Hong Kong, in which the Trotskyists played leading roles. However the general prostration of the working masses, whose trade unions and other legal organizations had been smashed, took a great political toll."

RGASPI

Chen Duxiu, Chinese Communist Party founding leader, in 1922.

SACP's "Two-Stage" Menshevism

In the aftermath of the Chinese debacle, the Stalinized Comintern proclaimed the imminence of the world revolution and embarked on its sectarian, pseudo-leftist "Third Period" course, abjuring united fronts with other workers organizations and building "red trade unions" in counterposition to the existing unions led by social democrats and others. The Third Period was driven largely by the domestic circumstances faced by the Soviet bureaucracy. A threatened counterrevolutionary rising by the wealthier peasants (kulaks) led Stalin to break from his rightist, conciliationist policies, which were articulated particularly by his ally Nikolai Bukharin. Stalin now borrowed from the Left Opposition's program of collectivization and planned industrialization—albeit carried out by the bureaucracy in an arbitrary, adventurist manner and at breakneck pace. This turn facilitated the capitulation of leading Oppositionists like Radek and Preobrazhensky.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy never

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Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Trotskyist Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of October Revolution, 1928. Banner on left reads: "Turn the Fire to the Right—Against the Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat."

Cannon...

(continued from page 4)

SEP had written an article that joined the bosses in calling to keep the United Auto Workers out of non-union plants (see "Northites' Scab Line on UAW," *WV* No. 901, 26 October)! As the SL speaker at the event stated, "There's a [four-letter] word for that, and it begins with 's' and it ends with 'b'."

In his remarks, Mazelis had the gall to denounce Stalinist gangsterism. This from a group that is infamous for its thuggery against leftist political opponents and whose international organization received nearly £1,000,000 in blood money from bourgeois Arab regimes over a seven-year period in the 1970s, hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Iraqi Ba'athist regime in 1979 and criminally photographed protest demonstrations of Iraqi militants in Britain at the time and turned the photos over to the Iraqi embassy! True to form, Mazelis threatened one of our female comrades with violence at the end of the Tamiment event.

"There Is No Family of Cannonism"

As the Prometheus Research Library brochure states, "The purpose of the PRL is to collect, preserve and make available the historical record of the international workers movement and to assist Marxist scholarship. It is both a strength and weakness of the PRL that it is necessarily centered upon the work and interests of the American Communist and Trotskyist movement." The PRL's collection grew out of the 40-year accumulated holdings of James Robertson.

The revolutionary party must act as the memory of the working class. Elaborating on one of the themes of the *Spartacist* review, the PRL speaker remarked that in his talk Palmer continued to pursue the methodology of "seeing Cannon as a representative of something called the revolutionary left in its age of innocence, before Stalinism brought corruption and abandonment of revolutionary purpose of the workers movement. But to say that there was some kind of mythical age of innocence denies, for example, the important watershed of 4 August 1914." It was from that time that most of the parties of the Second International—with such notable exceptions as the Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian parties—"betrayed Marxist internationalism by supporting their own bourgeoisies in World War I."

She pointed out that in Palmer's book "there is no real feel for the international context in which the Communist Party of the United States was founded, of the irreconcilable struggle against social-chauvinism and reformism that was required." Palmer did not mention social democracy in his remarks, an omission that benefited the other co-sponsoring organizations, whose politics are at bottom or overtly social-democratic, or worse. The PRL speaker concluded: "Cannon became a Leninist because he saw the need for a hard split—not unity, *split*—both organizationally and politically with reformism. That's the program that the International Communist League continues to stand on. There is no family of Cannonism."

In the discussion round, the speaker for the SL counterposed Cannon's legacy of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union to our opponents' open support for capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of October. She noted that in 1993 the PRL published Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian, adding, "We returned to Russia the very material that won Cannon to Trotskyism in 1928 and we used it as a living document to fight against the current of counterrevolution that had swept East Europe and the Soviet Union.... There is a lot of anti-Stalinism in this room and not much of a defense of the Soviet Union against counterrevolution. Today, the expression of this is in defense of China, and if you search the Web you will not see very much about China among our opponents."

She continued, "It is hard to have revolutionary unity when you are on opposite sides of the barricades." Socialist Action, she pointed out, adopted its newspaper masthead from Polish Solidarność, a counterrevolutionary movement backed by the CIA, imperialist bankers and the Vatican that was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. Those who would go on to form the BT in the early 1980s quit our organization, turning tail as U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War II drive was heating up. For its part, our comrade noted, the SEP "supported every imperialist-inspired force aimed at destroying the gains of the 1917 Revolution."

The BT's Toronto leader, Tom Riley, provided inadvertent confirmation of the importance of the Russian question as a litmus test for proletarian revolutionaries, declaiming: "One of the differences we'd have with the Spartacist League, just for example, is we don't think it's a good idea to build a Trotskyist organization by marching around holding high the name of Yuri Andropov, who happened to be the Stalinist butcher of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956."

The "Yuri Andropov Brigade" was what we dubbed one of the buses going to Washington, D.C., for the 27 November 1982 SL-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from marching. Naming a brigade after the then Soviet leader was a jibe at the large number of ex-members who joined the mobilization and a semi-jocular way to thumb our noses at Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet "Evil Empire" hysterics. And it threw the founders of the BT into paroxysms of Stalinophobia.

Riley neglected to note the BT's belated and programmatically more substantial denunciation of our call "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We prominently raised this slogan when the Soviet Union intervened into Afghanistan in 1979 against CIA-backed *mujahedin* Islamic reactionaries. The purpose of the Soviet intervention was to defend its southern border and to aid a left-nationalist government that was instituting social reforms particularly beneficial to Afghanistan's hideously oppressed women. While initially claiming to agree with this slogan, the BT subsequently rejected it for the same reason it griped about the Andropov brigade: to get in good with the reformist swamp defined by capitulation to bourgeois anti-Sovietism.

The BT's position on Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in the Soviet Union in 1991 was born of the same impulse. While the ICL distributed tens of thousands of copies of our Russian-language call, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" the BT rushed to write off the USSR as lost before the Soviet working class could show whether it would fight to defend its workers state (see our *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* bulletins, the 1995 ICL pamphlet *The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?* and numerous articles on the BT in our indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard*).

WV Photo

January 1992 Spartacist protest outside Federal Reserve Bank in New York City, where Boris Yeltsin was feted by his Wall Street paymasters. ICL fought to mobilize Soviet workers against capitalist counterrevolution.

Class-Struggle Defense Work, Then and Now

The founders of the BT steered clear of the 1982 D.C. anti-Klan mobilization, dismissing our struggle against racial oppression. Howard Keylor, a supporter of what would become the BT, denounced our supporters in his union newsletter *Militant Longshoreman* (4 February 1983) for turning "away from the unions and towards the unemployed, particularly in the ghettos."

At the Tamiment meeting, a spokesman for the PDC, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, addressed the importance of the fight for black liberation as a motor force for proletarian revolution in the U.S.:

> "As Cannon explained in his essay, 'The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement': 'Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow, after the revolution of 1917 ...not only for the American communists who responded directly, but for all others concerned with the question.' The Bolsheviks hammered at the American Party that this was the crucial question for the American revolution. This has infused our work from the beginning."

The PDC speaker underlined that "this is not the perspective of the Bolshevik Tendency," pointing out that the BT resembles the early American socialist movement in its indifference to the fight for black liberation.

He also addressed the way in which Palmer's book treated Cannon's work in the International Labor Defense (ILD), the Communist Party's class-struggle defense organization. Referring to "80th Anniversary of Legal Lynching: Lessons of the Fight to Free Sacco and Vanzetti" (*WV* Nos. 897 and 898, 31 August and 14 September 2007), the PDC speaker stated that while we appreciate Palmer's chapter on the ILD, Palmer neglected "the polemical aspect of Cannon's work: his furious struggles against the obstacles in the way of unleashing the type of labor power needed to win freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti." Cannon "denounced the labor tops who sabotaged strike action and the reformists who peddled illusions in bourgeois justice. The ILD fought against those who demanded the replacement of the movement of the masses by the movement of the lawyers. He argued to put the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers as against the policy of respectability, of the soft-pedal."

The PDC speaker underlined that we apply the lessons of the ILD's struggles to our work today, including especially the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. In stark contrast, reformist groups like Socialist Action and Solidarity play the same role today as the social democrats did in Cannon's time, seeking to derail the struggle for Mumia's freedom into the dead-end strategy of subordinating the call to free this innocent man to appeals for a "new trial."

Palmer acknowledged, "On the failure of my chapter on the ILD to address the polemical side, I'll have to go back and read that again and think through that. I think there is something to that critique and I may have softened that unduly." At the same time, Palmer in his conclusion linked his non-polemical portrayal of united-front defense work to his call for revolutionary regroupment. The BT jumped on these remarks to push a "united front" fraud around Mumia's case (see article, page 5). In an announcement at the end of the meeting, one of our supporters challenged the organizations in attendance to put their money where their mouths are and "bring your people out" to the emergency protests called by the PDC if the Third Circuit Court of Appeals hands down a negative decision against Mumia.

Program Is Primary

The BT's Tom Riley spoke in support of Palmer's call for regroupment: "When

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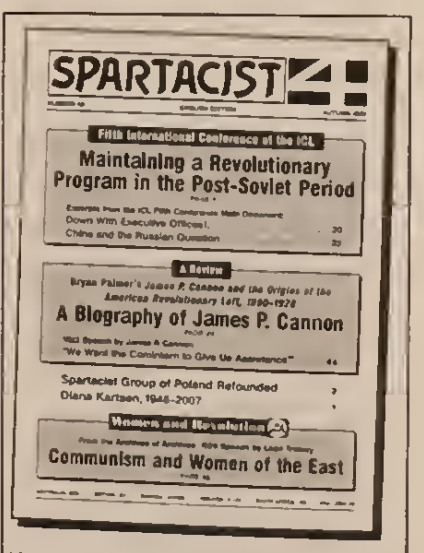

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Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

wavered from its nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," and in the countries of belated capitalist development, it deepened and codified the stagist, liquidationist line that led to the betrayal of the Chinese Revolution. This was recently brought home at a congress in July 2007 of the South African Communist Party (SACP), where a document submitted by the party's leadership quoted the following passages from a resolution of the 1928 Sixth CI Congress:

> "Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organization against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organizations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organization [we repeat: "*developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organization*"].... The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa...constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa."
>
> —Political report of the SACP's 11th Congress Central Committee as tabled before the 12th Congress (brackets and emphasis in original)

In harking back to the Comintern Sixth Congress, the SACP leadership today offers a fig leaf of historical legitimacy for its continuing subordination to the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and for the SACP's participation in the capitalist ANC-led Tripartite Alliance—a nationalist popular front that came to power in 1994, signaling the end of apartheid rule. This is the "orthodoxy" not of Lenin's Bolshevism but of Stalinist betrayal. In South Africa, where the capitalist class is white (now including a handful of others), the fundamental class divide is hugely distorted by the lens of racial color. The SACP uses this historic characteristic of South African society to much more openly and shamelessly advance its class-collaborationist alliance with the ANC.

It was necessary for revolutionary Marxists to give *military* support to the ANC in its struggle against the white-supremacist apartheid regime, in the same vein that the Second Congress of the Comintern called for supporting national liberation struggles against the imperialist powers. But the Stalinists mandated *political* support to what was a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. Today the bourgeois ANC and its SACP partner administer neo-apartheid capitalism, enforcing the brutal exploitation of the mainly black proletariat on behalf of the white South African Randlords and their senior partners on Wall Street and in the City of London. Today as before, the struggle for national liberation can be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution in South Africa. But the precondition for victory is the political independence of the proletariat from all wings of the bourgeoisie.

Werner Beukes/SAPA (above), Die Burger (right)

Black South African cops fire at Soweto residents, September 3. Communist Party leader Charles Nqakula runs police as Minister of Safety and Security.

To justify its participation in the government, the SACP has to pretend that the Tripartite Alliance is not a bourgeois government. The SACP claims that "the post-1994 democratic state is not inherently capitalist, it is, in fact, a sharply class-contested reality" and that the workers can somehow achieve "hegemony" or control over that state. To maintain any claim to the mantle of communism, the SACP leadership has to falsify the experience of the October Revolution. In "Lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution" (*Umsebenzi* online, 6 November 2002), the SACP states:

> "We have to move away from the illusion, in our circumstances, of the 'total' seizure of power, or of the 'complete' rupture with the global system. We also have to move away from the idea that there is a Chinese Wall between the tasks of the national democratic revolution, and the tasks of advancing towards socialism.... We need to approach the ongoing national democratic revolution to liberate the black majority, Africans in particular, as a complex, dialectical process that must, necessarily, have anti-imperialist, non-capitalist features if it is to succeed at all.
>
> "There are the lessons which we believe can be derived, in part, from the great Bolshevik Revolution and its consequences."

What the SACP denounces as an "illusion" is the proletarian seizure of power and the "complete" overthrow of the yoke of global imperialism, as part of a fight for world socialist revolution. To mask the class nature of the South African capitalist state and to cover over its own hostility to Bolshevism, the SACP leadership holds out the promise that the "national democratic revolution" is something that grows over organically into socialism. In 1917, the bourgeois Provisional Government in Russia did not grow over into a socialist regime but was overthrown by the Bolshevik-led proletarian insurrection. Only when the bourgeois state was smashed and replaced by soviet power—the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry—was it possible to fulfill the tasks of the democratic revolution. Trotsky himself debunked this "growing over" conception in 1931, when, as now, it was a justification for ostensible socialists giving political support to bourgeois formations:

> "It is not the bourgeois power that grows over into a workers' and peasants' and then into a proletarian power; no, the power of one class does not 'grow over' from the power of another class, but is torn from it with rifle in hand. But after the working class has seized power, the democratic tasks of the proletarian regime inevitably grow over into socialist tasks. An evolutionary, organic transition from democracy to socialism is conceivable only under the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. This is Lenin's central idea."
>
> —"The Spanish Revolution and the Dangers Threatening It," 28 May 1931

The proletariat's pursuit of its class interests requires not only organizational independence from capitalist parties like the ANC but also political *opposition* to them. Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), raises the call to break with the Tripartite Alliance and to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights for a black-centered workers government. This does not mean placing in power a labor government that administers capitalism, like the British Labour governments, but a revolutionary struggle that overthrows the capitalist order.

South African reality starkly demonstrates the need for permanent revolution. The proletariat is brutally exploited in the mines and factories. In the countryside, millions of black people are relegated to desperate poverty in what were formerly the bantustans, while productive land is owned overwhelmingly by white farmers who depend on black laborers toiling for next to nothing. The AIDS pandemic that continues to ravage South Africa demands a fight for quality public health care, including access to free anti-retrovirals, and a struggle against the destitution as well as the religious and anti-woman backwardness that have fueled the spread of the disease. The extent of AIDS throughout sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere and the need to marshal all available scientific resources, especially in the advanced industrialized countries, to combat it demand breaking from the narrow framework of bourgeois nationalism. Adequate housing for millions in the townships and shantytowns, electricity and clean water for the entire population, free quality education, the eradication of *lobola* (the bride price) and female genital mutilation: these desperately needed measures require the socialist transformation of the economy and society under a dictatorship of the proletariat, fighting to promote socialist revolution internationally.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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the left can work together on things we agree with, then it should be possible for us to discuss intelligently, seriously, and in a way that James P. Cannon would—inside his organization as well as with other organizations—what are the real substantial differences that stand between us. And on that basis, it may well be possible that many of the people in the room tonight who are in different opponent organizations may one day be in common organizations."

Riley was appealing for "unity" to an audience that consisted largely of groups that share the BT's crass Stalinophobic appetites. For our part, we find such smarmy appeals for "unity" grotesque coming from a group whose history consists of one provocation after another against us, a group that has dedicated itself to our destruction. Bill Logan's BT is the antithesis of Cannon's Leninist legacy.

From its inception, our international tendency has pursued genuine opportunities for revolutionary regroupment—including in the 1970s with such groups as the Buffalo Marxist Collective and Red Flag Union in the U.S. and the organization led by veteran Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody in Sri Lanka. Our efforts yielded the core cadre that founded sections of our tendency in Australia, Canada, Europe, Japan and elsewhere, laying the basis for the ICL. While we had some successful regroupments with left factions and tendencies—particularly from the United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel—we discovered that no other organization stood on the program and principles of Trotskyism. This was sharply demonstrated by the fact that the ICL stood alone on the left in fighting against the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1989-90 and against the final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has led to a profound retrogression in proletarian consciousness, albeit uneven in its impact around the world. Today, even politically conscious workers in capitalist countries by and large no longer identify their struggles with the ultimate aim of achieving a socialist society. Against the prevailing howl of bourgeois ideologues that "communism is dead," we are committed to the hard task of explicating the basic principles and worldview of Marxism as we intervene into class and other social struggles. As Trotsky noted in "Stalinism and Bolshevism" (1936):

> "Great political defeats inevitably provoke a reconsideration of values, generally occurring in two directions. On the one hand the true vanguard, enriched by the experience of defeat, defends with tooth and nail the heritage of revolutionary thought and on this basis attempts to educate new cadres for the mass struggle to come. On the other hand the routinists, centrists, and dilettantes, frightened by defeat, do their best to destroy the authority of revolutionary tradition and go backward in their search for a 'New Word'."

Having led the proletariat to the seizure of power, the Bolsheviks saw further from the heights they achieved. In today's deep trough, it is the responsibility of Marxist revolutionaries to defend the programmatic lessons of the Russian Revolution and the early Communist International. We are guided by Trotsky's admonition in "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

> "In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow, it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

The proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist road charted by Lenin and Trotsky was the cause to which James P. Cannon devoted the bulk of his life. The ICL seeks to maintain and extend that tradition in our fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. We proclaim, as Cannon once did, "We are the party of the Russian Revolution!" ■

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BT...

(continued from page 5)

regarding Mumia's case. We have publicly acknowledged the PDC's very important contributions, particularly your role in proving Mumia's innocence by unearthing the truth about how and why Officer Daniel Faulkner was killed. In *The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal* we saluted the PDC's opposition to "attempts by liberals and reformist leftists to change the political axis of the campaign from a fight to free Mumia to one of re-trying him."

Unfortunately, your record has, at times, been marred by sectarianism. An outstanding example was your refusal to march in the large 24 April 1999 demonstrations for Mumia in San Francisco and Philadelphia (see "Disagreeable Sectarians," *1917* No. 21 and *Whatever Happened to the Spartacist League?*). While you later acknowledged that this was indeed a mistake, your current rejection of a united-front approach reveals the same sectarian impulse.

In the letter from your Toronto comrades rebuffing our proposal, you refer to "those who foster deadly illusions in the 'justice' of the capitalist state," and claim that we have a:

> "record of conciliating such forces, including at the May 17 Toronto demonstration where, for example, your speakers declined to mention, much less argue against, the reformists' 'new trial' calls that have undermined mobilizations for Mumia's defense. It is in this context that we must take your demand for a 'preliminary organizing meeting' to agree a 'basis of unity' for Mumia protests."

While we have co-sponsored events to demand Mumia's freedom with people who do not share our view of the capitalist "justice" system, we have never raised or supported the demand for a "new trial," as you well know. At the 17 May Toronto protest our spokesperson explicitly criticized the idea that working people and the oppressed can expect justice from the bourgeois courts:

> "[Mumia's] case is a *political* one and it is through a *political* struggle in the workers' movement and oppressed that his freedom can be won. We should have no faith in the capitalist courts. That said, every possible legal avenue must be pursued to save Mumia's life, but the best way to protect him is by using the frame-up to expose the entire corrupt capitalist judicial system."

No reasonable person could interpret this as "conciliating" those "who foster deadly illusions in the 'justice' of the capitalist state."

In a 10 October letter to our comrades in London, Kate Klein of the PDC claimed that the "Mumia Must Live!" (MML) united front that we participated in had also "conciliated" advocates of a new trial. In fact, every MML event was organized on the basis of two slogans: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" and "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" We did not seek to exclude those who push the demand for a new trial, though we have a record of consistently arguing against it. MML organized a rally of 1,000 on 4 March 2000—by far the largest demonstration for Mumia in Britain to date. As we reported in *1917* No. 22, the question of adding the demand for a "new trial" was proposed and rejected by the united-front committee:

> "In the course of building the March demonstration there were several intense discussions within Mumia Must Live!, particularly after the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) joined. The SWP contributed significant resources, and has given MML a much higher profile. At the same time, SWPers have made several attempts to include, as part of MML's basis of unity, a demand for the U.S. courts to retry Mumia. Our comrades and some of the anarchists were opposed to including this demand, and after some to-ing and fro-ing, the SWP relented, and agreed to only raise it in their own name."

While we think that united-front efforts are preferable, we will actively participate in events in defense of Mumia, regardless of how, or by whom, they are organized.

Yours for Mumia's Freedom!
Josh Decker,
for the IBT

WV replies:

Mumia Abu-Jamal's life hangs in the balance as the Third Circuit Court of Appeals decides whether to uphold the death sentence, keep him in prison for life or grant him a new trial or further court hearings. Recognizing the urgency of the situation and with no evidence of any actions being planned by others, in late August the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S. issued a call for emergency protests in the event of a negative decision as several of our fraternal legal and social defense organizations internationally did subsequently. Since then, other organizations have also called protests which we have advertised, including a national demonstration to be held in Philadelphia on the third Saturday after a negative decision.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays

• • •

Despite the GOP Revolution, Radical Groups Can't Win Converts to Their Brand

...led by Angela Davis ...
...ner Communist Party USA member.
The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as "Jimstown," a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide.

U.S. finance capital's house organ retailed BT slanders of Spartacist League in 1995 in attempt to undermine mass protest movement for Mumia.

Several weeks after we first put out the call for emergency protests, our comrades in Toronto and London received letters from the International Bolshevik Tendency arguing that a united-front committee be established, or alternately "a preliminary organizing meeting" be held, in order to "produce a larger demonstration with more impact." In responding, we noted the BT's professed agreement with the central slogans of these protests—"Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man! Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!"—and pointed out that the BT should do its part to publicize the protests, bring out its own members and supporters, with its own signs and banners, distribute its own propaganda and have its own speakers. The whole purpose of the united front is to mobilize *in action*, and that is precisely what we urged the BT to do.

But actually mobilizing for Mumia was not the intent behind the BT's letters. The proof is the simple fact that *the BT has not produced a single written announcement or flyer mobilizing support for Mumia in the run-up to a court decision*. It does seem that the BT was shamed by our challenge at an October 12 New York City meeting featuring Bryan Palmer, author of a recent biography of James P. Cannon, to put its money where its mouth was (see article page 4). At a subsequent BT meeting in Toronto, it announced the PDC's emergency protest. But as of now you can check "Mumia Abu-Jamal" or look under "what's new" on the BT's Web site and not find a word about the protests called by the PDC or anyone else for that matter.

On November 5, the PDC in the Bay Area received an e-mail from the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal (LACMAJ), in which the BT is a prominent player, announcing, as if it were late-breaking news, that there could be an imminent negative decision in Mumia's case and urging emergency protests. Nary a mention was made that such protests have already been called in the Bay Area—by the PDC in Oakland and by the Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal in San Francisco. More than a week earlier, at an October 27 Bay Area "Labor Conference to Stop the War" which was mainly organized by International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 executive board member and LACMAJ spokesman Jack Heyman and which heard taped greetings from Mumia, PDC and SL supporters had agitated for participants to come out for the emergency protests. Then on November 17 we received an e-mail from LACMAJ announcing both the San Francisco and Oakland protests. Go figure. For our part, we welcome the mobilization of all those committed to the fight for Mumia's freedom.

In the meantime, on November 9—two months after we first issued our protest calls—we received the above letter from the BT denouncing the PDC for rejecting their "proposals for united-front demonstrations in Toronto and London"! The cynicism is mind-boggling, but the purpose is clear: to portray the PDC as "sectarian" saboteurs of mobilizations for Mumia's freedom.

This is hardly the first time we have been on the receiving end of such charges by the BT, an organization led by the twisted sociopath Bill Logan that has throughout its existence pursued an unnatural and hostile obsession with our organization. Significantly, in August 1995, at the height of the mass protests nationally and internationally that were key in winning a stay of execution for Mumia, *WV* received a letter from the BT accusing us of undermining "the effort required to save Mumia from the executioner's needle" (see "Poison Pen Pals," *WV* No. 627, 25 August 1995). The PDC and International Communist League had been fighting for eight years to spark an international campaign in Mumia's defense while supporting legal means pursued on his behalf. This effort, together with that of others and, not least, Mumia's own powerful writings, was successful in igniting the mass protests that stayed the executioner's hand. At the time, one of the few organizations on the left that had not made Mumia's cause a banner headline was the Bolshevik Tendency.

The BT had, however, made a press splash around Mumia's case—in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. In a 16 June 1995 article, this house organ of U.S. finance capital retailed the BT's slanders of the Spartacist League as a deranged "cult" in order to smear the efforts of the PDC and others on Mumia's behalf. The *Wall Street Journal*'s intent was transparent enough. How and why the minuscule BT was readily wielded as a tool for the *Wall Street Journal* is not. In any case, this anti-communist smear job did not bother the BT, whose response was to write a treatise attacking...the PDC and SL for "sectarian behavior" that "truly sabotages the fight for Mumia's freedom"!

SPARTACIST
Imperialist Frenzy Over Afghanistan
Hail Red Army!
Winter 1979-80

Spartacists hailed Soviet intervention against reactionary Afghan *mujahedin*. BT was founded by quitters who abandoned our party in the face of anti-Soviet war drive.

And to whom is the BT playing today? They cry foul at our indictment of their conciliation of the reformists' call for a "new trial" as the basis of demonstrations for Mumia. The BT's defense? They cite the words of their speaker at a May 17 Toronto rally for Mumia who never mentioned, much less politically exposed, the call for a "new trial"—a demand that was explicitly raised by other speakers at the protest. This is not simply a question of words. As the PDC speaker at that protest explained, as new evidence of Mumia's innocence came out from 1995 to 1999, "the reformist left groups...started to call for a 'new trial' for Mumia. Instead of mobilizing to free this innocent victim of a racist frame-up, they mobilized on the basis that he could get a new and fair trial from the same courts that put him on death row in the first place. But they're wrong!" ("Class Struggle to

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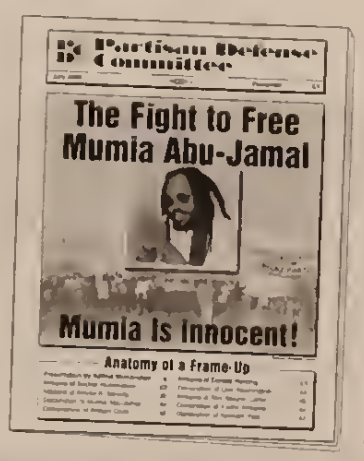
Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.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Free Mumia!" *Spartacist Canada* No. 153, Summer 2007).

What is posed is a contest of two fundamentally counterposed strategies. The first sows deadly illusions in the capitalist courts—illusions that have served to demobilize a mass movement in his defense. The second is our class-struggle fight to re-ignite mass protests for Mumia's freedom centered on the social power of the multiracial working class. Our policy of class-struggle defense is based on the Marxist understanding that capitalist society is fundamentally divided into two classes—a tiny minority that owns the means of production and the workers whose labor they exploit—and that the capitalist state serves to defend the rule and profits of the exploiters. We fight for mass protest based on labor's social power, which lies in its ability to choke off the profits that are the lifeblood of capitalism. Our fight for Mumia's freedom is predicated on *opposition* to the racist cops, courts and prosecutors of the capitalist state who conspired in a monstrous frame-up to silence forever this eloquent and defiant fighter for the oppressed.

In regard to our self-criticism over the April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" protests, we wrote in "A Hard Look at Recent Party Work and Current Tasks" (*WV* No. 841, 4 February 2005), "We should have made clear our political opposition by organizing 'Free Mumia' contingents in the demonstrations organized by liberals and reformists." In other words, while mobilizing our forces to participate in the protest we missed an opportunity to politically combat those who subordinate the fight to free Mumia to the call for a new trial. That includes the Labor Action Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—an organization that from its inception has been supported by the BT—which issued an international appeal to build rallies on 24 April 1999 around two central demands: "Stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal" and "A new and fair trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

On the united front, James P. Cannon—the founder of American Trotskyism and secretary of the early International Labor Defense (ILD), whose class-struggle, non-sectarian defense work is the model for the work of the PDC—put it well: "The united front, as Lenin taught it, is a means of mobilizing the masses and leading them in the direction of the revolution. It is not a 'partnership' with reformists, but a form of struggle against them" ("Limits of the United Front," *Militant*, 1 April 1931).

This is a far cry from the BT's notion of the "united front," which is devoid of the struggle of counterposed political programs and strategies aimed at advancing the consciousness of the working class. What the BT has in mind, rather, is a peace treaty with the reformists and liberals against a common enemy—us. Its letter to the Trotskyist League of Canada gives the game away with its call for a "preliminary organizing meeting where a basis of unity could be agreed upon." Since the BT claims to agree with our slogans centered on Mumia's innocence and the fight for his freedom, what is there to "negotiate" as a "basis of unity" other than to conciliate the "new trial" reformists and liberals?

We can't resist noting that the rules of the BT's cynical "united-front" game were different when it was a matter of determining the "basis of unity" for the May 17 Toronto protest. We were never invited to any meeting—the first we heard of the protest was an e-mail with a draft flyer from something called the "May 17th Committee to Free Mumia." But that was of no consequence for us. We agreed with the central slogans, which were those that the PDC has historically fought for, and set out to help build this protest with our own call for people to mobilize.

The BT now darkly intones that "perhaps...you have a somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the May demonstration," and then in the next breath points out that the PDC contingent was a "third of the crowd"! So what is the evidence of our purported "ambivalence"? That we did not add our name to the call by the "May 17th Committee." As our comrades in the Trotskyist League wrote in "Class Struggle to Free Mumia!" the condition for doing so was to endorse "a lowest-common-denominator 'statement' which, reflecting the BT's longstanding indifference to the fight for black freedom, could not even choke out that Mumia was a former Black Panther and a supporter of the MOVE organization."

This is hardly surprising. The BT also could not choke out a word of protest against the firebombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia in 1985, carried out by the Philly cops under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode in collusion with Reagan's FBI. Eleven black people, including five children, were killed and an entire black neighborhood burned to the ground. When the Spartacist League organized a New York memorial meeting in solidarity with the victims of this racist atrocity, the BT attacked us for not polemicizing against MOVE's philosophy!

Since its inception in the early 1980s as a clot of embittered ex-members of our organization, a defining feature of the BT has been its sneering contempt for the fight for black freedom. The BT, for instance, generally absented itself from our mass united-front labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist terror. But it did spill a lot of ink denouncing us for abandoning trade-union work in favor of "community organizing" when we initiated labor black leagues linked to the SL building on the success of these anti-fascist actions. To counterpose organized labor to the black plebeian masses echoes the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy, whose support to this racist capitalist system and the Democratic Party has served to shackle the unions to the exploiters. The fight for black liberation and the class independence of the proletariat is key to mobilizing the power of labor for Mumia's freedom. This understanding has animated the PDC's work in Mumia's defense for the past two decades.

Unlike the BT, which currently is handing out an anonymous leaflet in London calling to "Free Mumia: Organise Now!", we do not conceal our political identity. The PDC openly declares that its purpose—class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense, championing cases and causes that are in the interests of the whole of the working people—is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/ICL. But agreement with our openly Marxist politics is not a condition for participating in the PDC's united-front actions. We welcome all those, whatever their political views, who agree with our fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty to participate in united-front actions with their own propaganda, placards, chants and speakers—including the BT.

But to believe the BT, what stands in the way of mobilizing for Mumia's freedom is the PDC's "sectarianism." This serves the "new trial" liberals and reformists who are hostile to our purpose and would be only too happy to get rid of the PDC and ICL's involvement in Mumia's fight. The BT supplies the arguments for them by insinuating that the PDC merely seeks to advance its own purpose in its defense work. This line comes straight from the annals of anti-communism and was answered by Cannon in addressing those who declared his motives in the ILD "not altogether philanthropic":

> "My motives were not 'philanthropic' at all. I really believed in the principle of solidarity with all class war prisoners.... To be sure, I was an undisguised communist, and I thought and said that the honest work of solidarity practiced by the ILD would bring, at least indirectly, some credit to the Communist Party. But don't people who represent all kinds of causes and organizations do what they consider their good works with this double motivation?"
>
> —*The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

And what of the BT's motivation? Here's an organization with a record of dismissing our labor-centered mobilizations to defend the black masses and denouncing our solidarity with victims of the government's racist terror. Now they lecture us on building "real" united-front actions in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose cause they did not take up in their press in any real way until after mass protests broke out in 1995. So you can't blame us for smelling a rat here, particularly given the propensity of the BT's slanders of our organization to find their way into the hands of larger forces who would like to do us harm. ■

27 November 1982: "We Stopped the Klan!"

WV Photo

Twenty-five years ago, a mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League drove the race-terrorist KKK off the streets of Washington, D.C. With the working class reeling from capitalist attacks on labor and with anti-Soviet Cold War II in full swing, the Klan had announced a march against "illegal" immigrants, posing a direct threat to black people, trade unionists, leftists and all who are in the fascists' sights. But they were stopped cold when more than 5,000 union members, black youth and anti-racist militants turned out and took the streets instead. This demonstration of communist-led, integrated working-class power showed the way forward in the struggle for black liberation through socialist revolution!

Documentary Evidence and Testimony in the August 1979 Trial and Expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency for Crimes Against Communist Morality and Elementary Human Decency

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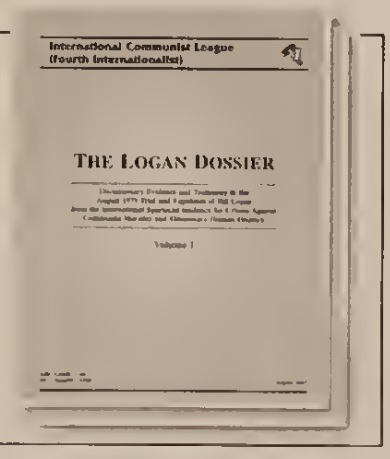

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WORKERS VANGUARD

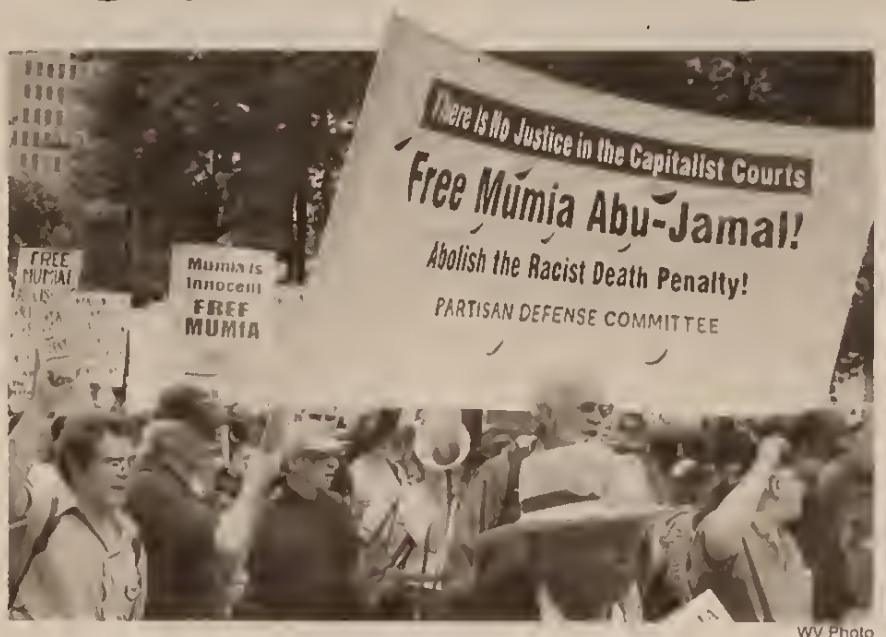
Sinister Book Recycles Frame-Up Lies

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

With the Third Circuit Court of Appeals set to rule in the case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, the fight to free this former Black Panther Party spokesman, renowned journalist and MOVE supporter is growing ever more urgent. As the court decides whether to uphold his death sentence or keep him in prison for life, or alternatively to grant a new trial or further court hearings, the forces of racist capitalist "law and order" are once again howling for his legal lynching. The cops and prosecutors, Democratic and Republican politicians and press hacks tell any lie to bury this unbroken fighter for the oppressed. The biggest lie of all is that Mumia shot and killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. Now a new book by Faulkner's widow Maureen—luridly titled *Murdered by Mumia: A Life Sentence of Loss, Pain and Injustice*—is due for release in early December, an ominous escalation in the drive to kill this innocent man.

Faulkner and co-author Michael Smerconish, a Philadelphia shock jock, will be trotted out on a book tour blitz, and Faulkner is due to appear on the *Today* show on December 6. Smerconish, who once served as a political adviser to the late Frank Rizzo, Philly's notoriously racist police chief and mayor, has orchestrated the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) media offensive against Mumia, including the "Justice for Daniel Faulkner" Web site. In 1999, Smerconish hosted a $100-a-plate dinner to fund his anti-Mumia crusade, drawing over 800 F.O.P. heavies and a phalanx of local Democrats like Pennsylvania governor and former Philly mayor Ed Rendell, who as District Attorney in the early 1980s oversaw the frame-up of Mumia. Last April, the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal was forced to change venues for events celebrating Mumia's birthday in Philadelphia and New York after the F.O.P. threatened the venues' proprietors.

As mouthpieces for the cops' frame-up machine, Maureen Faulkner and Michael Smerconish even deny Mumia's credentials as a journalist, which flies in the face of Mumia's widespread acclaim as the "voice of the voiceless." Mumia was recently awarded membership in PEN, a writers organization for human rights, in recognition of his writings. A new documentary about Mumia titled *In Prison My Whole Life* premiered in London and Rome in October, helping to publicize his struggle.



WV Photo

AP

Left: PDC contingent at May 17 demonstration for Mumia in Philadelphia on day of Third Circuit Court of Appeals hearing. Right: Mumia Abu-Jamal in handcuffs entering Philadelphia courthouse for July 1995 hearing.

Beginning with Mumia's 1995 post-conviction hearings, reams of evidence have refuted the cops' and prosecutors' lies, establishing beyond any doubt that Mumia's conviction was the product of a wide-ranging, multilayered, racially and politically motivated frame-up. This overwhelming evidence of innocence is capped by Arnold Beverly's confession that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Faulkner. According to Beverly, who gave his testimony in a June 1999 affidavit, he and an accomplice were hired to kill Faulkner because he was interfering with police graft and mob vice in Philly's Center City. Mumia arrived after the shooting, had nothing to do with it and was shot by arriving police reinforcements. The Beverly confession, Mumia's own statement that he did not kill Faulkner and other evidence of Mumia's innocence are laid out in detail in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*

Beverly's account is backed up by a range of supporting evidence, including the fact that in December 1981 there were at least three ongoing federal probes of the Philly cops including mob links. The targets included the entire chain of command for the "investigation" of Faulkner's shooting: the head of Homicide, the Central Division commander and the ranking officer at the scene of the shooting, Alfonzo Giordano. A longtime henchman of Rizzo, Giordano targeted the Black Panther Party and oversaw the 1977-78 police siege of MOVE's Powelton Village house. He knew exactly who Mumia was and had both motive and opportunity to frame him up. But despite the widespread evidence supporting Beverly, court after court has refused to hear his testimony. Evidence of Mumia's innocence continues to grow. In the past year, German radical-liberal writer Michael Schiffmann has publicized newly unearthed crime scene photos showing that police tampered with much of the evidence of Faulkner's killing in order to prosecute Mumia.

Schiffmann, however, has undermined the evidence of Mumia's innocence by joining those who claim that it is "incredible" that a cop would hire a hitman to kill another cop. In 1999, when Beverly first confessed, Mumia's lead counsel at the time, Leonard Weinglass, and his co-counsel Dan Williams suppressed the evidence. Then, in 2001, Williams published a book, *Executing Justice*, as a "pre-emptive strike" against Beverly's account, which he declared was "bona fide lunacy." This was seized upon by the prosecution to keep the testimony out of court. For this betrayal, Mumia fired Weinglass and Williams, and his new legal team brought the Beverly confession forward.

In response, liberal writer Dave Lindorff popped up as a self-appointed Mumia "expert" and launched his own attack on Beverly's confession. A central point of Lindorff's 2003 book, *Killing Time*, was to trash Beverly's testimony. Lindorff has never offered a single fact to refute Beverly and even acknowledges the widespread Philly police corruption and that cops sometimes kill other cops. Instead, Lindorff argues that hiring hitmen is not the "standard modus operandi for police executions" and that it "seems improbable that they would involve so many people in the carrying out of such a heinous plot." Echoing Lindorff, Schiffmann contended in a November 2006 interview that the Beverly account involves "too many people in the know, too many imponderables in its planned execution."

That the cops would work hand in hand with gangsters is common knowledge, except perhaps for those blinded by illusions in the police as "public servants." On the heels of highly publicized cases of collusion between cops and/or Feds and mobsters in Boston and New York, just this September Chicago cop Jerome Finnigan was indicted on charges of plotting, with fellow police officer Keith Herrera, to hire two street gang members to murder another cop whom they correctly suspected of working for the Feds in a police corruption probe. Finnigan has been at the center of federal and state criminal cases charging Special Operations cops with shaking down "drug suspects" for hundreds of thousands of dollars through home invasions, false arrests, robbery and kidnapping. In August, he told Herrera that the hit was "all taken care of," and in September he said that they "might as well take care of all the witnesses against them" (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 27 September). What Finnigan did not know was that in the meantime Herrera had started working for the Feds and was wearing a wire.

In our article "Class-Struggle Defense vs. Faith in Capitalist 'Justice'," (*WV* No. 892, 11 May), we wrote: "Why would Lindorff and Schiffmann, two self-proclaimed advocates for Mumia, follow Williams by tearing at the Beverly confession, doing the prosecutors' work for them? At bottom, it is because the Beverly evidence shows that Mumia was the victim not of a rogue cop, bad prosecutor or racist judge but of an entire 'justice' system in which the cops, prosecutors and courts act to uphold the class interests of the capitalist rulers."

What is crucially needed is mass protest on Mumia's behalf, centered on the social power of labor. If undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, the fight to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty would be a first, giant step toward infusing workers with the consciousness that the whole system of capitalist repression must be smashed through socialist revolution. ■

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

July 1995: Mob of 300 racist Philly cops besiege headquarters of hospital workers Local 1199C, denouncing union support for Mumia.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 904 — C-701 — 7 December 2007

Court Decision Looms—Mobilize to Free Mumia!

Media Blitz Targets Mumia Abu-Jamal

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, on December 4.

On Thursday, December 6, NBC's *Today* show will be a forum to promote the legal lynching of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man on death row. Maureen Faulkner, wife of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner, of whose killing Mumia was falsely convicted, will appear on the show to promote her book, *Murdered by Mumia: A Life Sentence of Loss, Pain, and Injustice*, which is set for release the same day (see "Sinister Book Recycles Frame-Up Lies: Mumia Abu-Jamal Is Innocent! Free Him Now!" *WV* No. 903, 23 November). Faulkner will be joined by her co-author, right-wing radio broadcaster Michael Smerconish, a former political adviser to Philadelphia's notoriously racist police chief and mayor, Frank Rizzo. Their caravan of lies will continue later that day on Fox News' *The O'Reilly Factor* and CNN's *Anderson Cooper 360*, and the following day on MSNBC's *Hardball with Chris Matthews*. Meanwhile, an Associated Press article about the book has already been picked up by a number of newspapers, including the *International Herald Tribune*.

With a decision in Mumia's case by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals anticipated any day, it is clear that the purpose of the Faulkner/Smerconish book and the media blitzkrieg behind it is to kill Mumia, a former Black Panther

continued on page 12

Labor Tops Sell Out Strikes

Down With Government Attacks on Workers, Students, Minorities!

France

On the heels of last month's strikes by French rail and transit workers, youth in *banlieues* (working-class and minority ghettos) in several cities erupted in anger after a police car in Villiers-le-Bel killed two youth by ramming their motor bike. The right-wing government of President Nicolas Sarkozy has sent in an army of cops while menacing residents with police helicopters hovering overhead. In a broad crackdown on immigrants and other minorities, *banlieue* youth are targeted by a "law on repeat offenders" that imposes stiff jail sentences. The government has increased restrictions on immigration and continues mass roundups of *sans-papiers* (undocumented immigrants) and refugees seeking asylum, with a stated goal of 25,000 deportations this year alone.

These racist attacks are part of a broad assault by the capitalist rulers on the entire working class. Aiming to destroy what remains of the "welfare state," the government wants to dismantle health care and pension benefits and limit access to university education. Using salami tactics, Sarkozy is trying to isolate and target those sectors of the French working class that have been particularly combative in recent years, most notably the rail workers.

The government is threatening to increase the number of years of work that workers in rail, transit and utilities need to qualify for a full pension from 37.5 to 40, with severe penalties for those who retire early. In response, workers struck the buses and Métro in Paris and other cities for two days in October and for nine days in November, shutting down almost all transit in the country as well as rail freight traffic, despite attempts by the labor tops to bring them back to work. They were joined on strike for a time by utility workers as well as teachers and other government workers. Meanwhile, students had been engaged in their own struggles against a new law on "university autonomy," a first step toward privatization of higher education that will restrict access for working-class and minority youth. Students occupied and blockaded dozens of campuses.

AFP

EPA

AP

Above: CGT union federation members march in Montpellier on November 20 during recent strike wave against attacks led by right-wing president Nicolas Sarkozy (inset). Below: Riot police face off against protesters in working-class Paris suburb of Villiers-le-Bel on November 26, one day after two minority youth were killed by a police car that hit them.

No to Class Collaboration!
For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In an attempt to isolate and weaken the strikes, the government railed against the "privileges" of railway workers, who can retire earlier than other workers. This after the government granted some 15 billion euros in tax breaks for the rich and more than doubled Sarkozy's own salary! Sarkozy arrogantly declared that the attacks on railway workers' pensions "are only an aperitif" (*Le Monde*, 26 November), making clear that pension rights for all workers are next. And in an attack on the very right to strike, a new law imposes a "minimum service" requirement during strikes by railway workers and others.

The Sarkozy government's offensive against the working class reflects a consensus in the bourgeoisie that the attacks on health care, pensions and trade-union rights are essential to making French capitalism competitive against its imperialist rivals. This consensus is shared by the leadership of the Socialist Party (PS), which disagrees with Sarkozy only over the way he is carrying out his "reforms." Following Sarkozy's defeat of PS candidate Ségolène Royal in the election in May, six prominent Socialists accepted key posts in his administration, including Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner, the main spokesman for French imperialism's threats against Iran. Meanwhile, the union tops, in the tow of the reformist parties, are playing their role as capitalism's "labor lieutenants." The leadership of the CFDT union federation openly supports pension "reform," while the CGT federation tops have refused to call for the 37.5 year limit to be extended to all workers. For its part, the PS-led UNEF student federation refused to call for repealing the "university autonomy" law.

The workers' combativity caught both the government and the union misleaders

continued on page 11

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A Clarification on Logan, Sadism and the British Ruling Class

October 23, 2007

To the editor:

As a longtime sympathizer of the ICL, I was shocked to read in the otherwise effective preface to *The Logan Dossier* (reprinted in *WV* 900) the following sentence: "The British ruling class, particularly in its Tory embodiment, has long been notorious in its appetite for blood sports, capital punishment (most recently mere hanging), corporal punishment in its schools and associated sado-masochistic sexual proclivities."

This can only be read as saying there is something wrong with "an appetite for blood sports" and "sado-masochistic sexual proclivities"—two harmless matters of personal taste with no political or moral implications. And yet I cannot believe the party would endorse such a view.

As for blood sports, Lenin and Trotsky both did some fox-hunting, as did Engels, an enthusiastic member of the Cheshire Hunt. In a letter to Marx he wrote, "That sort of thing always keeps me in a state of devilish excitement for several days; it's the greatest physical pleasure I know. [...] At least twenty of the chaps fell off or came down, two horses were done for, one fox killed (I was in AT THE DEATH)" (cited in Francis Wheen, *Karl Marx: A Life*, page 226).

And the suggestion that sadomasochistic sexual tastes are sick and inhumane undermines the party's forthright line that, as long as everyone involved is willing, what people like to do (or look at or read about) for pleasure is no business of the state or anyone else. I always thought we agreed with Gore Vidal in this area, including when he wrote, "I'm all for bringing back the birch, but only between consenting adults" (provided we pardon him the *adults* here for the sake of the joke).

Like others whose inclinations stray from those approved by bourgeois morality, people who go in for SM acts or fantasies are targets for reactionary state persecution, perhaps nowhere more so than in...Britain. In 1990, after a four-year-long police investigation in Manchester known as "Operation Spanner," sixteen men were convicted and some went to jail for taking part in consensual gay BDSM. Some were charged with assault and others, quite absurdly, with abetting in their own assaults. The decision, upheld on appeal, effectively criminalized the SM scene in the UK and drove it underground. This case was recently cited by the British government in its proposed legislation (part of the Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill 2007) to make it a crime to possess (!) so-called "extreme pornography."

That sort of thing goes on here too, of course. In your exemplary review of *Capturing the Friedmans* (*WV* 808), *Workers Vanguard* reported and denounced the ongoing federal prosecution of Extreme Associates, a producer of fantasy rape porn, for sending "obscene material" across state lines through the mail.

As the Spanner case shows, the repression of SM sex can be a pretext for anti-gay persecution. I remember *Workers Vanguard*'s defense of exhibitions of the work of Robert Mapplethorpe, which made use of gay and sadomasochistic motifs, when there were efforts to censor it in 1989-90.

I would hate to see the isolated and inexplicable lapse into squeamishness and prudery cited above in any way muddy the party's crystal-clear record of defending personal freedom in sexual matters against bigotry and state repression.

CGs,
Alan H.
Brooklyn, NY

***WV* replies:**

Alan H. is right. We did not intend to imply in our indictment of Bill Logan (now a leader of the International Bolshevik Tendency) that we believe voluntary and personal pursuits such as "blood sports" or "sado-masochistic sexual proclivities" are matters to be condemned by the Marxist movement. As we state in the introduction to the two-volume bulletin, *The Logan Dossier*, "We have published countless articles opposing any interference by the church, state or other agencies in the intimate affairs of mutually consenting individuals."

The point of the passage Alan cites is not to criticize any form of mutually consenting behavior but to condemn the sadistic brutality historically inculcated by the British ruling class in those who aspired to be the administrators of its colonial empire, a sadistic brutality bound up with the institutions of the monarchy, House of Lords and established church. This was the training Logan brought with him when he used his position as leader of our Australian section in the 1970s to maliciously and sadistically interfere in and destroy comrades' personal lives. As the preface to *The Logan Dossier* makes clear, Logan's "social and educational background lay in New Zealand's English-style 'public school' (elite private school) culture, steeped in imperialist elitism and misogynist sadism." The sociopath Logan was a creature of his own small nasty bourgeoisie aping the British rulers. Following a meticulous trial, we expelled him from our tendency in August 1979 for crimes against communist morality and elementary human decency.

The sadistic practices and sexual/psychological terror that were part and parcel of life in the British public schools had nothing to do with pleasurable activity and everything to do with maintaining a culture of arrogant bullying. One is molded to take pleasure in manipulating and inflicting suffering and pain on others, particularly those of the "lower orders." The movie *Mutiny on the Bounty* (especially the 1935 Charles Laughton version) and George Orwell's essay "Such, Such Were the Joys," a chilling description of the unrelenting sadism of his prep school days in Sussex, evoke this vicious world quite well.

Finally, a small point: Our party has no position on "blood sports," though we would note they aren't quite harmless for the small creature—a fox, say—that gets torn apart. For every enthusiast like Engels, there's a more jaundiced view, such as that expressed by Oscar Wilde: "The English country gentleman galloping after a fox—the unspeakable in pursuit of the inedible." To each his own. ■

TROTSKY

Honor Class-War Prisoners!

LENIN

In building its annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, the Partisan Defense Committee follows in the tradition of the International Labor Defense, established by the early Communist Party and headed by James P. Cannon, who subsequently became the founder of American Trotskyism. In struggling to mobilize labor-centered protest to free the class-war prisoners, we seek to imbue the proletariat with the understanding that it must sweep away the capitalist system through socialist revolution.

In one sense of the word the whole of capitalist society is a prison. For the great mass of people who do the hard, useful work there is no such word as freedom. They come and go at the order of a few. Their lives are regulated according to the needs and wishes of a few. A censorship is put upon their words and deeds. The fruits of their labor are taken from them. And if, by chance, they have the instinct and spirit to rebel, if they take their place in the vanguard of the fight for justice, the prisons are waiting....

The class-war prisoners of today, just as those in previous periods of history, are representatives of the most courageous and advanced section of the oppressed but upward-striving class. As a rule they are individuals of particular audacity and ability who have stood out conspicuously in their environment as leaders and militants, and have thereby incurred the hatred of the oppressors....

The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem. The class-war prisoners are stronger than all the jails and jailers and judges. They rise triumphant over all their enemies and oppressors. Confined in prison, covered with ignominy, branded as criminals, they are not defeated. They are destined to triumph. They are the representatives of an idea that will crack the walls of every prison and crumble them into dust.

There is a way of saying that the class-war prisoners are victorious, which smacks of superficial optimism and which offers little consolation to men who spend long, almost forgotten years behind the gray walls of the jail. We do not mean to speak in this sense, as though it were an automatic process. The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle cry and carries on their work.

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison,"
Labor Defender (September 1926), reprinted in
Notebook of an Agitator (Pioneer Publishers, 1958)

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On Trotsky's Call for the Fourth International

29 November 2007

Dear Comrades,

In Part Two of "The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution" (*WV* No. 902, 9 November 2007), the following sentence is so telescoped that it misses the key point as to why Trotsky called to build the Fourth International:

> "By 1933, Stalin's Comintern could not be awakened by what Trotsky called 'the thunderbolt of Fascism'—the victory of Hitler's Nazis without a shot being fired by the powerful German workers movement. The CI had proved itself utterly dead as a force for revolution."

What made the victory of the Nazis "without a shot" decisive was that following the collapse of the German section it became clear that there was a complete strangulation of all signs of political life in the sections of the Third International. Trotsky wrote in "It is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew" (15 July 1933):

> "The Moscow leadership has not only proclaimed as infallible the policy which guaranteed victory to Hitler, but has also prohibited all discussion of what had occurred. And this shameful interdiction was not violated nor overthrown. No national congresses, no international congress; no discussions at party meetings; no discussion in the press! An organization which was not roused by the thunder of fascism and which submits docilely to such outrageous acts of the bureaucracy demonstrates thereby that it is dead and that nothing can ever revive it."

From that point on, the task of the International Left Opposition was preparation of a new international, which culminated in the founding of the Fourth International in 1938.

Comradely,
Keith Markin

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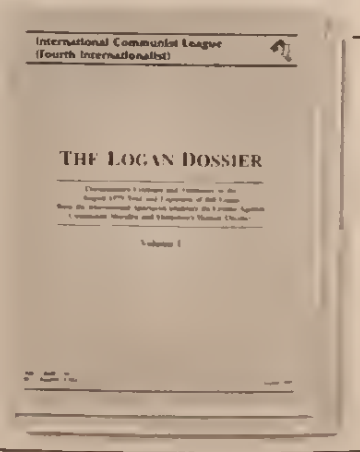

Subscription Drive Success

WV Welcomes New Readers

Every year the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and Labor Black Leagues embark on a *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive, an all-out national campaign from late August to early October. We extend greetings to our first-time subscribers and welcome back those who renewed their subscriptions. This year we exceeded our quota of 2,700 points by 20 percent, achieving a grand total of 3,241.5 points, modestly raising our subscription base and arresting a decline in recent years. The points include 1,506 subscriptions to *WV* and 103 subscriptions to *Espartaco*, newspaper of the Grupo Espartaquista de México, section of the International Communist League. The Chicago and Bay Area locals raised their quotas after early successes, and all locals exceeded the quotas they had set. Special congratulations to comrade Inessa in the Bay Area for selling the most subscriptions.

Workers Vanguard is the newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the flagship paper of the ICL. We produce a polemical press that takes on the "death of communism," pro-Democratic Party politics of our reformist opponents, as part of our struggle to build a multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution. Our task is all the more important in the current political period, which is marked by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The final undoing of the world's first workers state has ushered in a global offensive against the working class and oppressed and an ideological climate in which proletarian consciousness has been thrown back.

Throughout the subscription drive, we raised our Trotskyist call for the unconditional military defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. All our locals held public forums on China. We also built for our forums on the 90th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which were held shortly after the subscription drive, stressing our fight against capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and the deformed workers states of East and Central Europe.

Racial Oppression and the Fight for Mumia's Freedom

Throughout the course of our campaign, we made clear our opposition to U.S. imperialism, including our call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Calling for U.S. hands off Iran, we underlined the fact that Iran needs nukes to deter an imperialist attack. We emphasized the need to mobilize the power of labor to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Our placards calling for free abortion on demand drew a lot of attention on the campuses and attracted new subscribers. We stressed our fight for black liberation and the need to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement to fight for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Frazier/Natchez Democrat

Workers Vanguard salesman at September 20 march in Jena, Louisiana.

Our staunch opposition to the capitalist Democratic Party of racism and war was a major question discussed with youth and workers, many of whom supported Barack Obama and to a lesser extent Hillary Clinton as their preferred presidential candidates. We encountered increased activity from the "fight the right" liberals and reformist groups whose aim is to pressure the Democrats.

In Berkeley, the Campus Antiwar Network, a creature of the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO), was passing out flyers for a rally in front of Democratic Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi's office to "hold our leaders accountable." In Texas we found discontent among ISO members regarding their group's support to the Green Party, a capitalist appendage to the Democrats. At Howard University in Washington, D.C., a student trying to compare *Revolution*, the newspaper of the misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), to ours decided to subscribe to *WV* because of our revolutionary working-class perspective as opposed to the RCP's "Anybody but Bush" politics.

Our subscription drive also intersected the explosion of outrage against Jim Crow justice in Jena, Louisiana. Following months of racist insults and threats, including the hanging of nooses on a "white tree" at their school, five black youth were initially charged with attempted murder and a sixth charged as a juvenile after a scuffle with a white student, though the charges were later reduced. Teenager Mychal Bell, who was hounded by prosecutors for nearly a year and spent some ten months in jail, pleaded guilty to a juvenile charge of second-degree battery on December 3 and faces another eight months in prison. The other youths are still awaiting their trials (see "Jena Six: Racist 'Justice' U.S.A.," *WV* No. 899, 28 September). We say: *Free Mychal Bell! Drop all charges against the Jena Six!*

On campuses and in workplaces across the country, the case of the Jena Six touched a raw nerve among black people, many of whom recognized that "Jena justice" is not some aberration but rather epitomizes the day-to-day conditions of black youth. Our trip to overwhelmingly black Howard University was particularly successful. On campuses throughout the country, our signs on Jena attracted the attention of students who wanted to join protest actions.

Our comrades participated in the September 20 march in Jena, which drew as many as 50,000 people—overwhelmingly black and comprising workers, students, retirees and church groups. Democratic politicians Jesse Jackson Sr. and Al Sharpton were the central leaders of the protest, preaching reliance on the same "justice" system that from the county sheriff on up is a machine of racial and class oppression. Our comrades argued against this losing strategy and stressed the importance of a class-struggle fight against racial oppression. Many of the protesters appreciated the connection we made between the Jena Six case and the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, one of the worst racist atrocities in modern U.S. history. We also distributed our newspaper to buses setting off for the march from cities as far away as Los Angeles and to solidarity events being held in Raleigh and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and other areas.

Our comrades also participated in protests at Columbia University and elsewhere against the racist backlash following the Jena protest, marked by the nooses hung at workplaces, homes and schools to terrorize black people. We emphasized the need to fight for the independent mobilization of the working class against racist terror (see "Vicious Racist Backlash After Jena Protest," *WV* No. 901, 26 October).

As part of our struggle against black oppression, we raised the urgency of fighting to mobilize workers and youth around the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose case is at a critical juncture right now. We put up signs, made announcements, gathered statements for his freedom from union officials and held showings of the Partisan Defense Committee video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, including at several campuses where the SYC was invited by campus groups. At the University of Oregon in Eugene, comrades from the Bay Area gave a presentation on Mumia's case on the campus radio station. We underlined our perspective of class-struggle defense

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Photo credit: Jennifer Beach

The Development and Extension of Leon Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

This part concludes this article. Part One appeared in WV *No. 901 (26 October), Part Two in No. 902 (9 November) and Part Three in No. 903 (23 November).*

PART FOUR

In generalizing and extending the concept of permanent revolution following the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

> "Does this at least mean that every country, including the most backward colonial country, is ripe, if not for socialism, then for the dictatorship of the proletariat?... Under the conditions of the imperialist epoch the national democratic revolution can be carried through to a victorious end only when the social and political relationships of the country are mature for putting the proletariat in power as the leader of the masses of the people. And if this is not yet the case? Then the struggle for national liberation will produce only very partial results, results directed entirely against the working masses. In 1905, the proletariat of Russia did not prove strong enough to unite the peasant masses around it and to conquer power. For this very reason, the revolution halted midway, and then sank lower and lower. In China, where, in spite of the exceptionally favourable situation, the leadership of the Communist International prevented the Chinese proletariat from fighting for power, the national tasks found a wretched, unstable and measly solution in the régime of the Kuomintang."

As in Trotsky's time, there are today a number of especially backward countries—e.g., Afghanistan, East Timor, Rwanda—in which there is not a modern, concentrated proletariat with sufficient social weight to lead the oppressed masses in carrying out the tasks of permanent revolution. Even so, as we noted in regard to the modernizing intellectuals and military officers of the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in the 1980s, radicals have much to learn from the struggles of Georgi Plekhanov a century earlier, notwithstanding the vast differences between contemporary Afghanistan and tsarist Russia. Despite the fact that the Russian proletariat in the 1880s was also a relatively insignificant social force, Plekhanov fought to forge a core of Marxist revolutionaries through polemical and ideological struggle (see Part One of this article). What is crucial is to develop a Marxist-internationalist framework, linking the struggle for social modernization and liberation to the class struggles of the proletariat in more advanced countries outside their own countries' boundaries.

AP

Socialist Workers Party memorial meeting for Leon Trotsky, New York, 28 August 1940.

Afghanistan's tiny proletariat is dwarfed by a far more numerous Islamic clergy, and the small urban population is surrounded by a sea of nomadic herdsmen and landless peasants beholden to the khans. In April 1978, a coup brought the PDPA to power, touching off a reactionary Islamist revolt backed by the CIA. It was at the behest of the PDPA that the Soviet Red Army intervened in December 1979. The International Communist League—then the international Spartacist tendency—declared: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!

We understood that the entry of the Soviet Army posed the chance to not only defeat the imperialist-sponsored reactionary cutthroats but to incorporate Afghanistan into Soviet Central Asia, where the masses lived a modern existence light years beyond that of the Afghan peoples. The withdrawal of Soviet troops by the Gorbachev regime in Moscow in 1988-89 was a historic betrayal that not only ushered in bloody *mujahedin* rule in Afghanistan but also opened the floodgates to capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany and then the Soviet Union itself.

Likewise in desperately poor Nepal, where Maoist forces have waged a peasant-guerrilla struggle aimed at replacing the monarchy with a bourgeois coalition government, the proletariat is relatively insignificant. However, Nepalis have for decades crossed into India to live and work, becoming a part of what is now a rapidly growing proletariat in India; hundreds of thousands of Nepalis work elsewhere in Asia. A proletarian revolution in India would have a massive immediate effect on Nepal and other neighboring countries, posing a struggle for a socialist federation of the subcontinent. Crucial to such a proletarian-internationalist perspective is the fight for workers political revolution in the Chinese deformed workers state, a fight that must be premised on the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution.

Alger Républicain

Henissart

Left: Algerian dock workers on strike against 30 June 1955 arrest of union leaders by French colonial police. Right: Mass demonstration in Algiers, December 1960, under outlawed FLN flag in defiance of continued French rule.

The Algerian Independence Struggle

Today in South Africa and in many semicolonial countries such as South Korea, the role of the peasantry is no longer the crucial question it was in Russia in 1917 or in China in 1925-27. Nonetheless, historical experience since then has confirmed the theory of permanent revolution for such countries, which are characterized by combined and uneven development.

Those countries that underwent "democratic" or anti-colonial revolutions that did not result in the overthrow of capitalist rule remain bourgeois states mired in backwardness and dominated by imperialism. A case in point is the Algerian independence struggle against France in the 1950s and early '60s, one of the most radical and heroic of the colonial revolutions of the postwar period. From the first military operation by the National Liberation Front (FLN) in November 1954, it took more than seven years, at a cost of over one million dead, for the Algerian masses to drive the colonial rulers out of their country. The Algerian proletariat played an important, though not politically independent, role in this national liberation struggle. Together with the bourgeois-nationalist FLN, the UGTA union federation called a number of powerful strikes, including a massive general strike in July 1956.

When independence was finally achieved in 1962, it placed in power the FLN, which was committed to maintaining capitalism with a domestic ruling class lording it over its "own" people. Various leftists, uncritically promoting the FLN's "socialist" rhetoric, played a direct role in helping to consolidate an anti-working-class bourgeois regime in independent Algeria. The Algerian Communist Party liquidated into the FLN in 1956, and its successor organization was outlawed as soon as the FLN came to power. Yet the Stalinists continued to serve in the FLN machine after independence as propagandists, administrators and UGTA bureaucrats. Revisionist "Trotskyist" Michel Pablo was a top economic adviser to the FLN government of Ahmed Ben Bella and was instrumental in chaining the working class to the capitalist government.

The FLN banned strikes by public sector workers and imposed an iron grip over the organized working class. The FLN

demobilized thousands of women who had courageously fought against French colonialism and enforced the subjugation of women, including through references to Islamic law. The Berber ethnic minority, whose militants had played an exceptionally prominent role in the independence struggle, were subjected to vicious repression. FLN rule paved the way for a brutal military dictatorship and the rise of a mass Islamic fundamentalist movement committed to the enslavement of women, the reversal of modernization efforts and savage terror against workers and minorities.

The Cuban Revolution

However, following World War II there were also several revolutions in the backward countries that destroyed capitalist class rule and overthrew the yoke of imperialist domination. When Mao Zedong's peasant-based People's Liberation Army seized power from the collapsing Guomindang in 1949, the state that resulted was not a "New Democracy" based on a "bloc of four classes"—the parlance of the Stalinist Communist Party (CCP)—but a dictatorship of the proletariat, albeit bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Stalinist-led social overturns in Yugoslavia, North Korea and North Vietnam (extending to the South in 1975) also resulted in bureaucratically deformed workers states. Similar social overturns also occurred in the postwar "People's Democracies" established under the aegis of the Soviet Red Army elsewhere in East Europe and in East Germany.

Michel Pablo, then head of the Fourth International that had been founded under Trotsky's leadership in 1938, seized on the postwar social overturns to repudiate the central importance of a conscious revolutionary leadership and argue for the liquidation of Trotskyist organizations into various Stalinist and social-

Glinn/Magnum

Wide World

Castro's petty-bourgeois rebel forces enter Havana, New Year's Day 1959. Right: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated U.S. oil refinery, 1960.

democratic parties. This revisionism led to the destruction of the Fourth International in 1951-53. In the early 1960s, the leadership of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had broken with Pablo in 1953, embraced similar revisionist conclusions in its adulation for the petty-bourgeois Castroite leadership of the Cuban Revolution (see "Genesis of Pabloism," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972).

Fidel Castro led a force of petty-bourgeois intellectuals and peasant guerrillas, the July 26 Movement, who were temporarily estranged from the bourgeoisie and independent of the proletariat. Under ordinary conditions, the rebels, after their overthrow of the corrupt, U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in January 1959, would have followed in the footsteps of countless similar movements in Latin America, wielding radical-democratic rhetoric to reassert bourgeois control. But with the old capitalist state apparatus shattered, in 1960-61 the Castro regime nationalized U.S.-owned and domestic capitalist holdings, creating a deformed workers state. The existence of the Soviet Union was crucial in this development, providing not only a model for the Castro regime but, more importantly, economic assistance and a military shield that helped stay the hand of the U.S. imperialist beast just 90 miles away.

Le Bolchévik

Bettmann

Above: Ernest Mandel (left) and Michel Pablo abandoned Trotskyism in favor of tailing Third World nationalists. Pablo became a top economic adviser to FLN government of Ahmed Ben Bella (far right), shown here with Fidel Castro in Cuba, 1962.

It was only as a result of exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for power in its own right, hostile imperialist encirclement and the flight of the national bourgeoisie, and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—that Castro's petty-bourgeois government was able to eventually smash capitalist property relations (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8). Similar circumstances allowed for the creation of deformed workers states in Yugoslavia and elsewhere by Stalinist-led petty-bourgeois forces following World War II.

Our tendency, originating as the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the SWP, was born in a struggle to defend the Trotskyist program against the Pabloism of the SWP majority. Painting Castro as an unconscious Trotskyist, the SWP argued:

> "Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."
>
> —SWP Political Committee, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," SWP *Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 24, No. 9 (April 1963)

In direct counterposition, the RT upheld Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and asserted:

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the *proletarian* leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for 'building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries.' Marxists must resolutely oppose any adventurist acceptance of the peasant-guerrilla road to socialism—historically akin to the Social Revolutionary program on tactics that Lenin fought."
>
> —"Draft Resolution on the World Movement," 14 June 1963; reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9 and most recently in *Spartacist* (English-language edition) No. 58, Spring 2004

The Cuban Revolution demonstrated yet again that there is no "third road" between the dictatorship of capital and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this sense, it confirmed the theory of permanent revolution. But the Cuban Revolution was a far cry from the Bolshevik-led proletarian socialist revolution that took place in Russia in November 1917. In Cuba, as in the other deformed workers states, the road to further socialist development was blocked by the political rule of a parasitic and nationalist bureaucracy. Upholding the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Castro regime has been hostile to the struggle for world revolution. Instead, it has promoted "progressive" bourgeois formations from the Allende popular-front government in Chile in the early 1970s, which resulted in a bloodbath of the workers, to the national-populist regime of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez today.

As was the case with the degenerated Soviet workers state, what is necessary in Cuba and the other remaining deformed workers states is the shattering of the bureaucracy through a proletarian political revolution that establishes democratic organs of working-class rule based on revolutionary internationalism. Trotskyists base this perspective on the unconditional military defense of the workers states against imperialist attack and domestic capitalist counterrevolution.

To the limits of our modest forces, the ICL fought in East Germany and in the USSR to rally the working class to defeat the forces of capitalist restoration and to oust the disintegrating Stalinist regimes, which had undermined the workers states and in the end capitulated to imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Today we raise the same program in regard to China, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea and fight for socialist revolutions in capitalist countries from the Third World to the imperialist centers of the U.S., Japan and West Europe.

Permanent Revolution vs. Populist Nationalism

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the East and Central European workers states had disastrous effects for the people of those societies and was a world-historic defeat for workers and the oppressed internationally, with the balance of forces dramatically altered in favor of imperialism. The working people of the former workers states have been plunged into mass poverty, ethnic bloodletting and other horrors. In the imperialist centers, the capitalist rulers have taken the ax to workers' hard-won gains, accompanied by widespread attacks on immigrants and minorities. With a military force far surpassing that of any other country, U.S. imperialism in particular has been riding roughshod over the peoples of the Near East and elsewhere, while imperialist-dictated austerity measures have driven the masses of the Third World further into misery.

The profound retrogression in consciousness resulting from the destruction of the USSR has led even militant workers and radical youth to dismiss the Marxist program of proletarian revolution as, at best, a pipe dream. Instead, many leftists look to the resurgence of bourgeois-populist nationalism in Latin America, exemplified by Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, as the road to, in Chávez's words, "21st century socialism." Among those

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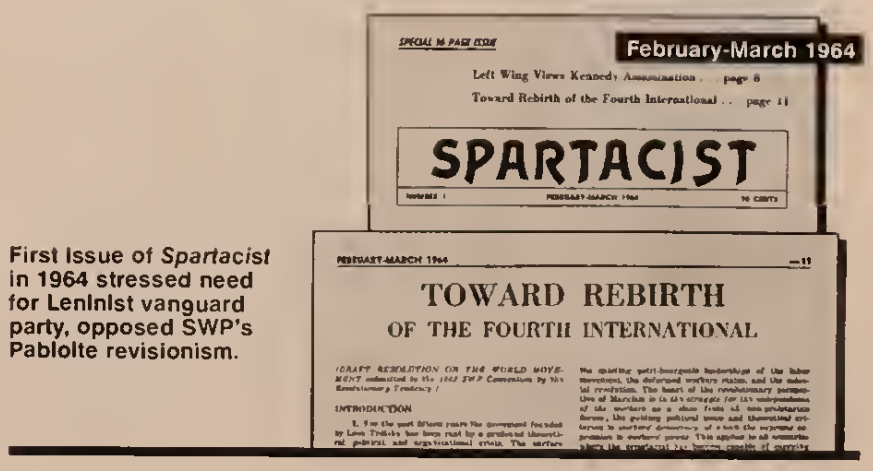
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SPARTACIST

FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964 — 11

TOWARD REBIRTH
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

First issue of *Spartacist* in 1964 stressed need for Leninist vanguard party, opposed SWP's Pablolte revisionism.

Permanent Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

promoting such illusions is Cuban writer Celia Hart, a supporter of the Castro regime and self-styled Trotskyist, who in a recent interview with the fake-Trotskyist Argentine *El Militante* (translated by CubaNews online, 6 July) lavishes praise on "Venezuela's revolutionary process, which is increasingly moving to a radical left."

Hart asserts that "many Cubans who stopped talking about socialism" are "seeing that Venezuela talks quite naturally about socialism and want to follow suit, never mind the strange ways some people want to call it these days, namely 21st Century Socialism, saying that it can be attained without expropriating the local capitalists and so forth." Speaking of Chávez's call for "socialism," Hart adds: "It's like seeing how the Permanent Revolution thesis of that Russian in 1905 comes to life a century later."

Similarly, Mexican leftist Guillermo Almeyra, in an article titled "Trotsky in the 21st Century" in *La Jornada* (19 August), a newspaper that supports the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), claims: "The attitude of poor countries like Venezuela or Cuba in their solidarity aid is inscribed, consciously or not, in that course of thought by Trotsky which Lenin shared." In his "defense" of permanent

Marxist.com

Pseudo-Trotskyist Alan Woods (left) of International Marxist Tendency promotes "21st Century Socialism" of bourgeois nationalist Hugo Chávez.

revolution, Almeyra, a former Pabloite who now "critically" supports the PRD, recasts Trotsky's fight for the continuity of Lenin's Bolshevism into a tale of "democracy" vs. "the monolithic party" and concludes by warning against "dogmatic" and "Talmudic" followers of Trotsky today.

Knowingly or not, Hart and Almeyra echo the SWP line that Castro was an unconscious Trotskyist. To say this of Hugo Chávez is truly breathtaking. Since his election as president in 1998, Chávez has diverted some of the huge profits the Venezuelan bourgeoisie has gleaned from skyrocketing oil prices to provide enhanced social services for the plebeian masses. Meanwhile, the government has increased taxes on foreign oil companies, which continue to rake in profits. The social measures under Chávez, and the fact that he boasts of his *zambo* (mixed African and indigenous) heritage, have earned him the contempt of the lily-white oligarchy. He has also incurred Washington's wrath for his friendship with Castro's Cuba and his pointed denunciations of the arrogant U.S. imperialists. In the event of a U.S.-sponsored coup attempt, as in 2002, we call for the military defense of the Chávez regime.

With rapid rate of economic growth beginning in 1960s, percentage of Spanish people engaged in agriculture underwent steep decline. Today, immigrants, including from North Africa, such as those pictured above in a 2002 protest, form core of Spain's agricultural workforce.

But Chávez is no socialist. He has moved to tighten the straitjacket of capitalist state control over the Venezuelan workers movement and, as even Hart admits, is not about to countenance the expropriation of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie. As we noted in "Venezuela: Populist Nationalism vs. Proletarian Revolution" (*WV* No. 860, 9 December 2005):

> "When Castro's rebel army marched into Havana on 1 January 1959, the bourgeois army and the rest of the capitalist state apparatus that had propped up the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship collapsed in disarray. By the time Castro declared Cuba 'socialist' in 1961, the Cuban bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists and their CIA and Mafia henchmen had all fled and every bit of capitalist property down to the last ice cream vendor had been expropriated. In contrast, Chávez came to power and rules *at the head of* the capitalist state, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie is alive and kicking, and the imperialists continue to carry on a thriving business with Venezuela. White House threats and provocations notwithstanding."

Hart and Almeyra turn permanent revolution on its head in order to justify their support to bourgeois populists, who are no less the class opponents of the victory of the workers and urban and rural poor than neoliberal politicians. The programmatic essence of permanent revolution is the struggle for the *class independence of the proletariat* from *all* wings of the semicolonial bourgeoisie—no matter how "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" their proclamations. That struggle can be realized only through forging revolutionary, internationalist workers parties in opposition to all variants of bourgeois nationalism. The ICL fights to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

The Modernization of Capitalist Spain

Despite substantial industrial development in recent decades, Brazil, South Korea and the so-called "tiger" economies of Southeast Asia have not been able to escape from imperialist subjugation. However, there are a handful of countries on the periphery of Europe that have managed—at great human cost and in the context of wars, counterrevolutions and other major world developments—to develop from backward agrarian societies to modern capitalist states as part of the European imperialist consortium. For example, in the period before World War I Finland was an economic backwater, with a sizable oppressed peasantry, that had been part of the Russian tsarist empire. But the attempt to consummate a proletarian revolution following the Bolshevik victory in Russia was drowned in blood by the imperialist-backed Mannerheim military dictatorship, and capitalist Finland was subsequently integrated into imperialist Europe.

Spain before World War II was a prime example of combined and uneven development where the tasks of permanent revolution were manifest. A large peasantry was brutally exploited by a landowning class, derived from the old feudal nobility, that heavily overlapped with the urban bourgeoisie. The powerful Catholic church, which exercised a monopoly in the education of children, was the country's largest landowner and also had substantial investments in industry and finance. Furthermore, then as today the Spanish state contained within its boundaries such oppressed nations as the Basques and Catalans. Amid the social backwardness, there also existed a raw, combative working class made up in good part of peasant youth who retained close ties to their families in the countryside.

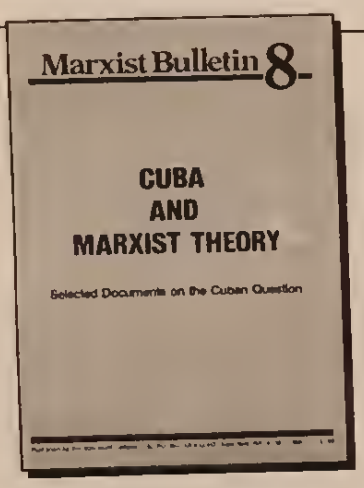
The Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 posed pointblank the possibility of proletarian revolution. But this opportunity was betrayed by the Stalinists, Socialists and anarchists who were the mainstay of the bourgeois Republican government, a popular front that was also treacherously supported by the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification). Through its disarming and suppression of the revolutionary proletariat, mainly at the hands of the Stalinists, the popular front paved the way for the victory of the right-wing forces of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, who subsequently ruled Spain with an iron fist for nearly four decades.

Developments in Spain between the 1930s and the 1980s, at both the economic and political levels, were to a large degree determined and conditioned by the changing international situation. Following the end of World War II, the U.S. forged a political and military alliance (NATO) with the West European capitalist governments as part of the imperialist Cold War against the Soviet Union. By allying itself with American imperialism, the Franco regime broke Spain out of its former international isolation. (The country had not even been allowed to join the United Nations at its founding.) In 1953, Washington scrapped a UN-sanctioned economic embargo of Spain in exchange for U.S. military bases there. Spain became a recipient of U.S. government loans and, more importantly, began to increase its economic ties to the rest of West Europe.

Beginning in the 1960s, Spain experienced a rapid rate of economic growth that would eventually lead to a predominantly urbanized and culturally cosmopolitan society with an annual per capita gross domestic product ($25,300) not much below that of Italy (Economist, *Pocket World in Figures*, 2007). In *The Economic Transformation of Spain and Portugal* (1978), American economist Eric N. Baklanoff summarized the international factors underlying what was called the Spanish "economic miracle": "For it was the international economy, and most especially the European Economic Community and the United States, that presented Spain with surging markets for its products, sent it free-spending tourists by the millions, invested in its factories and real estate, and employed a goodly share of its 'surplus' manpower." Private foreign investment climbed from $40 million in 1960 to nearly $800 million in 1973. Attracted by Spain's relatively cheap labor, American, German and British capitalists concentrated their investments in manufacturing, especially the automobile and chemical industries.

The economic boom of the 1960s-early '70s led to the effective liquidation of small peasant farming. The agricultural labor force declined from 5.3 million in 1950 to 2.9 million in 1975 and then to 2.4 million in 1980. Small family holdings, dependent on manual labor and draft animals, were increasingly replaced by larger, mechanized farms. The share of the labor force engaged in agriculture declined from 48 percent in 1950 to 13 percent by 1990 (Carlos Prieto del Campo, "A Spanish Spring?", *New Left Review*, January-February 2005). Today, Spain's agricultural labor force consists primarily of immigrants from North Africa and elsewhere.

Following Franco's death in 1975, Spain experienced a massive wave of labor strikes that raised both economic and political demands. At this point the Spanish ruling class and its senior partners in Washington and the capitals of NATO Europe recognized that the only way to restore social and political order was to work out a deal with the country's reformist workers parties, which had been outlawed under the Franco regime. In late 1977, in exchange for their parties' legal-



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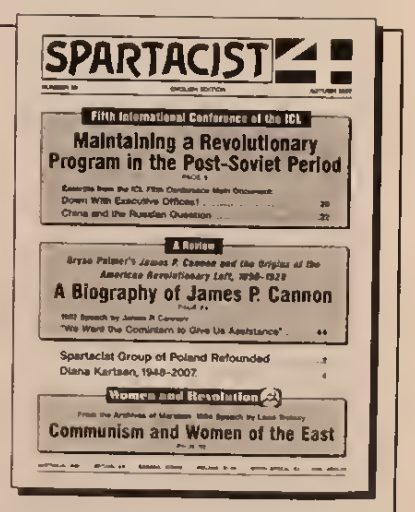

Spartacist (English edition)
No. 60, Autumn 2007

Spartacist is sent to all *WV* subscribers.

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Subscription...

(continued from page 3)

—the mobilization of mass protest, centered on the power of labor, to fight for Mumia's freedom and to abolish the racist death penalty. Though a number of students were learning about Mumia's case for the first time, the PDC pamphlet *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* was the most popular "giveaway" with new *WV* subscriptions.

The SYCs held "Meet the Marxists" events on campuses across the country, particularly focusing on the struggle against black oppression, a central question in the fight for socialist revolution in the U.S. A good deal of lively discussion and debate ensued at these events. Many students did not understand our slogan "Finish the Civil War!" or the centrality of black oppression to U.S. capitalism. Our comrades explained that black oppression has been built into the American republic from its inception, and that it took a bloody Civil War to smash the slavocracy and free the slaves. However, the promise of black equality was subsequently betrayed by the Northern capitalists. We pointed to our program of revolutionary integrationism: While seeking to combat every manifestation of racist discrimination, fighting in particular to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement, we understand that black liberation can be achieved only through the overthrow of the capitalist order and the integration of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. We say: *For black liberation through socialist revolution!*

Spartacus Youth Club joined October 10 protest at Columbia University after noose was hung outside office of professor Madonna Constantine (center).

Angela Radulescu/Columbia Spectator

Local and Regional Highlights

New York comrades made tours of the Boston area and Western Massachusetts colleges, and we sent several teams on trips, including to North Carolina, Washington, D.C., Norfolk, New Orleans and Atlanta. In Charleston, South Carolina, comrades got a notably good reception at ILA longshore union Local 1422, which had sent a contingent with a banner to the September 20 Jena Six march. In New Orleans we found the devastation wreaked by the racist neglect after Hurricane Katrina is still very much evident in people's day-to-day lives.

Los Angeles and Bay Area comrades went to several University of California and Cal State campuses and made trips to Texas, Arizona, Colorado and the Northwest. Chicago comrades went to Wisconsin and Michigan and sold several subscriptions to striking AFSCME clerical workers at the University of Minnesota. When the two-day, nationwide United Auto Workers strike against General Motors began on September 24, our comrades went to picket lines in the Mid-Atlantic region and in the Detroit area and sold several introductory subscriptions.

We joined our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste in Vancouver and Montreal to assist with their annual subscription drive. Comrades working with other sections of the ICL also contributed to our subscription drive totals.

We seek to build a Leninist vanguard party that fights for socialist revolution, the only road to a world free of capitalist exploitation, imperialist slaughter and racist oppression. As a Marxist biweekly, *Workers Vanguard* is a key political weapon in that struggle. As Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin put it in "Where To Begin?" in 1901:

> "The role of a newspaper...is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour."

Congratulations to all comrades and friends for their very hard work in making this subscription drive a success! We encourage our readers to let us know what they think of our press and to contact us to discuss its contents and get involved in the activities of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Labor Black Leagues.■

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ization and the promise of "democratization," the Communist and Socialist leaders demobilized the workers movement, thereby ending the greatest threat to bourgeois rule in Spain since the end of the Civil War. Groomed by the West German Social Democracy, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party has since become a bulwark of a stable bourgeois parliamentary order. Clearly the perspective of permanent revolution in regard to the historic tasks associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution no longer applies to Spain.

Ireland is another European country that was historically marked by socio-economic backwardness, including a primarily agrarian economy and a dominant role played by the Catholic church in society. Moreover, a significant proportion of the Irish Catholic nation constitutes an oppressed minority in the Ulster Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland statelet, which is part of the British imperialist state.

Addressing the intense national conflict between these two geographically interpenetrated peoples, we wrote in "Theses on Ireland" (*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977): "Ireland, like other situations of interpenetrated peoples as in the Middle East and Cyprus, is a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution." The Theses made clear that in cases of interpenetrated peoples, there can be no democratic and equitable solution to the national question within the framework of capitalism: "In such circumstances the exercise of self-determination by one or the other people in the form of the establishment of their own bourgeois state can only be brought about by the denial of that right to the other." While opposing the national oppression of the Irish Catholics in the North, we also oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland, which would mean the oppression of the Ulster Protestant population in a Catholic-dominated state. The Spartacist League/Britain, section of the ICL, demands the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and calls for an Irish workers republic within a federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

However, subsequent discussion within the ICL concluded that to refer to permanent revolution in this context was theoretically confusing, conflating a democratic solution to the national question in an advanced capitalist society with the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. For well over a century, Ireland has been integrated into the economy of the British Isles, with a large fraction of the Irish proletariat working in the factories and construction sites of London and other cities. And in recent decades, Ireland's membership in the European Union has played a large part in the country's further economic development.

The concept of permanent revolution is *not* about the relationship of proletarian revolution to democratic questions in general. In many advanced capitalist countries there exist reactionary institutions inherited from the feudal past—e.g., the monarchy in Spain, Britain and Japan; the privileged role of the Vatican in Italy—which play a very important role in maintaining the present-day bourgeois order. In the U.S., the institutionalized oppression of the black population—a strategic question for proletarian revolution—is a legacy of chattel slavery. In all of these cases, only proletarian socialist revolution can eliminate national, racial and ethnic oppression. This underlines the need to forge Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties that act as a tribune of the people.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

As Trotsky laid out in *The Permanent Revolution*:

> "The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the basic reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it can no longer be reconciled with the framework of the national state.... The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet."

From Mexico to South Africa and elsewhere, many leftists point to the tremendous military and economic might of the U.S. to claim that a workers revolution would inevitably be crushed by the imperialists. No one would deny that the U.S. and other capitalist powers represent a formidable obstacle to proletarian revolutions. But the imperialist countries are class-divided societies with deep discontents and insoluble contradictions, necessarily leading to class and other social struggles. In the course of sharp class struggle and through the instrumentality of a revolutionary party that patiently educates the working class in the understanding not only of its social power but of its historic interests, the workers will become conscious of themselves as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed against the capitalist order.

The preconditions for a revolution will be different in different parts of the world. When these are met, the situation in any particular country and in the world will be different than it is today, and the consciousness of the working class will have changed significantly. Our struggle to forge Leninist vanguard parties is based on the understanding that when such parties become rooted in the working class, this will reflect a qualitative change in the political consciousness of the proletariat.

The struggles of the proletariat in the semicolonial world are integrally intertwined with those of the workers in the imperialist centers. A proletarian revolution in Mexico would have a massive impact on the multiracial U.S. proletariat, whose growing Latino component is a human bridge between the struggles of workers in the U.S. and of those in Latin America. A revolutionary proletarian upsurge in South Africa would resonate powerfully among working people and youth throughout the world, especially but definitely not only the black people who form a strategically important layer of the working class in the United States and in Brazil. A South African workers revolution would also touch off struggles throughout the continent by destroying the regional gendarme of sub-Saharan Africa. Conversely, a proletarian seizure of state power in one of the imperialist countries would have enormous revolutionary repercussions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the 1994 *WV* series, "South Africa Powder Keg" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12 [February 1995]), we wrote:

> "For the moment South Africa is a weakened link in the chain of the world capitalist system binding the neocolonies of the Third World to the imperialist states of North America, West Europe and Japan. It is necessary to mobilize the forces of the proletariat to *break* that chain at its weakest links, and then fight like hell to take the battle to the imperialist centers, seeking allies against the vicious enemy of all the oppressed—international capital. Thus, the fight to build a South African Bolshevik Party is inseparable from the struggle we in the International Communist League are waging to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International."

The fight for world socialist revolution is certainly not easy. But what is truly impossible is for the subordination of the working class to the class enemy to result in anything but the continuing vicious cycle of defeats and demoralizing sellouts.■

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The Speak Out Now! Group

Ordinary Reformists for "Ordinary People"

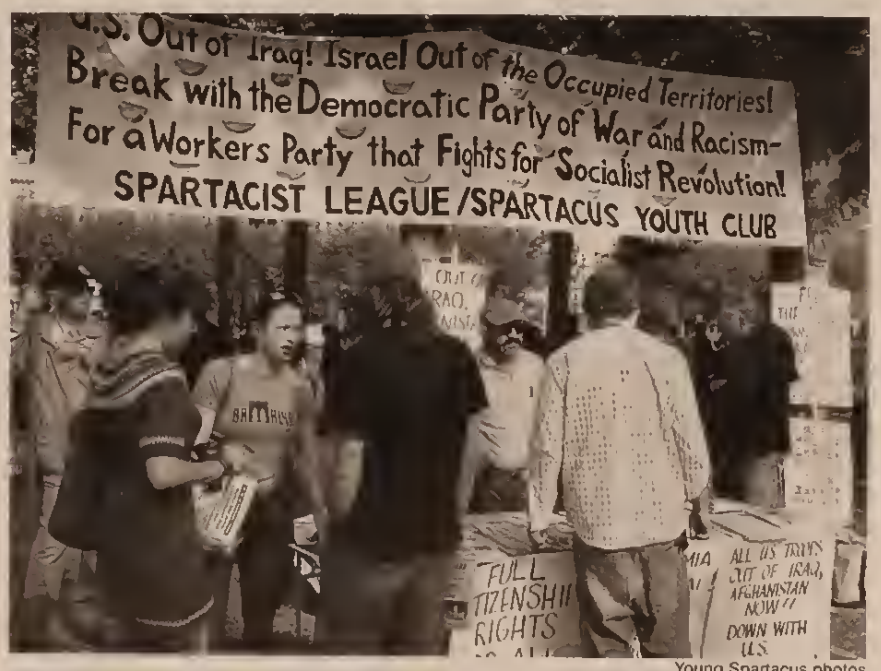
We reprint below an October 24 Bay Area Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club leaflet that was distributed at the October 27 San Francisco antiwar demonstration.

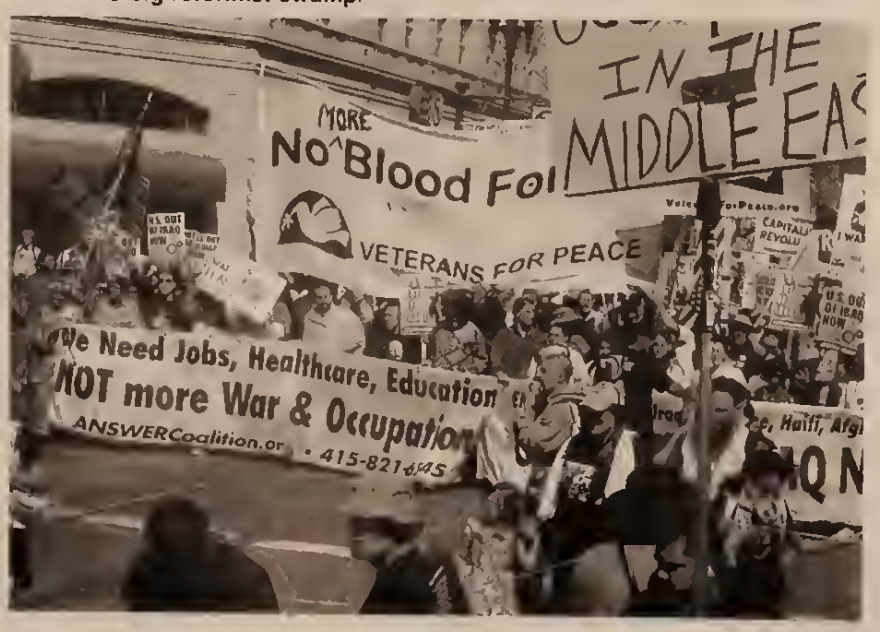
Over the past couple of years, antiwar protests in the San Francisco Bay Area have brought out contingents of youth in red T-shirts with "Speak Out Now!" emblazoned on them. A self-proclaimed Marxist outfit, Speak Out Now!—a.k.a. the Revolutionary Workers Group (SON/RWG)—also exists, albeit semi-clandestinely, at Bay Area campuses, particularly San Francisco State University. In its public appearances, SON/RWG distributes leaflets that would not offend any middle-class liberal, complaining of the misuse of "our tax dollars" by the "wealthy minority" and appealing for "a system run democratically by ordinary people." Indeed, this refrain has more in common with populist currents in the U.S. than anything resembling Marxism.

What makes SON/RWG a bird of a different feather is that it is affiliated with a factional minority of France's Lutte Ouvrière (LO—Worker's Fight), a reformist party that falsely, albeit rarely, lays claim to Trotskyism. While anyone meeting them for the first time won't hear much about their relationship to Trotskyism, a lie spoken even occasionally is still a lie. For the initiated, SON/RWG offers a cynical school of phony Marxism, while in practice peddling a program of liberal reformism. Its "Where We Stand" statement, which on occasion accompanies SON's leaflets and pamphlets, declares: "We base ourselves on the ideas and actions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, on the model of the Russian Revolution of 1917 when the working class showed its capacity to take over and exert its power, and on the revolutionary ideas of the Fourth International in its struggles against Stalinism."

This claim is belied by the whole history of LO, which was born in rejecting Trotsky's Fourth International and marked by its refusal in practice to defend the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Its day-to-day work is based on an economist adaptation to the present consciousness of the working class, accommodating the backwardness and bigotry imbued by the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants. In polemicizing against the Russian Economists in the early 1900s, Lenin outlined the central characteristics of this trend: a vulgarization of Marxism; sensitivity to opportunist criticism; the restriction of political activity to economic struggles to improve the conditions of the working class; and worshipping the "spontaneity of the masses" in opposition to building a centralized vanguard party to bring revolutionary consciousness to the proletariat, steeling its most advanced elements for the conquest of power.

Economism arose in Russia in response to the awakening of struggle among a new, young working class. Today, the consciousness of the working class has been thrown backward under the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. In this context, tailing the "spontaneity of the masses"—or in SON/RWG's words, reaching people where they are at—means adapting to "death of communism" reaction. Transported to the ivory tower of American campuses by SON/RWG, this opportunist practice takes the form of condescending leaflets, devoid of an iota of Marxism much less partisanship with the working class, aimed at petty-hourgeois liberals. When confronted by members of the Spartacus Youth Cluh they argue that people aren't ready for socialist ideas.





Young Spartacus photos

Spartacists at October 27 San Francisco antiwar demonstration. Below: At March 18 San Francisco rally ANSWER and other reformist groups promote lie that imperialism can be reformed. Speak Out Now! is just another little fish in the big reformist swamp.

The SYC takes a very different approach because we're looking for a few good communists. We tell the hard truth: This is a class-divided society, run into decay and ruin by a system based on production for the profits of the few and the exploitation of the many. We fight to win youth to the understanding that there will be no end to imperialist war short of the socialist eradication of the capitalist system. We expose and combat every manifestation of oppression and state terror meted out by the racist rulers. In political solidarity with the Spartacist League, we work for the formation of a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class to lead the struggle here and internationally for a successful communist revolution, which will lay the basis for freeing the energies of all of humanity toward creating a truly free society. This task necessitates a struggle to make the working class conscious that it has both the revolutionary class interest and the social power to overthrow capitalism and institute its own class rule. An essential part of this struggle is the fight, in opposition to all forms of backward, false consciousness, to win the working class to champion the cause of all those oppressed by capitalism. We ***mean it*** when we say we fight to carry forward the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the tradition of the 1917 Russian Revolution!

Looking for a Piece of the Reformist Pie?

SON/RWG's leaflets at antiwar demonstrations are standard condemnations of arrogant politicians and greedy oil companies. Together with a panoply of journalistic bullet points against the lies the Bush administration told in the lead-up to the war, they also distribute a "where your income tax money really goes" pie chart from the pacifist War Resisters League. Taken together, there is nothing that distinguishes SON/RWG from the International Socialist Organization, ANSWER/Party for Socialism and Liberation or other "hutter not guns" reformists and their lies that the "people united" can pressure the imperialists to "stop war." In a January 2007 leaflet titled "Now Is The Time To Say NO To War," SON/RWG opines that "wishing, hoping and voting is not enough." It concludes with classic "movement" mongering:

> "A demonstration, even a small one can be a start. But we can't stop here. We can use this demonstration to do more than protest in the streets. We can organize ourselves to go back to our schools, workplaces and communities, to begin to educate people about the facts of the war. We can bring more people to the next demonstration on March 18. That can be a real start."

At the March 18 antiwar protest, the were whistling a somewhat different tune, obviously appealing to those increasingly disgruntled with peace crawls that have done nothing other than boost the electoral fortunes of the Democratic Party. Here the SON leaflet declaimed: "Despite our anger, demonstrations are never enough to stop a war." It even went on to call for "revolutionary change" and further declared that there can be no "lasting future unless capitalism is replaced." The goal, concludes SON, is "a world system that is democratically run in the interests of and controlled by the majority of people." Thus, "revolutionary change" is simply used to promote the bourgeois-liberal notion of classless "democracy," a myth which has so effectively been used to mask the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The SYC intervenes in the mass antiwar demonstrations to forthrightly argue that the struggle against the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan must he a proletarian revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system that breeds such wars. We took a side in defense of Iraq and

Afghanistan against the U.S. imperialist invaders, while politically opposing Saddam Hussein's bloody regime and the Taliban reactionaries. Today we have a side with the Iraqi and Afghan peoples against the U.S. occupiers, their allies and Iraqi and Afghan lackeys. Our slogans and revolutionary contingents at these protests call for "class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers!"

As the Spartacus Youth League, the American Trotskyist youth organization of the 1930s, from which we take our name, stated:

> "For youth, as for other workers, it is imperative that he learns the class nature of society and of government and of warfare. When he learns these lessons he will have made headway in the fundamental question. *Between classes there can be no peace* till one or the other is vanquished. The workers have to understand that the *road to peace lies through war: class war*, class struggle."
>
> —"Disarmament and Pacifism," *Young Spartacus* No. 3, February 1932

SON/RWG meticulously avoids any such class analysis, much less its revolutionary conclusion. This only plays into the pro-Democratic Party pressure politics peddled by the reformists and liberals at the mass antiwar protests. Their call to "bring the troops home now" confines these demonstrations to social-patriotic appeals to that wing of the bourgeoisie, mainly the Democrats, which wants to cut its losses in Iraq in order to better pursue its aims and interests in Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere, with an eye on the huge prize of restoring capitalism in China.

We fight to break activists from illusions in the Democrats and their Green Party sidekicks, pointing out that you can't fight the imperialists and their predatory wars while supporting the political parties that represent their interests. The lie that the Democrats are the "friends" of the working people and the oppressed, promoted by the trade-union tops, has long served to shackle the power of labor to their capitalist class enemy. Breaking those chains is central to the fight to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class, a precondition to the socialist emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed.

SON/RWG: Color-Blind "Socialists"

In France, LO's economist adaptation to the existing consciousness of the working class has long meant rejecting the fight against special oppression. Applied to the American terrain this means consciously avoiding the fight against black oppression, which is a cornerstone of capitalist exploitation. One of the rare times that SON/RWG even mentions the question of anti-black racism is in its leaflet on Hurricane Katrina. Titled "Natural Disaster or Man-Made Catastrophe?", it notes in passing that New Orleans is "primarily African-American" and describes the wretched living conditions for blacks in the city before the storm. But they still can't state the obvious: The abandoning of the masses of the poor, overwhelmingly black population in New Orleans to die was a *racist atrocity!*

Instead, the leaflet complains that "40% of the Louisiana National Guard, the front line of defense in the case of national emergencies, is serving today in Iraq along with a major share of their best equipment." This stance perfectly captures SON's liberal illusions in the capitalist state. In fact, the National Guard *was* sent into New Orleans after the storms

AFP

AP

Left: Rally against "First Employment Contract" (CPE) in Marseille, March 2006. Above: Cops attack protester after March 2006 Paris demonstration. SON touts LO's intervention in anti-CPE protests. LO served in daisy chains to exclude minority youth they called "hooligans."

—with "equipment" to crack down on the suffering black population! When some 300 Arkansas National Guardsmen were sent into the city, Democratic Louisiana governor Kathleen Blanco said: "These troops know how to shoot and kill...and I expect they will." And they did.

It's elementary Marxism that the capitalist state consists of bodies of armed men—the police, courts, prison guards and army, including the National Guard —whose purpose is to maintain the bourgeoisie's dictatorship over the working class and the oppressed. This means suppressing strikes, as when riot police break up a picket line, or "restoring order" against starving poor folk clamoring for housing and bread. As Marx and Lenin taught us, the working class cannot wield the machinery of the capitalist state in its interests; the state must be smashed through workers revolution, replacing it with proletarian rule.

Despite Hurricane Katrina's exposure of racial oppression, class exploitation and their intertwined roots in capitalist America, petty-bourgeois liberals and most of the left, including, manifestly, SON/RWG, buy into an "end of racism" ideology that blunts the hard truth about the deep-seated racist oppression of black people. SON's leaflet on Katrina doesn't speak of, much less put forward a program for fighting, the racist segregation and starvation policies aimed at the black population of this country. Instead, the best it can offer is that people follow the example of the "heroic acts on the part of many ordinary people during this tragedy." The actions taken by many to rescue people and provide clothing, food and medicine to those who had been left to starve and die were indeed heroic. But for SON/RWG to offer this as the answer is to *accept* the desperate conditions faced by black people in this country, merely offering some alleviation through charity.

The utter contempt for black and poor people demonstrated at all levels of the U.S. ruling class before, during and after Hurricane Katrina is a harbinger of the murderous capitalist system's impulse toward genocide of black Americans. The segregation of the mass of the black population at the bottom of this society has long served as a key prop for maintaining the rule of capital in the U.S., where the color bar is used to obscure the fundamental class divide between labor and their exploiters. Today the racist rulers see no reason to spend money on the black poor, who are increasingly seen as expendable to this system of production for profit. At the same time, black workers continue to be a strategic component of the American proletariat.

Ainsworth/Dallas Morning News

New Orleans, 1 September 2005: National Guard patrols as survivors of Hurricane Katrina wade toward Superdome. Troops were used to crack down on blacks, poor.

The situation cries out for a class-struggle fight for black rights, mobilizing the *social power* of the labor movement. That potential power was seen in the shipyard strike in Pascagoula, Mississippi earlier this year, where integrated strikers, many of whom had lost their homes in Katrina, shut down one of the world's largest naval shipbuilders. In answer to the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, the Spartacist League called for the unions to mobilize for the rescue effort and to demand a massive program of public works, at good union wages and under the control of workers committees, to rebuild New Orleans. That there was little to no mobilization of the unions, despite wide sentiment in the ranks, is due to the accommodation of pro-Democratic Party union misleaders to the *racist, capitalist status quo.*

Our call to mobilize the unions was a concrete expression of our perspective of ***revalutianary integrationism***, the understanding that the fight for black liberation in this country is central to the fight for the socialist emancipation of the working class as a whole. This program is counterposed both to the liberal integrationist notion that black people can achieve social equality within the confines of the capitalist profit system, and to black nationalism, which capitulates to and helps perpetuate the racist segregation fostered by this country's rulers. Won to a revolutionary program, black workers will be the living link between the dispossessed masses in the inner cities and the social power of the multiracial proletariat. The only road to black freedom lies through sweeping away this racist capitalist system, and the only road to socialist revolution lies through a united struggle of black and white workers led by a multiracial vanguard party. We are committed to building that party.

LO Reformists and Anti-Immigrant Attacks

Across the Atlantic we find the same color-blind faith in the racist capitalist state with SON's mentor, LO, in France. Racism against ghettoized immigrant and minority youth serves to profoundly divide the working class. Yet LO consciously evades the issue, talking only of "poor neighborhoods" and avoiding the key question of racial oppression.

From the outset, LO has refused to oppose the French bourgeoisie's long-standing "Vigipirate" campaign, a massive mobilization of the police and military to sow terror in minority neighborhoods and to patrol train and Metro stations and airports hunting for supposed "terror suspects." LO's silence over Vigipirate goes hand in hand with its leading role in pushing the racist campaign to expel young women wearing the headscarf from school. The headscarf represents a reactionary social program that confines women to the home in a position of servitude. But in France, Islam is a religion of the oppressed and of the ghettos. The expulsion of Muslim girls from school can only reinforce their isolation and oppression, and fuel racism against all immigrants. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France oppose these racist

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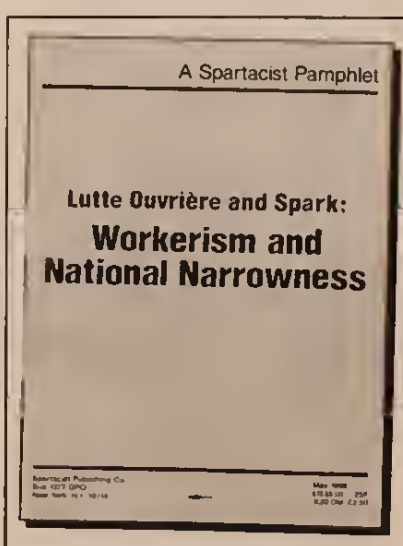
NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips an issue in December.**

Our next issue will be dated January 4.



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Ordinary Reformists...

(continued from page 9)

campaigns and defend the girls who wear headscarves against the bourgeois state. In contrast, LO welcomed Jacques Chirac's law banning the headscarf, a law which is part and parcel of the daily attacks against Muslims.

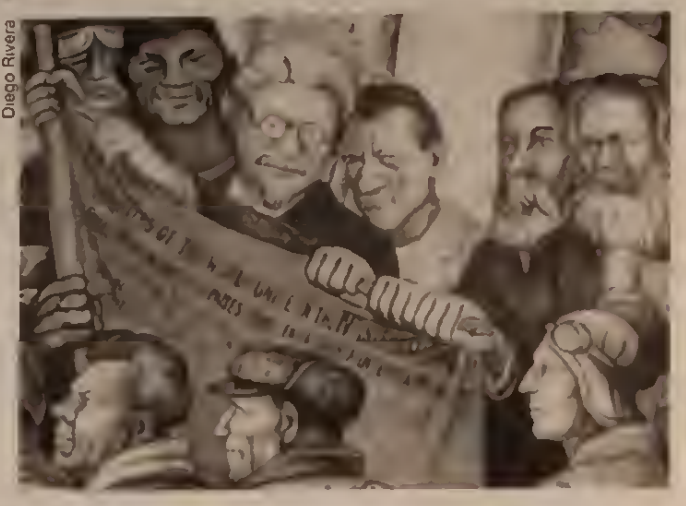
While silent on Vigipirate, LO came out in solidarity with police "strikes," arguing that these armed thugs of the capitalist state "carry out functions that are useful to society as a whole, by doing security tasks that are necessary to collective life, for lousy wages" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 7 December 2001)! This was echoed on the eve of the 2005 revolt of youth in suburban ghettos (*banlieues*) in France, when LO attacked the country's top cop, then-Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy, for reducing the number of police in the ghettos. In its press, *Lutte Ouvrière* (8 July 2005), LO complained: "In complete contradiction to his promises, the minister Sarkozy has conducted the same policy on his turf as his colleagues: playing tricks with the numbers to hide the decrease, closing police precincts, budgets without funds." These criticisms of Sarkozy *from the right* find an echo in SON/RWG's whining over the absence of National Guard "equipment" in New Orleans.

SON/RWG touts LO's 2006 intervention in the broad-based student and labor struggle against the CPE (First Contract Law) stripping young workers of any job security. During these protests, the bourgeoisie and its media whipped up a racist hysteria against ghetto youth. For its part, LO served in daisy chains to "protect" student contingents from supposed "hooligans" ["*casseurs*"] from the *banlieues*. Similarly, during the 2005 ghetto upheavals in France, LO signed on to a declaration by the League of the Rights of Man calling to re-establish "order." LO later issued a mealy-mouthed retraction, saying that their signature had been "an idiocy of course, but a minor one." A "minor" one for LO, but not for those on the receiving end of police "law and order," which was aimed at minority youth of North African and African origin.

LO: Cheerleaders for Counterrevolution

In the words of James P. Cannon, the founding leader of American Trotskyism, from the time of the 1917 October Revolution the "attitude taken toward the Soviet Union...has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world" ("Speech on the Russian Question," 15 October 1939). Despite its degeneration under the nationalist misrule of the Stalinist bureaucracy that usurped political power from the working class, the Soviet workers state, based on the collectivized economy ushered in by the Bolshevik Revolution, remained a tremendous gain for the workers of the world. Our tendency, the International Communist League, fought to the end in defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution. This defense was despite and in political opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy, which undermined the foundations of the workers state and opened the door to the forces of capitalist restoration. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish the rule of workers councils, based on soviet democracy and proletarian revolutionary internationalism.

Despite a paper position professing a Trotskyist defense of the former Soviet Union, in practice LO came down on the imperialist side of the barricades. During Cold War II in the 1980s, France was the cockpit for anti-Soviet mobilizations in Europe under Socialist Party president François Mitterrand's popular-front government. LO joined the social democrats' anti-Communist hysteria over Afghanistan, grotesquely comparing the Red Army's intervention against CIA-backed Islamic cutthroats to French colonialism in Algeria and U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam. In contrast, we ***hailed the Red Army intervention***, which opened the possibility of extending the gains of October to the hideously benighted Afghan peoples, particularly offering the perspective for the liberation of women from Islamic reaction. The withdrawal of these troops by the Soviet Stalinist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev, in a futile attempt to appease the imperialists, betrayed the Afghan masses and paved the way for the capitalist counterrevolutions that swept East Europe at the end of the 1980s and destroyed the Soviet Union in 1991-92.



Diego Rivera

Detail of Diego Rivera mural "Man in Control of the Universe" depicts Trotsky (center), Engels and Marx (right) and others with banner of Fourth International.

Spartakist

East Berlin, 3 January 1990: ICL-initiated demonstration of 250,000 against Nazi desecration of Red Army monument in Treptow Park and in defense of USSR. ICL banner reads: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Although claiming to recognize the Soviet Union as a workers state, LO denied the social transformations in East Europe (and later in China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam) that created bureaucratically deformed workers states based on collectivized property. Rather, they falsely claimed that these countries were, and are, capitalist. On this basis, they supported Polish Solidarność, which was backed and bankrolled by the CIA, the Vatican and Western bankers, in its counterrevolutionary bid for power. Although admitting that the leadership of Solidarność was animated by "nationalist, clericalist and reactionary political ideas," LO concluded, "it goes without saying that even if the Polish workers struggle on the basis of a program which does not lead to their social emancipation, revolutionaries must be in complete solidarity with their struggles" (*Lutte de Classe*, 22 December 1980).

This year at its annual Fête, LO welcomed Cai Chongguo, from the Hong Kong-based journal *China Labour Bulletin* (CLB). The CLB claims to defend workers' rights and the fight for "independent" trade unions. But like Solidarność, this is an imperialist-backed outfit that seeks to cynically manipulate the discontent and legitimate grievances of Chinese workers to foster capitalist counterrevolution in China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states. Our comrades of the LTF intervened to protest Cai's appearance at the LO Fête (see "France: Chinese Counterrevolutionary Feted by Lutte Ouvrière," *Workers Vanguard* No. 896, 3 August). The unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against capitalist counterrevolution, which would immeasurably strengthen imperialism while devastating the Chinese workers and peasants, is the central question posed for the working class internationally. And again LO finds itself on the other side of the barricades.

For the Party of Lenin and Trotsky!

LO began as a tendency in opposition to the founding in 1938 of Trotsky's Fourth International to carry forward the revolutionary internationalist program of Bolshevism against the Stalinist betrayers. LO's repudiation of the need for an international Leninist vanguard party, the critical instrumentality for making the working class conscious of its revolutionary purpose as the agency for the eradication of the capitalist order, is at the root of LO's economist adaptation to the existing consciousness of the working class, burdened by all the backwardness, bigotry and religious superstition inculcated by the institutions and ideology of bourgeois society. For its part, SON/RWG can barely bring itself to utter the words "working class" in its leaflets for fear of offending petty-bourgeois sensibilities in its campus haunts.

Similarly, neither the destruction of the gains that existed for the world's working class in the former Soviet Union, nor the defense of the proletarian gains remaining in China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam, are of evident concern. Despite its rare claims to defend the tradition of the 1917 Russian Revolution, SON/RWG's more common appeals to "ordinary people" play straight into anti-Communism, offering that previous "struggles have almost always left a ruling minority still in power." Here they also fall in line with the imperialists' cry that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union proved that Marxism was a "failed experiment."

With its mantra of the need to meet people where they are at, SON/RWG goes with the regressive ideological flow. As fighters for new October Revolutions, the SYC swims against the stream. As the youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League, we fight to break the proletariat, youth and others from the false consciousness that ties them to the rule of the bourgeoisie. Polemical combat to expose the pretensions to Marxism of other tendencies is crucial to removing the obstacles on the road to proletarian socialist revolution for those actually seeking a revolutionary alternative to this system of exploitation, poverty, war and racism. ■

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Letter

On Accuracy in Attribution

November 3, 2007

To the editor,

In the article on the RCP in your last issue, you pointed out how these Maoists who once cheered the Khomeni "revolution" in Iran now talk as though they've always fought against that clerical reaction. You add: "We can only paraphrase a comment attributed to Oscar Wilde: Hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue." That's not a paraphrase, and you're off a couple centuries on the attribution. If you consult any good book of quotations (or the Internet), you'd learn that the author of this famous and oft-quoted maxim is Francois de La Rochefoucauld (*Reflections*, no. 218).

"Accuracy to a newspaper is what virtue is to a lady, but a newspaper can always print a retraction." Now, who said that?

Sincerely yours,
A reader from Florida

***Young Spartacus* replies:**

Our reader is right about the author of the aphorism quoted in our article, "RCP Maoists 'Serve the People' ...Up to the Democrats" (*WV* No. 901, 26 October). Although we were aware of the correct attribution, we chose not to include it in the article. The aphorism is attributed to Oscar Wilde, but it would have been better to credit its original author, François de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680). We thank the reader for his letter on this. In answer to his question: liberal Cold Warrior Adlai Stevenson. ■

France...

(continued from page 1)

by surprisc. After CGT leader Bernard Thibault was jeered at a number of strike general assembly meetings on November 14, Sarkozy told his advisers, "It is necessary to save the soldier Thibault" (*Le Monde*, 26 November). While agreeing to Thibault's conditions for negotiations, the government demanded that union leaders call off the strike. The next day, Thibault obligingly declared that it was "unthinkable" for the strike to continue until an agreement was negotiated, adding that it was up to the general assemblies to decide. But assemblies across the country voted overwhelmingly to continue the strikc. CFDT leader François Chérèque, who had tried in vain to get railway workers to suspend their strike, fled from a November 20 demonstration after he was jeered by strikers. Even though the union tops got workers back on the job without wresting any concessions from the government. more strike actions are threatened.

The utter treachery of the labor tops left a leadership vacuum that was filled by fake-Trotskyist organizations such as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvrière (LO), as well as by anarchists and other leftists. The LCR in particular is widely seen as militant because of its prominent role in the strikes, including calling to extend them. But the LCR's program is fundamentally no different from that of the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy. For the last 30 years, the LCR has given electoral support to popular-front coalitions, in which parties like the Communist Party (PCF) and PS join bourgeois forces to rule on behalf of the capitalists.

As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky repeatedly underlined, support to the popular front is not a tactic but the greatest crime. In fighting for the political independence of the proletariat from the capitalist class, the ICL refuses to give any—even the most critical—support to workers parties participating in a popular front. In supporting the popular front, reformists like the LCR share direct responsibility for the racist and anti-working-class policies of these capitalist governments. By tying the workers directly to the capitalist order, popular fronts pave the way for further attacks under right-wing bourgeois regimes.

While the LCR trumpets its stance of opposition to Sarkozy and "independence" from the PS, its stated program is limited to defending the welfare state. As our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France wrote in "It Is Necessary to Fight Back Against Government Attacks!" (*Le Bolchévik*, September 2007), "For all its invective against the PS these days, the LCR has never, since its inception, strayed from its course of pressure politics, remaining comfortably in the framework of capitalism." The article lays out:

> "The profit system is based on the exploitation of the workers' labor power by the bourgeoisie, and its state—the cops, prisons and courts—is directed against the workers to maintain and reinforce exploitation. To get rid of capitalist oppression once and for all will require a workers revolution, led by a multiracial workers party, that seizes the means of production from the bourgeoisie."

Our model is the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led the proletariat to power in the 1917 October Revolution. To forge such a party requires political struggle against the LCR and other reformist groups, which are opponents of this revolutionary perspective.

"Death of Communism" Reformists

Throughout West Europe, capitalist governments are intent on overturning the social measures that were introduced in the main following World War II, after the Soviet Union's defeat of Nazi Germany, which laid the basis for the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in East and Central Europe over the next few years. Facing a volatile working class and, in many cases, mass Communist parties, the French and other European bourgeoisies were willing to sacrifice some of their profits in order to try to pacify the workers. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—a historic defeat for the workers and oppressed of the world—the capitalist rulers have massively attacked workers' gains as well as the rights of immigrants and democratic rights in general.

In response to the capitalist offensive, there have been significant labor struggles in defense of wages and benefits. This has heen seen recently not only in France but in Germany, where locomotive engineers staged a combative and bitter strike, the largest in the history of that country's state railroad system. But under the leadership of the labor bureaucracies, such struggles have time and again been channeled into the dead end of class collaboration. Thus a wave of combative strikes in France in 1995 was derailed by the reformist misleaders who helped bring to power the popular front led by the PS's Lionel Jospin. That government instituted many of the same anti-working-class measures against which the French proletariat had mobilized.

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has led to a profound, though uneven, regression in political consciousness internationally, with even the more advanced workers no longer identifying their struggles with the aspiration of building a socialist society. This is nowhere more clearly seen than in France, where the formerly pro-Soviet PCF could once rally millions behind its banners. The 1997 *Black Book of Communism*, written mainly by French ex-leftists, was a focus internationally for a campaign of hysterical slanders against the October Revolution of 1917 and Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

The International Communist League fought to the last in defending the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Germany and East Europe against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution. We called for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist regimes that undermined those workers states. Today we raise the same program in defense of the remaining deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. This is an essential part of our fight to build Trotskyist parties to lead the struggle for *new October Revolutions*. As Trotsky insisted in April 1940 in polemicizing against those who, under the sway of their imperialist rulers, rejected defense of the Soviet Union on the ground that it was led by the Stalinist regime, "Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones" (*In Defense of Marxism*).

Hand in hand with their class collaboration "at home," the LCR and other "far left" groups criminally aided the imperialist drive to destroy the homeland of the October Revolution. The LCR as well as LO championed Polish Solidarność, which we Trotskyists denounced as the company union of the CIA and Vatican. The LCR joined the imperialists in denouncing the Soviet Union after the Red Army intervened into Afghanistan on behalf of a modernizing nationalist government besieged by the woman-hating *mujahedin*. It went on to cheer counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself, supporting Boris Yeltsin and his reactionary rabble. Since then, the LCR has explicitly renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat and run from any identification with the October Revolution.

Thc same LCR that did its part to help bring capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union now talks about building an "anti-capitalist" party in France to unite dissident PCF members, ecologists and sundry leftists, with the aim of building a new popular front. The LCR would abandon any reference to "Trotskyism" and drop the words "communism" and "revolutionary" from the party's name (already empty words for the LCR).

AFP

Students demonstrate at Caen railway station In Normandy, November 13. Banner reads: "They privatize, we organize. For the convergence of struggles."

"Anti-capitalism" has become a fashionable term for such anti-communist "leftists" as those who populate the Social Forums. These are popular-frontist outfits, avidly promoted by the LCR, that are funded by the Ford Foundation and various bourgeois governments as a means of channeling those critical of imperialist brigandage into the dead end of bourgeois reformism. Brazil's bourgeois Lula government, a key sponsor of the Social Forums, for some years included Miguel Rossetto, a member of the LCR's sister organization. As minister of agrarian development, Rossetto was the enemy of landless peasants and the rural poor. The LCR also hails the bourgeois-populist regime of Venezuela's Hugo Chávez, who supported the brutal repression against *banlieue* youth carried out by then-president Jacques Chirac two years ago.

"Far Left" Bows Before Bourgeois State

Sarkozy's electoral victory caused a crisis for the SP and others on the left. including the PCF, which garnered less than 2 percent of the votc. The LCR presidential candidate, Olivier Besancenot. received 4 percent, mainly as a result of its posturing as a sharp critic of the PS. This is despite the fact that on the second round of elections the LCR, as is their historic practice, called to "get rid of the right in 2007"—i.e., votc Royal. In 2002, these politics led the LCR to join a broad alliance, extending from right-wing bourgeois parties to the "far left," that mobilized behind the call to vote for Sarkozy's predecessor, Jacques Chirac, against fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen.

As for LO, after its candidate, Arlette Laguiller, made the worst showing in six presidential campaigns (1.3 percent), LO immediately called to vote for Royal on the second round "without reserve" and "without illusions" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 27 April). (For more on LO, see "Ordinary Reformists for 'Ordinary People'," page 8.) With the PCF reeling, the LCR sees an opportunity to become a significant pressure group on the left flank of the PS. And with its high profile in the recent strikes, the LCR seeks to maximize its vote in municipal elections next spring in order to press for a new popular front.

Like all reformists, the ultimate aim of the LCR and LO is to administer the capitalist state. Besancenot makes no secret of his willingness to join a government coalition calling itself "anti-capitalist." Meanwhile, LO is negotiating in a number of cities to be included on the municipal electoral lists headed by the PS or PCF. LO leader Georges Kaldy has baldly declared: "Running a municipality does not bother us" (*Le Monde*, 27 November). Both LO and the LCR openly admit that they take money that the capitalist state doles out to political parties based on vote totals, the number of parliamentary deputies, etc. In regard to such corrupt practices, we can only repeat the old saying, "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

In a polemic against the LCR and LO written earlier this year, the LTF stated the ICL's opposition in principle to running for executive offices in elections. The article stressed that the bourgeois state consists at its core of special bodies of armed men that have a monopoly on legal violence, adding:

> "Under capitalism, executive power, such as the office of president, means assuming responsibility for commanding these armed bodies on behalf of the bourgeoisie. It is the same with the mayor at the municipal level. He has police powers under the control of the prefect....
>
> "Our entire purpose is to bring to workers the understanding that in any socialist revolution the bourgeois state must be destroyed and replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin taught this, and all history has proven it. To run in elections for executive office thus represents an obstacle to our strategic goal."
>
> —"French Election: No Choice for Workers," *WV* No. 890, 13 April

The Working Class Needs Revolutionary Leadership

According to a government report last year, French trade unions get at most 57 percent of financing from their members' dues. The CFDT federation admits to getting more than a quarter of its income directly or indirectly from various government sources. The Sarkozy government and the PS are now moving toward a "reform" that would further integrate the unions into the capitalist state. The measure demands that the union federations make their accounts public and that state subsidies be based on the outcome of union elections.

The trade-union bureaucrats rest on a relatively privileged layer of workers,

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France...

(continued from page 11)

largely men of French or European descent, who benefit from the crumbs thrown at them by the imperialists. Based on these privileges, the labor tops spread the illusion that workers have common interests with their "own" capitalist rulers. As part of the fight to forge a Leninist vanguard party, we call for a new, revolutionary leadership of the unions that stands for the complete independence of labor from the capitalists and their state.

The program of class collaboration that defines the labor bureaucracy and the reformists of both the PS/PCF and "far left" type has emboldened the bourgeoisie to intensify its attacks on workers and minorities. When *banlieue* youth in France revolted two years ago against cop terror and racist oppression, the PS and PCF—echoed by LO—refused to defend the youth and called for re-establishing racist capitalist "order."

The unions must mobilize in defense of all those victimized by the capitalist rulers, demanding full citizenship rights for all immigrants and opposing the Vigipirate campaign of racist cop terror. This includes defending the *banlieue* youth (in the main French citizens) who are beset by massive levels of unemployment and discrimination, even barred from nightclubs. But minorities in France are not simply helpless victims of oppression.

Jean-Michel Sicot

September 6: Riot police drag away a woman from encampment in Aubervilliers, near Paris. Some 80 African immigrant families were expelled from the camp by police.

As the LTF wrote in a leaflet distributed during this year's strike at the PSA Citroën-Aulnay auto plant (printed in *Le Bolchévik* No. 180, June 2007), "This strike shows where the social power of youth of African and North African origin resides.... It is in their relation to the means of production, as workers, not in mindlessly expressing their anger by burning cars and schools in reaction to racist oppression and cop terror in 'la belle France'."

France has not only one of the lowest rates of unionization of any industrialized country—with as few as 5 percent of private sector workers organized—but the union movement is broken up into a constellation of federations, many directly run by the reformist parties. The French bourgeoisie is long practiced at exploiting these divisions. After the October rail strike, the government made a separate deal with one of the unions of train drivers, whose participation in the strike had been key. A revolutionary leadership would fight for industrial unions, organizing all workers in a single industry into one union. It is necessary to ***organize the unorganized***, with special emphasis on minorities and women, who are especially subjected to part-time and precarious work.

As the current struggles in France underline, reforms are always reversible as long as power remains in the hands of the capitalist exploiters. In a presentation given in the aftermath of the massive 2006 protests against the Chirac government's "First Employment Contract" attack on young workers (printed in "Workers, Students Beat Back Government Attack," *WV* No. 868, 14 April 2006), an LTF spokesman declared:

> "The workers still have the social power to overturn the capitalist system. What they lack to take the struggle to the end is consciousness of their own strength and historic responsibility to be the gravediggers of the capitalist order. They also lack the revolutionary leadership to lead them to the victory that the Russian workers had in October 1917. Our task is to build a party to win the majority of the working class to our revolutionary perspective. Our political opponents are an obstacle to this because, continually telling workers that all they can hope for is slowing down the pace of the attacks, they set up the proletariat for big defeats. The building of revolutionary parties—national sections of a reforged Fourth International—is the central task confronting us, a task we will accomplish. We call on you to make our battle yours and to join us!"■

Mumia...

(continued from page 1)

Party spokesman, MOVE supporter and renowned journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless." Faulkner stated in an excerpt of the book published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (2 December): "I need to see Abu-Jamal executed." Mumia's case represents what the racist death penalty is all about—a barbaric legacy of chattel slavery. It is no accident that with support for capital punishment waning and an effective moratorium in place, supporters of the racist death penalty are seizing upon Faulkner's hook to promote state-sanctioned murder.

The International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Journalists for Mumia and Educators for Mumia have initiated a "media-activist" letter-writing campaign calling on the *Today* show to allow Mumia's supporters to counter the lies of Faulkner and Smerconish—a request that has to date been rejected. The Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League will be joining a protest called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition on December 6 outside the *Today* show at 7:15 a.m., at 48th St. and Rockefeller Plaza. We urge Mumia's supporters, fighters for black freedom and opponents of the racist death penalty to be there to demand: Mumia Is Innocent! Free Him Now!

A mountain of evidence proves Mumia's innocence, including the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, killed Faulkner. This means nothing to the bourgeois press corps feting Smerconish and Faulkner in order to rehash lies that were demolished over a decade ago. The book's Web site falsely claims that Mumia was convicted by a "racially mixed jury based on: the testimony of several eyewitnesses, his ownership of the murder weapon, matching ballistics, and Abu-Jamal's own confession." In fact, black jurors were unlawfully excluded, Mumia's "confession" was concocted two months after the shooting at a roundtable meeting of the cops and prosecutors who feared that their frame-up prosecution, based on the false testimony of a prostitute who was not even present at the time of the shooting, was falling apart.

A 2001 affidavit submitted to state and federal courts by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who served on Mumia's legal defense team from 1995 to 1999, exposed, among other things, the phony ballistics evidence. There was no evidence Mumia's gun was fired that night; the absence of divots in the sidewalk contradicts the cops' tale that Mumia fired repeatedly as he stood over Faulkner; bullet trajectories point to more than one shooter (see PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!*). Photographs unearthed by Michael Schiffmann confirm police tampering with guns and other evidence in order to prosecute Mumia.

While Smerconish has made a name for himself by dismissing the evidence of torture at Abu Ghraib as nothing but "naked pyramid pictures" and calling for mass arrests of undocumented immigrants who protest for their rights, Maureen Faulkner has long peddled the lie that Mumia leeringly smiled at her when Officer Faulkner's bloody shirt was shown to the jury—a smear intended to portray Mumia as a coldhearted killer. Mumia was not even in the courtroom that day, one of the numerous days he was excluded from his own trial. An inkling of their hook's mendacity can be seen in the Associated Press article, which dutifully reports that "neither Abu-Jamal nor his brother have ever spoken about what happened that night," adding, "the book emphasizes that point."

In fact, declarations sworn in 2001 by Mumia and his brother William Cook, and presented to both state and federal courts, gave detailed accounts of what they saw the night of Faulkner's shooting, including Mumia's statement: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent." As with Beverly's confession, not one court has considered these declarations. As we stated in "Sinister Book Recycles Frame-Up Lies": "The cops and prosecutors, Democratic and Republican politicians and press hacks tell any lie to bury this unbroken fighter for the oppressed. The biggest lie of all is that Mumia shot and killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner." Labor, black people and opponents of racist oppression must mobilize now to free Mumia!■

Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!

Jennifer Beach

On May 17, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time.

If the Court rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black Leagues have called for protests the day after the decision. Others have also called for protests.

For more information see the PDC Web site, www.partisandefense.org

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!
FREE MUMIA NOW!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Funds are urgently needed for legal defense!

Make a contribution today, payable to "National Lawyers Guild Foundation" (earmarked for "Mumia") and mail to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 2012, New York, NY 10159.

Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organizations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicize Mumia's case in your union or organization's newsletter.

Spread the word! Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for $1. Get the PDC button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—$10 for DVD, $15 for VHS. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*—$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee at our New York City address below.

Partisan Defense Committee
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WORKERS VANGUARD

2007 SUBJECT INDEX

Issues No. 883 (5 January) through No. 904 (7 December)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2007, from issue No. 883 (5 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 904 (7 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August, and skipping the last issue in December.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:
  V.I. Lenin on the State, #893, 25 May (2, 3)
  means the headline of the article, issue No. 893, deted 25 May 2007, beginning on page 2 and continuing on page 3.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross-references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross-references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross-references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:
  Poland—See **International Communist League.** See also **Hungarian Revolution of 1956.**
  means that articles about Poland can be found by going to the subject head **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE**. Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1956**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles which deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under the subject head **UNITED STATES** and by looking under the subcategory **International Relations,** or under the relevant geographical heading. For example, articles about the U.S. occupation of Iraq will be found under **IRAQ**
- Articles on protests or repression that take place on a campus will generally be found under the subject of the protest or repression. Repression on miscellaneous subjects will be found under **CAMPUS REPRESSION**
- The periodic columns by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are listed under the subject heading **ABU-JAMAL** in the subcategory **Message from Death Row**; articles on his case and the campaign to free him are in the subcategory **Defense Campaign**.
- Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  C: Correction
  CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
  E: Editorial Note
  L: Letter
  R: Review
  S: Series
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